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## NOTES

### *The Viceroy on Federation*

The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta last month was devoted mainly to the subject of federation. His manner was gentle and persuasive. He did not raise any controversy. He concluded with an appeal for collaboration and appealed to all, even to those who sincerely doubted the value of the British-made federal scheme, to trust the sincerity of those by whom the scheme had been devised and the good faith of those by whom it had to be carried out. On a speech which is free from offence it is ungracious to make any comments which may give offence. But the same quality of sincerity which he claimed for the devisers of the scheme constrains us to say things which may give offence, though it is entirely unintended.

The interests of the British and other Western men of business in India are opposed to those of the people of India. With the exception of their Indian employeess, whom they are obliged to trust to some extent, they do not trust Indians and the generality of Indians do not trust them. We refer to them and Indians in the mass, not to individuals. So it would have been better if, for making a serious and important appeal to the people of India in order to evoke trust, the Viceroy had chosen a platform other than a meeting of the Western mercantile classes, who are economically the

exploiters of India and politically the opponents of the people of India.

Whenever in the past British imperialists have asked the people of India to collaborate with them, what they have really wanted is that Indians should toe the line, should conform to orders. Though the word used has been collaboration, self-subordination on the part of Indians has been substantially the thing wanted. The federal scheme has been manufactured entirely by Britishers—and of course its provincial part also. The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee stated in their Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms that they could not accept any of the recommendations of even the Moderates, meaning by that term not the Liberals of India, but men like the Aga Khan who are entirely subservient to British imperialism. Indians are asked to *collaborate* with British officers in carrying out a federal scheme devised entirely by foreigners who obviously, therefore, had no faith in Indian political capacity and wisdom. Though English is not our mother-tongue, we venture, therefore, to think that the word collaboration has not been correctly used in this context.

Lord Linlithgow observed in the course of his speech:

"When I spoke to you in December, 1937, I said that there lay ahead of us the achievement of an ideal which was the ideal which inspired the framers of the Government of India Act of 1935. An ideal, I added, for which we owed a deep debt of gratitude to those spokesmen of the Indian States and of British India who

had taken part in the deliberations which resulted in the present Constitutional Scheme."

Seeing that the framers of the present constitutional scheme did not accept *any* of the recommendations of any Indian who had taken part in the deliberations, it has been always a puzzle to us why its British manufacturers should be *deeply* grateful to their Indian 'consultants'! Was it because the latter's suggestions made the British draftsmen acquainted with what Indians wanted, and these British politicians avoided embodying in the Act what Indians wanted on the assumption that these must be bad for British interests, which must be safeguarded primarily and at any cost?

Perhaps the recommendations of Indians like even the Aga Khan were totally rejected because it was thought that every one of these recommendations was a loophole through which the wily Indians could wriggle to complete freedom.

Lord Linlithgow is undoubtedly acquainted with the trite observation that it is trust which begets trust. The British manufacturers of the federal scheme could not trust even loyalists like the Aga Khan to the extent of accepting even a single one of their recommendations. Yet we are asked to exercise our power of trusting.

It is very ungracious to doubt anybody's sincerity. But we are constrained to say that there are numerous Indians amongst us, whose numbers nobody can count, who cannot say without insincerity that they trust the sincerity of those who devised the federal scheme. But supposing they trusted their sincerity, would that suffice to cure India of all her political, economic, educational, social and other maladies, so far of course as such ills can be remedied by man-made constitutions? We trow not. Is the sincerity of a physician an adequate substitute for knowledge of pathology, materia medica and the like and for the power and earnest desire to make a right use of such knowledge? When patients die of curable diseases, is it because of the insincerity of the physicians?

If those who drafted the Government of India Act and those who piloted it through the British Parliament sincerely desired to keep India in bondage for ever, would their sincerity do India any good and be a salacing substitute for Swaraj?

As regards the good faith of those by whom the federal scheme would be carried out, it would not be right to pronounce any opinion in advance. But it may be permissible to ask,

can their good faith work miracles when the scheme is radically and fundamentally wrong.

His Excellency said with reference to the revised draft instrument to the Princes:

"While I have been away, and since I have returned, a further stage and a vital one, in the clearing of the approach to Federation, has been achieved and I am glad, gentlemen, to be able to speak to you today with the knowledge that the Princes are shortly to receive the revised draft instrument, and will be asked to signify within an appropriate interval of time their decision on it."

The Government of India Act and the federal scheme embodied in it have not been and will not be changed to please any Indian, be he prince or peasant. Nevertheless, the British Government have condescended to consult the susceptibilities, not of the vast mass of the people of either British India (that hateful phrase) or the Indian States, but of the few Princes, by placing in their hands a revised draft instrument. And why? Because their loyalism and subservience to British imperial interests are meant to neutralize, as far as practicable, the forces of Indian nationalism and democracy. Contempt—however unconscious, subconscious, or unintended, of the opinion of politically-minded Indians, coupled with solicitude for the feelings of those who are to be used as tools of British imperialism, has a lesson which even he who runs may read.

All the good things which the Viceroy has said of the federal idea are quite true. There is no nationalist Indian who does not want federation. The federal idea is a good idea. But the federal scheme devised by Britishers does not correspond to our idea or ideal of federation. And it is, therefore, that we do not like it.

We all want Indian unity. We understand and appreciate its value for India's internal purposes and in her external and international relations. The economic importance of Indian federal unity also we understand and appreciate. But the unity must be real; not merely mechanical, external and superficial, and federation must be based on democratic principles. What the British-made federal scheme gives us, however, is not real unity, nor is the scheme based on democratic principles. We have more than once dwelt in detail on the defects of the scheme from the point of view of real national and democratic unity. It will suffice for our present purposes to refer to a few points.

In the Federal Legislature the members representing British India are to be elected, but the Indian States members are to be nominated by the ruling princes. The mechanical



juxtaposition of the elect of the people of British India and the nominees of the Indian States' rulers cannot be called real unity. The people of British India are to have a slight taste of democracy, whereas the Indian States' people are to be entirely ignored. Democracy and autocracy are to be jumbled together and are to pull the state cart together in the same direction—or rather really in opposite directions. We do not call that unification.

Instead of encouraging and promoting the process of national unification by taking advantage of the centripetal forces in our national life, the Government of India Act takes full advantage of the fissiparous tendencies in Indian society, consolidates and confirms the existing divisions, and creates more where none existed. This is not unification. The Communal Decision, so long as it lasts, must mean an unbridgeable gulf between religious communities, some classes, and the high-caste and scheduled caste Hindus. This is not unification.

Unity by federation can be productive of good in internal and external relations, if the majority of the inhabitants have such power as they may be entitled to by virtue of their numbers, education, public spirit, contribution to the public exchequer, and the like. But by the British-made federal scheme the majority of the Indian population, who are Hindus, are reduced to the position of a minority. They are the most important part of the nation not merely in numbers. The bulk of the revenue comes from them. The Hindu community contains the majority of the intelligentsia. Of those who have made India known to the world by their culture, by their contributions to literature, science, art, philosophy, . . . the majority are Hindus. In commercial and industrial enterprise, the majority of the entrepreneurs are Hindus. Those who have made the attainment of self-rule a live issue by their thought, their statesmanship, their devoted labours, their sufferings and their sacrifices are mostly Hindus. And yet Hindus are not to be even a bare majority in the Federal Legislature, though they are more than 70 per cent. of the population.

By its chapter on "Discrimination" the Government of India Act safeguards the British exploitation of India.

With all its defects if the federal scheme had given the Indian members of the Federal Legislature—no matter to what communities, classes or castes they may belong, whether they come from British India or Indian India, and whether they be nominated by the princes or

elected by the people—the power to make us in India what Britishers are in Britain, Americans are in the U. S. A., or what the Canadians and Austrians are in Canada and Australia, one could have appreciated the way in which Lord Linlithgow has boosted it. But Defence, External Relations, Currency and Exchange, Railways, the higher Public Services, . . . are to be beyond the control of the Legislature. It cannot control the expenditure of 80 per cent. of the revenues. Then there are numerous checks, safeguards, special powers and special responsibilities. So there has been no real transfer of power to the representatives of the people.

India's cultural and geographical unity can be transformed into a political and constitutional unity by a federation based on democratic principles, but what the Government of India Act offers is not a federation of that kind.

### *"The Development of Centrifugal and Fissiparous Tendencies"*

In explaining why the achievement of Indian unity is more important now than it was even three years ago, Lord Linlithgow mentioned in the first place "the change in the European background", and added:

"It is more important, secondly, precisely because provincial autonomy has worked so well. The greater the success of the scheme of provincial autonomy, the greater the degree to which the strong and diverse claims of individual Provinces, widely differing in racial and religious composition, the economic and political outlook, assert themselves, the greater is the danger of the development of centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies, and so of the marrying of that unity which it has been the object of all of us who care for India's future to see achieved and consolidated."

The members of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee observed that they were perhaps destroying by the grant of provincial autonomy that unity which they thought was the gift or creation of British rule. From the passage from the Viceroy's speech, too, quoted below it is evident that the framers of the Act were aware of the "danger" of provincial autonomy pointed out by the Viceroy in the foregoing sentences.

The federal scheme has, I well know, been the target of many criticisms—from important political leaders, from the press, from private individuals. I have studied these criticisms with all the attention that they deserve, and with the fullest acceptance of the sincerity of purpose underlying them. I can but repeat, in the event, what I have said before, that no criticism of the scheme of federation embodied in the Act that I have seen advanced was absent from the mind of those of us by whom that scheme was framed. We were fully conscious of the directions in which it was open to attack.

We were conscious that no scheme that the wit of man can devise can be free from blemish—even from more serious error,—more specially when the situation which it is designed to meet is unique in history, and presents features of such complexity and such difficulty. But our conclusion was, and it is my considered opinion today, that the scheme then devised is the best practicable solution of the great constitutional problem of India.

We do not in the least admit that "the scheme" is the best practicable solution, or that any other possible or imaginable scheme was bound to be worse. "The situation" mentioned by His Excellency was in great part the bandiwork of British imperialism and, as such, cannot be used to justify an anti-national and anti-democratic Act.

A really democratic federal scheme would have been an antidote to "centrifugal and fissionary tendencies." To what little extent, if any, the British scheme may provide such an antidote only experience can show.

*Does "Success" of Provincial  
Autonomy Augur "Success"  
of Federal Scheme*

The Viceroy has said :

"Provincial autonomy and its working have in a sense been a touchstone. I claim that we are entitled, in the light of the working of provincial autonomy, to be of good heart when we contemplate the working of federation."

The Congress President has stated why Congress does not agree to carry out the federal scheme, though it agreed to work and has been working the provincial part of the constitution. His reasons need not be repeated.

The provincial part of the Constitution differs in many respects from the federal scheme. One is that there is no dyarchy in the provinces, but there is dyarchy in the Centre. It should be borne in mind that provincial autonomy has been successful, to the extent that it has been so, only in the provinces in which Congress has formed the ministry. The provinces in which this has been the case are Hindu majority provinces. In these provinces, in spite of the weightage given to the non-Hindu communities, the Hindus (and the Congress party) have not been reduced to the position of a minority. The Hindus being collectively more public-spirited and more national in outlook than the Muslims have made provincial autonomy comparatively successful in these provinces. In Muslim majority provinces, particularly in Bengal, the Hindus (and the Congress party) are in a minority. In these provinces provincial autonomy has not been successful even to the extent to which it has

been so in the Hindu (and Congress) majority provinces. As in the Federal Legislature the Hindus have been reduced to the position of a minority and consequently the Congress party also will most likely be in a minority, the position of the Hindus and of the Congress party in it will be like the position of the Hindus and of the Congress party in Bengal. Hence the success of the federal scheme will probably be no better than the success (?) of provincial autonomy in Bengal.

Among the Muslim majority provinces Congress has no doubt formed a ministry in the N.-W. Frontier Province. But provincial autonomy has not been successful there. Instead of being stamped out or even of diminishing, crime has increased there since the inauguration of provincial autonomy and non-Muslim inhabitants suffer from the predatory and kidnapping raids of trans-frontier raiders. Moreover, under the Muslim prime minister communalism is rampant there in public service appointments and the like.

*The Viceroy on Constitutional Advance  
in the Indian States*

In answer to questions in the British House of Commons it has been officially stated several times that the British Government will not stand in the way of the Rulers of the Indian States introducing constitutional reforms in a progressive spirit (thanks for this small mercy), but no pressure will be brought to bear upon them to do so. The Viceroy also has made a similar declaration:

It must rest with rulers themselves to decide what form of government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States, and, as the Secretary of State has again made clear in the last few days, while the paramount power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by rulers, his Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes

It is common knowledge that, for promoting imperial interests, British Residents and Political Agents in the States have occasionally put pressure on the rulers thereof. But when it comes to the question of constitutional advance the British Government must take up the correct attitude. But cannot that Government advise the rulers to place their subjects on a footing of equal political status with the neighbouring British subjects? There is no substantial difference between such neighbouring groups

It may be said that the Viceroy has already indirectly stated why no advice can be given to

any ruler or all the rulers in the matter of constitutional advance, by observing that

in a field in which, for historical and other reasons, such wide differences in conditions exist, generalizations are dangerous and misleading. The nature of any internal adjustment, the checks and balances appropriately to be applied, cannot wisely in all circumstances be the same, and the fullest weight must be given to all relevant factors by those on whom the responsibility directly falls.

But in matters other than constitutional advance the Residents or Political Agents do give advice to the Rulers. That implies that these British officers possess full knowledge of "all relevant factors."

As for difference in the traditions and other conditions of the various Indian States, are they really greater than the differences which exist between the self-ruling countries "from Chinn to Peru"? If in spite of such differences it has been found practicable, necessary and wise to introduce self-rule in so many countries inhabited by various races, some of whom, as in Soviet Russia, had no alphabet or written literature of their own, why cannot the British Paramount Power pass round a general advice that self-government with local variations should be introduced in all the States?

No doubt, the more backward the Indian States are and remain, the better do they serve the purpose of foils. But it has never been said that that is a reason why the Paramount Power does not urge or advise the Rulers thereof to go in for constitutional progress in their territories

### *"Will You Accept Federal Scheme?"*

We have been sometimes asked whether we are for the acceptance of the federal scheme. After reading our notes on the Viceroy's speech our readers may ask the same question.

But there is really no free choice left to us. It is Hobson's choice. The thing is going to be forced upon us. If the Congress does not like it, all the Congress ministries should adopt all the possible obstructionist tactics, failing which they should resign and make it impossible for non-Congress ministries in their provinces to function.

There are only two things which can be said in favour of the British-made federal scheme. The first is that it gives the whole of India some sort of political and constitutional unity, however mechanical and self-conflicting in parts it may be. It may be that the Constituent Assembly desired by the Congress, if it materializes, will give us a better scheme. But it is not known when and how it will be convened and whether its decisions will be accepted by the

Rulers of the Indian States and the Muslims. Nolens volens the British scheme, however, must be accepted by both. The materialization of this scheme will be tantamount to repudiation of the fantastic, unpatriotic and mischievous demand of a separate Muslim federation.

A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

A second thing which can be urged in its favour is that in this scheme, the representatives to be nominated by the Rulers have not to be nominated according to any fixed communal proportions. There is no weightage for any community, such as there is in the case of the British India representatives according to the Communal Decision. It is apprehended that if Congress succeeds in calling a Constituent Assembly, it may not only confirm the Communal "Award" in British India but may introduce it in the Indian States, too, under pressure of the Muslims and in order to please them. Well, it is jolly good to denounce the foreign British Government for the unrighteous Communal "Award," but will our Congress and pro-Congress organs and the Congress-brow-beaten papers be able to stand up against a Congress Communal "Award"?

Whether Congress accepts the British brand of federation or not, it will stand to lose if it does not contest the federal elections.

### *"A Critique of the Indian Constitution"*

Mr. K. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (London), Barrister-at-Law, Reader of Law, Allahabad University, delivered a course of six lectures under the auspices of the Calcutta University as an Extension lecturer of the same University on the subject, "The Indian States and the Proposed Federation," in November, 1933.

We understand, Mr. Bhattacharya is going to bring out these lectures in the form of a book entitled, "A Critique of the Indian Constitution". In the course of his lectures he pointed out from the legal and constitutional point of view that the Indian States have got no status in international law—they are neither sovereign, nor semi-sovereign, nor are they protectorates.

He also dilated upon the fact that they had no external or internal sovereignty. The term sovereignty is a misnomer when applied to the Indian States in their external or internal relations. He criticised the doctrine of the Butler Committee Report and analysed the doctrine of paramountcy. According to him

there was no legal bar against the transferring of the whole content of paramountcy to the Indian Federal Ministry, when formed, unreservedly.

On the question of granting reforms to the people in the States, who number about eight crores, he was satisfied on legal and constitutional grounds that there was no impediment in the way of the Rulers granting full responsible government to their subjects, and insisted that the Rulers must grant full responsible government. No tinkering, no half-measures, in fact nothing short of full responsible government under the aegis of the rulers, will satisfy the people.

Earl Winterton's statement in the House of Commons on this subject was also analysed.

He criticised the Communal "Award" and the special disadvantages flowing from it in Bengal.

Coming to the Federal Government, he drew pointed attention to very many defects in the Federal scheme, which, according to him, no amount of convention or assurance would be able to do away with. He insisted upon full responsibility with regard to all matters, civil and military, external and internal, being vested in the Federal Ministry. He also urged that the Rulers of the States must not be allowed to send their nominees to the Federal Houses: the peoples' representations alone must be sent there.

He also urged that the members of the Indian Civil Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Medical Service, Indian Military Service—all must be brought under the absolute control of the Federal Ministry, regarding their mode of recruitment, scale of salary, pensions, etc.

He referred also to the top-heavy administration in the provinces and in the Centre which devoured so much of the revenues as to leave a very small margin for the nation-building departments.

Turning to the judiciary, he was of the opinion that appeals to the Privy Council and even special leave to appeal to the Privy Council must be stopped.

According to him Dominion status with the right of secession would not satisfy a large section of the Indian population. India wants to frame a constitution suited to her genius through a Constituent Assembly. He pointed out that there was no constitutional or legal impediment in the way of summoning a Constituent Assembly and asked the British Government to take a leaf out of the Irish History in

1921-22, when Ireland convened a Constituent Assembly and framed a constitution which was ratified by the British Parliament on the 6th of December, 1922. What England did in 1921-22 with regard to Ireland the speaker wanted England to do in 1938 with regard to India.

### *Menace of Communism in India*

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of India met at their Annual Conference at Calcutta in December 1938. The Conference devoted their greatest attention to the question of the growth of Communism in India and made it the subject of a prolonged discussion. The original resolution, which ran as given below, was moved by Mr. H. Horsman of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce:

"Events within the past year have shown the incalculable damage that is being done to the industries of the country and to the workers dependent thereon by the continuous spread of communistic propaganda among the working classes, this Association calls upon the Governments concerned to ensure the enforcement of more stringent precautions to discourage Communism by all means in their power in the interests of the industrial progress and the general peace and welfare of the country."

In moving his resolution Mr. Horsman traced the history of the growth of Communism in India at length and drew his own conclusions therefrom. In his opinion Communism has become a grave menace to the peace and material progress of this country and unless immediate and strong steps were taken by all provincial governments for its suppression the consequence might indeed be grave and disastrous. Mr. Horsman's reading of the situation, though somewhat alarmistic, deserves the attention of all thinking men in so far as it deals with a new and powerful factor in Indian politics which incidentally runs counter to some of the main currents of Indian civilization. Mr. Horsman has seen in Communism a challenge to British power, prestige and prosperity in India but, if his description of its aims and object are correct, one may see in it a challenge to many an institution and ideal with which the British are in no way connected or concerned. The quotations which follow were given by Mr. Horsman in the course of his speech, as summarising the outlook of the Communists of India:

"(1) The complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule; the cancellation of all debts; the confiscation and nationalization of all British factories, banks, railways, sea and river transport and plantations; (2) establishment of Soviet Government; the realization of the right of national minorities to self-

determination including separation; abolition of the Indian States; the creation of an Indian Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic; (3) The confiscation without compensation of all lands, forests and other property of the landlords, Ruling Princes, churches, the British Government, officials and moneylenders, and the handing of them over for use to the toiling peasantry; (4) Cancellation of State agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to the moneylenders and banks; (5) The adoption of an 8-hour working day and radical improvement of conditions of labour; increase in wages and State maintenance for the unemployed.

(1) Expulsion of the British troops, abolition of the police, and instead the general armament of the toilers; (2) immediate liberation of all political prisoners, including those who have committed acts of individual and mass violence; (3) unlimited freedom of speech, of conscience, press, meetings, strikes and associations for the toilers, and abolition of all anti-popular and anti-labour laws; (4) the abolition of rank, caste, national and communal privilege, and the full equality of all citizens irrespective of sex, religion and race; (5) complete separation of religion from the State at any time on the demand of the majority of the electors, and the expulsion of the missionaries as direct agents of the Imperialists, with confiscation of their property.

(1) The liberation of the masses from the influence of the National Congress; (2) the making of agitational and organizational preparations for a general strike, (3) the giving of the greatest possible support to the present movement for the non-payment of taxes, rents and debts; and (4) the popularisation of the slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution.

According to Mr. Horsmaa the Communist movement is responsible for most of India's industrial and agrarian unrest. That is to say, the rank and file of the Communist Party in India are composed of labourers and peasants. The brains are no doubt educated people who have drawn their inspiration from Moscow. An examination of the above quotations would reveal the aims and objects of the Communists of India to be, not merely a political revolution but a cultural, social, moral, religious and economic revolution as well. It may be possible for agitators to incite a number of labourers or peasants to start a riot or to go on strike; but it is difficult to imagine how even the cleverest of all agitators could go among the illiterate masses of India and preach abolition of religious institutions, collectivisation of farms, sex equality and all that. May be, these whole-hogging programmes were drawn up by one section of Communists, who merely theorise or deal out doctrines, and the others, the active members, use their own arguments to induce labourers to go on strike. The kind of Communism that has been actually preached to the masses has no doubt created industrial and agrarian unrest, but so far, we have not noticed any serious damage done to the institutions of private property (particularly the property owned by labourers and peasants or

by their leaders), temples and mosques and their properties, ranks, castes, communities and communal privileges, etc.

So that, we are of the opinion that the provincial governments need not as yet start any anti-propaganda against theoretical Communism or its theoretical assertions and threats. We should be content to explain to the masses, by means of judicious and dignified counter-propaganda, the true facts of national economics. Industrial legislation the world over has been an acknowledgment of the fact that labourers are sometimes not treated justly by their employers. For among employers there are good, bad and neutral types. And the bad ones are always at an advantage. It is therefore not entirely wise to assume that all employers are at all times absolutely in the right nor that all demands made by labourers are always unjustifiable. The correct attitude for governments should be to force both employers and employees to play fair. Neither side should imagine that it has any divine right over things. The Nation is above both Capital and Labour and the Nation's well-being cannot be permitted to be injured by the uncontrolled actions of any person or group of persons. Often the ill thought-out actions of a small group of men working in some essential industrial unit upsets the lives of numerous persons connected with a chain of industries. Industrial trouble always has its repercussions in the fields of transport, commerce, finance, trade, in fact in every branch of national life. Strikes are seldom mere isolated incidents. All governments therefore have the right to regulate industrial disputes. But all disputes should be judged on the merits of the case and not according to the political philosophy of the disputants.

### *Sir Edward Benthall on Communism*

The speech delivered by Sir Edward Benthall in connection with the resolution of Mr. Horsman was very interesting. He said:

The mover of this resolution has made out a very powerful case indeed to illustrate the danger of the growth of Communism in India, but in considering a resolution calling upon Governments to enforce more stringent precautions to discourage communism, we must, I think, be careful to have an exact appreciation of what the Governments can and cannot do. We ought in fact to state the directions in which we expect them to take action.

A belief in Communism in itself is no crime; nor is it a crime to seek by all means within the law for a more equal distribution of wealth. A recent case in the Bengal High Court confirmed a judgment of Chief Jus-

tice Beaumont of the Bombay Courts, that a verbal attack on capitalists could not be brought within Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code because it could not be proved that the accused had any intention of promoting hatred and enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects for the reason that capitalists could not be described as a class of His Majesty's subjects, capitalism being a manifestation of world-wide economic conditions.

But as this is the present legal position, it is our duty to draw the attention of the Governments to the effect of the continuous spread of anti-capitalist propaganda not only upon the productive power of the industries concerned and so upon the wealth of the country, but also on the welfare of the workers themselves.

A loss caused to the industry by strikes is a direct loss to Government since the wealth of a nation or of a province lies in its output of goods and produce. By reducing output and causing unemployment and unrest, the prosperity of the country as a whole as of the industrial units concerned, is affected. This may not be very perceptible at the time, and may not seriously inconvenience even the particular industrial unit, but when the loss of production is allowed to grow as large as it has done in recent years, it must have, and does have, a marked effect upon the prosperity of the country.

Figures supplied by the Employers' Federation of India show that in the last decade no less than 696,64,000 working days have been lost; this gives some idea of the loss to workers and to industry. In 1937 for instance nearly 89,82,000 working days were lost owing to strikes, affecting 647,800 workers, an international record for the year second only to the United States of America. The current year must also show uneenviable figures.

It is our duty to point out in the first place that it is the employers who have created the work. Out of nothing they have built up industries, created employment and brought a livelihood to the workers. By the joint efforts of employers and workers wealth has been brought to the country.

We—the employers and the workers—are therefore fully justified in demanding from Governments the maximum protection against disruptive elements, a steady propaganda to educate the workers in the elementary economics of their livelihood, and all possible assistance in our policy of providing amenities to the workers. All these matters have the earnest attention of employers today and Government can assist by providing facilities.

I have no complaint at all against genuine labour leaders. There are not a few who have done good work on behalf of labour and no wise employer will reward bona fide co-operation by a labour leader to improve the lot of the workers by all reasonable means. But competition among communist leaders seems directed towards the attainment of personal power over labour. Their activities are almost solely confined to fomenting strikes, and as often as not the cause for which they are encouraging strikes, has nothing to do with the cause of the workers.

Witness, for instance, the open statement of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose that the strike in the Tutagbar area for the reinstatement of certain dismissed workers has been transformed into a strike against the Jute Ordinance, in other words, a political strike against the Government in power. One of the greatest handicaps to the steady advance of the labour movement has been exploitation of the movement by outside influences for political purposes.

It is a common experience that seventy five to ninety per cent of the workers who go on strike do so because they are terrorized by a small section acting under com-

munist or other political leadership. The worker needs protection far more even than the employer.

It may be asserted without risk of overstatement that the labour resources of India are very largely wasted due to lack of training and opportunities. The actual industrial workers are few compared to the millions who might have been so engaged, had India been fully industrialised. The average income of industrial workers in India is much higher than that of agricultural workers. So that the growth of industries would be a great blessing to India's millions. Just as high wages attract workers to industries, high dividends attract capital to industrial investments. So that the smooth and steady development of industries, paying steadier dividends and providing better employment, would be an all round national boon.

Mr. Horsman's resolution was finally passed unanimously by the Conference after it had been amended as follows:

"Despite the fact that certain of the provincial Governments have severely discountenanced the Communist activity within their borders the spread of Communist propaganda continues in India. The events of the past year have shown that incalculable damage is being done to the industries of the country and to the workers dependent thereon by the dissemination of Communist doctrines and the intimidation by which it is accompanied. This Association therefore calls upon all the Governments concerned to ensure the enforcement of more stringent precautions to discourage Communism by all means in their power in the interests of the industrial progress and the general peace and welfare of the country."

### Thoughts on the Wardha Scheme

Certain features of the Wardha Scheme of rural education would provoke a little general discussion. All pupils are to be taught a basic craft from childhood and it will also be an useful craft, the products of which will be saleable. There is also the provision for preventing "mechanical" work and the idea that the basic craft shall be also the basic thing in this scheme of education. Through it and around it the pupils' mind will forage for intellectual sustenance. Education deals primarily with the mind and also with the correlation of the mind with the body. All human beings are educated in one way or another in the sense that they learn to think, behave and do things from their fellow beings and environment. Systematised mass education is merely another and more effective method of teaching people how to think, behave and do things. The use of the written word is only a method of conveying thought and instruction and it has no categorical difference from the spoken word or

any other symbol as far as its use in the field of education is concerned. The use of the lecture and the cinema show, for the purpose of mass education all over the civilised world, go to prove the truth of the above statement. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, gardening, in fact every perceptible representation of human thought and feeling, has some educative value.

The value of teaching a basic craft need not be minimised on any account; but if the basic craft is chosen with a view to assist some pre-conceived propaganda or political creed, its educative value would become restricted to the teaching of the subject-matter of that propaganda or creed alone. This is a positive danger of which the educationists of India should be conscious while adopting this craft or that for mass education.

The words "machine" and "mechanical" are very often used arbitrarily. Many human actions are mechanical, as for example, walking, standing, sweeping the floor, drawing water from the well, driving cattle, sawing wood and a whole host of other things which humanity has engaged in since the species came into existence. There is nothing fundamentally degrading in acting in a mechanical fashion. The spinner, the weaver, the potter and all workers of handicrafts work mechanically. The real point is whether by working too hard and too long the worker is getting cramped and atrophied mentally and spiritually; whether all joy and decent feelings and emotions are being squeezed out of his life by an overdose of monotony. It is well known to students of economic history that the shawl weavers of Kashmir and the carpet weavers of Persia (many of whom were children) were subjected to the utmost hardship by having to sit in a cramped position for hours in a hole under the loom plying different hand shuttles under the dictation of the master-weaver working above ground. The artistic side of the work was entirely denied to these unfortunate slaves and their lot was a hundred times worse compared to that of the workers in a modern weaving factory.

All machines are aids to human labour. When properly used, machinery protect workers against hardship and make things easy for them. The appliances used in handicrafts are intrinsically as much of machinery as the robots of modern industry. A slave to a *charka* is no better off compared to a slave working a ring frame machine. It is the slavery that is objectionable and not the machine. The *charka*

or the *takli* are as much machines as any other mechanical appliance. They are not natural objects like fruits, trees or flowers.

It is necessary that a scheme of national education should be based on clear reasoning. When the world is changing its productive machinery with a view to enrich the lives of all men and women, it is no use making fetishes of inferior appliances. It is no doubt true that better machinery are not available to the masses, but the ideal nevertheless should be to equip India with the best of everything and this can only be done if the people of India could be taught the intricacies of modern mechanical sciences. India should be science-minded and Indian thought should be purged of all forced reasoning which are not based upon truth.

There cannot be any philosophical argument against making iron out of ore, any more than there could be against making flour out of wheat or a bedstead out of a tree. The economic activities of mankind mainly reduce down to giving useful form or location to the gifts of nature. Taking the wool from the sheep and converting it into a coat or a blanket is very similar to making medicinal sera out of a horse. Artificial silk from wood and real silk from cocoons stand on an equal footing in industrial rating.

When we study the mechanism of modern life we find that large-scale production and specialised labour have become vital components of the productive system of the present-day world. Some of the most important necessities of modern life are only obtainable with the help of modern scientific apparatus and appliances. Where millions died before without medical aid or any hope of cure, modern medicine has thrown a challenge to death. And modern medicine cannot be practised with the assistance of handicrafts alone. Modern transport, which has given a new meaning to Humanity, cannot depend solely on handicrafts. Even mass education would require, at every step, the intimate assistance of modern industry.

The second important item is the selection of a common language, namely Hindustani, for the whole of India.

As the ideal behind the scheme seems to be a self-contained village life, the necessity for having a common language is not quite clear. The villagers of Eastern India would, under a scheme of medievalisation of life, have no occasion to travel to or exchange goods or labour with the villagers of Gujarat. So why waste time in learning a common language?

The third important point is that the teaching will be through the vernacular of the pupils.

This is well and good. Only, as "vernacular" stands for the "literary language" and not any dialects, Hindustani of a particular variety will be enabled to crush out many a sweet dialect of Bihar and the U. P.

The fourth point to be mentioned is that English will not be taught.

As English is perhaps the most extensively used language in the world today, as in actual practice it is used even by all educated Congressmen in India, as it possesses a more extensive literature than any modern Indian language, as it is practically our only medium of communication with the world outside India, and as it is used as a secondary language in China and Japan, we do not appreciate this negative attitude towards it. We do not understand the wisdom of deliberately keeping boys and girls ignorant of English even when they have completed fourteen years of their life.

The fifth point is that certain cultural subjects which cannot be correlated with the basic craft must be taught independently.

We have not been able to work out whether mathematics, hygiene, botany, natural history, literature, etc. could be "correlated" with any basic craft like spinning, weaving or raising silk worms; but we expect provisions will be made to correlate at least the three "R's" with whatever craft is chosen for any school.

We do not know if the board of education controlling this scheme would always keep in mind the fact that even in a medieval scheme of existence life would depend on several crafts and not on any single basic craft (unless agriculture were counted as a craft). The chances of teaching all the people only a few basic crafts and upsetting the economy of the country as a whole, should also be kept in mind. For if all the people started, say, spinning or weaving, the future of India would, no doubt, be sartorially bright, but otherwise very bleak indeed. Life depends on variety and a balanced supply of workers in the different crafts is an essential of national economy. Any undue increase in the supply of craftsmen of one kind or shortage of workers in some essential craft usually means suffering to the nation. Tampering with the social forces which determine the supply of skilled workers in the different fields of production is a dangerous game to play at; at least for educationists or politicians.

## *Defence of the Motherland*

The War to end War which destroyed the lives of millions of soldiers and non-combatants during the four years 1914-18, and left an endless heritage of misery for the world, did not, after all, either end War or make the world safe for democracy or achieve any of the wonders that people expected from it. An analysis of the world situation today reveals the fact that nations are still actuated by a whole-hearted selfishness and a murderous spirit of mutual hatred is the ruling passion in their hearts. This selfishness and spirit of hatred is clearly evidenced by the Sino-Japanese war, the Italo-German intrigue in Spain, the British affairs in Palestine, the Franco-Italian conflict, the German outcry for Colonies and a host of other incidents, affairs and outrages in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and practically all over the world. The world harboured more international hatred and clash of interests in 1938 than it did in 1914 or at any time within known history. "Might is Right" has become so firmly established as the only potent factor in world politics, that codes of morality, decency or civilised behaviour have been finally relegated to the archives of dead and useless doctrines. As a result of this New Outlook, the evolution of Human Institutions in the present age has become restricted to only one thing—development of military efficiency and dissemination of effective lies. In such a world a spirit of pacifism and military unpreparedness would no doubt be a moral gesture; but it would hardly be wise. In the history of the world the Twentieth Century will perhaps be known in the future as the most war-ridden century. We Indians are living in this troublesome and insecure age without showing the slightest symptom of any consciousness of danger. It is perhaps due to the fact that for long decades we have been used to passing our days without any thought of National defence, for we depend on the British to defend us against aggression by others.

The present cross currents of international jealousies and clash of interests are a sure indication of the fact that the world, before long, will get involved in a series of conflicts of different dimensions. Many of these expected conflicts are already being fought out in different parts of the world. That Britain will become party to one or more of these conflicts is a possibility which has the nature of a certainty. And when Britain fights a proper size enemy the repercussions of any such fight will



be surely felt in India. In former times Wars were localised and fought out between armies. Civilians and objectives other than fortified places were seldom attacked. But modern warfare is waged on a national scale and no person or place may expect immunity from attack. War is spread far and wide and beyond the positions taken up by armies. Aeroplanes and submarines sneak out into enemy territories and try to demoralise the enemy nation by destroying its trade, supplies and centres of industry. As modern war depends on a constant supplies of men, arms and munitions, these methods are essentials of the art of warfare. These methods, when applied without reservation, spare neither the aged nor women or children, and the example of China, Abyssinia and Spain makes matters very clear. So that if India gets involved in a war there is no doubt that thousands of non-combatant Indians will be killed and many of our cities will be devastated.

With such dire possibilities in the immediate foreground our policy of unconcerned inaction seems utterly suicidal. The Congress no doubt expect to handle all situations according to their principle of *Ahimsa*. Of course they have sponsored the idea of military training in Bihar and the U. P. That may be accepted as an exception proving the general rule of non-violence. What we wish to emphasise is that, while abhorring warfare and violence for the purpose of attacking others, one may yet feel the moral necessity for fighting with a view to protect the motherland against the inroads of external enemies.

India will very soon feel the urgency of fighting to save India's women and children and the nation's economic assets. Britain may be always willing to fight our battles to safeguard British interests in India; but there is the possibility that she may not be in a strong enough position to do so. Whatever our relations with Britain may be, one cannot reasonably compare such relations with what will happen if there be a fresh invasion and conquest of India by some other power. It is an undoubted fact that if ever such a thing happened the terror and suffering that would come into existence would defy description. A hundred humanitarian great souls would not be able to save us from the horrors of a foreign invasion! For these reasons India must prepare for national defence.

It is clear that the first attack on India will be from the air. Therefore the first defensive actions would be expected also in the air. India

should build up a strong air force and that immediately. Besides there must be arrangements for the evacuation of crowded cities promptly and without undue loss and suffering. In the cities anti-gas shelters must be constructed and organisations put up for rendering first-aid to the injured and for disinfecting areas infected with gas.

The first requirement is to inspire the nation with a spirit of determination to face this new danger. The nation's health, strength and efficiency must be built up with a rigid singleness of purpose. The nation must make up its mind. That is the first step.

### *Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee Misteported*

An Associated Press message runs as follows :

Cawnpore, Dec. 19.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of *The Modern Review*, who arrived here to preside over the Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen's birth centenary, was given addresses of welcome by the Municipal Board and by the Bengalees of Cawnpore.

In the course of his address to the students at the Marwari Vidyalaya College, Mr. Chatterjee advised the students not to be led away by catchwords like "Inqilab Zindabad" but should devote themselves exclusively to their studies.—A. P.

At the Marwari Vidyalaya College at Cawnpore Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee spoke to the students for a few minutes. He advised them not to be led away by 'catchwords' like "Education can wait but Swaraj cannot wait." In his opinion education cannot wait, no matter whether Swaraj can or cannot wait. Speaking from his experience as a boy and a young man, he said that he regretted that he had not made better use of opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge and the formation of character at school and college. He did not know many very essential things—essential even for the proper discharge of his duties as a journalist and an armchair politician. His ignorance would not have been so great and such a handicap, if he had been a better student in boyhood and youth. At present, owing to advancing age and the pressure of routine work and public engagements, he could not command sufficient leisure to read even some of the many excellent books which he received for review. So he advised the students to make the best use of their time and opportunities for acquiring knowledge, so that in their future career as citizens they might not have to indulge in unavailing regrets for lost opportunities as the speaker often had to do. He did not, however, advise them to devote themselves exclusively

their studies. On the contrary, he said that, after attending to their studies, they were at liberty to keep themselves in touch with political and other public movements in order to have up-to-date knowledge of them. For knowledge cannot be gained entirely from the study of books and other publications. Such knowledge has to be supplemented by life contacts. But primarily, though not exclusively, the duty of students is that which is implied in their class name. Just as a shopkeeper or a cultivator ceases to deserve the name of shopkeeper or cultivator if he neglects his business or his work in the fields, so the name 'student' becomes a misnomer for students if they do not study to an adequate extent.

Persons who are not politically-minded and do not take any interest in politics will readily agree that students ought to study. Others, who are politically-minded and who take active part in politics but whom Congressmen both of the Right wing and the Left wing and Communists and other Revolutionists call Reformists, will also agree that students ought to study. S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee read out passages from the life of Lenin to show that that great Revolutionary himself studied deeply, took his degree from one Czarist University after having been expelled from another, and insisted on all Communists and would-be Communists acquiring the whole sum of human knowledge.

Some of the passages read out will bear repetition :

"... 'Lenin constantly insisted that communism cannot be regarded as a special body of doctrines or dogmas of 'ready-made conclusions' to be learnt from text-books, but can only be understood as the outcome of the whole of human science and culture, on the basis of an exact study of all that previous ages including especially capitalist society, had achieved.'—*Life and Teachings of Lenin* (International Publishers, New York), p. 63

Speaking to the Third Congress of the Communist Youth in Russia in 1920, Lenin said :

"It would be a very serious mistake to suppose that one can become a communist without making one's own the treasures of human knowledge. It would be mistaken to imagine that it is enough to adopt the Communist formulae and conclusions of Communist science without mastering that sum total of different branches of knowledge, the final outcome of which is communism. . . .

"Communism becomes an empty phrase, a mere facade, and the communist a mere bluffer, if he has not worked over, in his consciousness, the whole inheritance of human knowledge." *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

Therefore Lenin urged the Communist Youth "to acquire the whole sum of human knowledge."

As S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee is not a

Communist, his object in quoting from Lenin's life and teachings was not to advise our young people to become Communists. His object was to convince his hearers that, not only non-politically-minded persons and politically-minded reformists, but even so great a revolutionary as Lenin stressed the need and duty of deep and extensive study; and the foundations of such study can be laid and the habit of such study formed only in our student days.

As for "Inqilab Zindabad," the speaker observed that the shouting of that slogan any day would not make India independent the next day. Much serious training and much other preparation are required for making the country free and independent.

### Chinese Students' Statement to Japanese Youth and Students

According to *World Youth* (Boston, U. S. A.), November 19, 1938, the Chinese Student Union for National Salvation issued the following statement to the Japanese youth and students on the First Anniversary of China's Campaign of Resistance :

"Dear Japanese Youth and Fellow Students: In spite of the strict news censorship of your military we have occasionally learned the brave deeds of your struggle against the ruthless aggression in China. In the name of all Chinese students we wish to express to you our heartiest admiration for the work you have done.

"We are convinced that there exists between the youth of Japan and China an invincible friendship. Despite the Japanese militarists' aggression, our united front against imperialist aggression can never be crushed. We, youth of Japan and China, ought to be the guarantee of Far Eastern Peace.

"We are aware that many of you have been already put in jail and we can well imagine the extreme hardship of your struggle. In spite of the fact that we, too, have suffered during the past year, we are still encouraged by your example to continue in the fight for our own freedom and also for the liberation of our Japanese brothers and sisters from the yoke of militarism. . . .

"In case you are already fighting in China we sincerely invite you to bring your brothers and join us. We need not remind you that it is our custom to treat those of you who join us as brothers and sisters. Why should we be killing each other when there is no cause for enmity between us? Let us unite against our common enemy, Fascism, in order that the victory may soon bring peace.

"Recently the International Student Delegation brought to China the goodwill of world fellow students. . . .

Lastly, may our hands extend over the East Sea and clasp in token of the brotherly love of our nations.

"Yours in brotherhood—The Chinese Student Union for National Salvation"

One is filled with hope for the future of mankind to learn that there are Japanese youth fighting militarism and fascism in their country and going to jail for the cause.

## *A Pro-Hindi Organ on the Conviction of an Anti-Hindi Leader*

As the Congress ministry of Madras have been prosecuting anti-Hindi picketers in that province, it is not easy to form a correct idea of the nature and extent of the anti-Hindi agitation there by reading pro-Congress organs alone or by reading only the English newspapers of Madras. One requires to read the Tamil papers also. This we cannot do owing to our ignorance of Tamil. The following comments of *The Indian Express*, a pro-Congress and pro-Hindi organ, on the conviction of Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker throws unexpected light on the anti-Hindi agitation and the prosecution of its leaders and their followers, many of whom are women with babes in arms, now in jail :

It must be said of Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker that he is not a man disposed to run away from the consequences of his acts. He would have avowed violence had he violence in his mind. The anti-Hindi movement has had, of course, scandalous spurts of both violence and vulgarity, but a leader like Mr. Naicker whose courage of conviction has ever been distinctive of his character, has a right, to be believed when he disavows violence. What, then, is left of the charge on which he is now convicted? Presumably it was for leading a movement that Government did not like that he has been sentenced to jail for a year and ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000. We, for our part, are staunchly pro-Hindi and have nothing but detestation for some of the ways of the anti-Hindi agitators, but we feel that it is a strange interpretation of earnestness for a cause that dissenters professing non-violence should be visited with ruthless penalties. There is no merit in conceding liberty to those that are in perfect agreement with us. The real test of freedom lies in the toleration of differences, however inconvenient, and it is not the function of the Congress, in the name of administrative necessity, to step into the role of the bureaucrat fond of repression whom Congressmen had ever been condemning prior to office acceptance. The sort of severity now called into play against Mr. Naicker reflects badly on the need for separating the executive from the judiciary, but it is not likely to advance the cause of Hindi. A fine of Rs. 1,000 we regard as a barbarous one. English Courts rarely inflict fines of more than a few pounds for the most heinous offences. Have our Government conceived the bright idea of extracting revenue from the purses of their political opponents in exchange for the Criminal Law Amendment methods which they gave some Indian States?

Some of the statements made in Court by the convicted old leader in the course of his trial are:

"Picketers did not cause obstruction to students or teachers."

"I have not instigated any one to commit any offence."

"The object of the anti-Hindi movement is not to transgress the law."

"I ask for the maximum punishment which will satisfy the Congress ministers and the lowest class in jail which will satisfy their desire to wreak vengeance."

## *Congress President on the Federation Issue*

On the 26th December, we finished our notes on the Viceroy's speech which dwelt mainly on the Federal Scheme. On the 27th, we found in the morning papers that on the previous day the Congress President met Bombay journalists at a Press Conference and discussed with them many questions such as how Congress may fight Federation, the Indian States' people's struggle for responsible government, etc.

With regard to federation, Mr. Bose said that the plan of Congress Opposition to the Federal Scheme contained in the Government of India Act of 1935 would be on the whole in accordance with the general policy and principle of the Congress, namely, non-co-operation. What shape this non-co-operation would take—whether there would be non-co-operation even at the stage of the federal election or at the stage of acceptance of office after the election was a matter of detail and tactics which would be decided on the exigencies of the situation then existing.

Asked whether Congress Ministries would be called upon to resign as a part of the Congress campaign against Federation, the Congress President said: "At this stage I can only say that if there is a struggle we shall offer opposition from every quarter. It is quite possible that we may not call upon the Ministers to resign if we feel that their remaining in power will strengthen our struggle, on the contrary, if we feel that our struggle will be stronger if they resigned, we shall do so."

Mr. Bose was asked whether the Congress would contest the elections to the Federal legislature in the event of Muslims and the representatives of Indian States, who could together form a majority, agreed to work the scheme? He replied that, even if the requisite number of Princes agreed to join the Federation, the British Government would not be able to introduce Federation on account of the opposition from British India and the agitation in the States. He personally thought that Federation could not be introduced until at least a section of Congressmen were made to accept it.

In reply to another question, Mr. Bose said that it would not be inconsistent to contest the election to the Federal legislature even if the Congress policy be to offer an uncompromising attitude to Federation. The criterion would be whether by contesting the elections the Congress would be stronger. The future course of action in regard to Federation and all matters connected with it would be considered at the Tripuri Session of the Congress.

There are several 'ifs' in the Congress President's replies to queries. Two of them are: "if there is a struggle, we shall offer opposition from every quarter"; and, "it would not be inconsistent to contest the elections to the Federal Legislature even if the Congress policy be to offer an uncompromising attitude to Federation." The first 'if' may perhaps lead to the assumption that a struggle is not inevitable. The second 'if' leaves room for anticipating that the Congress attitude may not after all be one of uncompromising opposition to

the British-made federal scheme. But all previous utterances of the Congress President on the subject led to the impression that, whatever the opinion of other Congress leaders might be, he was uncompromising and thorough-going in his opposition to that scheme.

"Sj. Bose was asked whether Congress would contest the elections to the Federal Legislature in the event of Muslims and the representatives of Indian States, who could together form a majority, agreed to work the scheme."

Neither this question nor Sj. Bose's reply mentions the probability of Hindu Mahasabha members agreeing to work the scheme. Is the Hindu Mahasabha negligible or unmentionable?

Sj. Bose's final reference to the subject in the Bombay interview with pressmen is contained in the sentence:

"The future course of action in regard to Federation and all matters connected with it would be considered at the Tripuri session of the Congress."

An inevitable and discreet statement.

It is anticipated in certain quarters that Congress fulminations against Federation would turn out to be brutum fulmen, or stage thunder.

### Congress President on the Communal Question

In the course of his talk with Bombay pressmen,

"The communal question, said Sj. Bose, would be one of the important problems which the next meeting of the Working Committee would consider. Grievances made out by Muslims against the Congress would be considered point by point and an attempt would be made to meet the legitimate ones."

The Congress should undoubtedly use its influence and powers to the utmost to remove the legitimate grievances of the Muslims.

But what of the grievances of the Hindus in Bengal? They have many legitimate grievances. So have the Hindus (and the Sikhs) of the North-West Frontier Province. But the Muslim chief minister of that Province told a deputation of some Hindu and Sikh Congress M. L. A.s that if they did not like his (communal) policy, they were at liberty to leave the Congress any day! The policy was to give preference to Muslims because they were the majority, irrespective of the superior qualifications and seniority of non-Muslims.

### Congress and the Communal Decision

The Congress has been nominally following the policy of neither accepting nor rejecting

the Communal Decision, but in reality some Congress provincial governments have accepted that so-called Award. The Bihar Government has issued a list of the scheduled castes of Chota Nagpur. Does the Congress think that the Hindu community should be vivisected into two parts, one consisting of the so-called caste Hindus and the other of the scheduled castes? This division and the expression 'scheduled castes' are inventions of the British imperialist Government. But the Congress appears to have accepted them.

When the non-Muslim deputation which waited upon the N.-W. F. Province prime minister placed some facts relating to public appointments before him, he said that the minority in that province had already got sufficient weightage, which the deputation did not accept as correct. Be that as it may, does the Congress accept the principle that in making appointments in the public services some communal numerical proportions are to be observed irrespective of qualifications and that the claims of persons possessing the best qualifications are to be disregarded provided only that the communal numerical proportions are observed?

### Responsible Government to be Granted in Rajkot

RAJKOT, Dec. 26.

The 'satyagraha' in Rajkot which started three months ago has ended, according to a pamphlet issued this morning signed by the 14th Dictator.

The pamphlet says that as a result of parleys between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the Thakore Sahib last evening responsible government is in sight.

An announcement will be made in the evening about the granting of responsible government and it is stated that all political prisoners will be released. The special measures that were brought into force recently to combat the 'satyagraha' will also be withdrawn.

A message from Ahmedabad states that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had discussions with the Thakore Sahib till late last night and has come to a settlement as a result of which the 'satyagraha' will terminate, the political prisoners will be released and the State will withdraw all the special measures.

### SETTLEMENT ARRIVED AT

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who arrived here yesterday afternoon, was invited by the Thakore Sahib for an interview at 6 p.m. The Sardar and the Thakore Sahib had a heart to heart talk for eight hours during which they discussed the whole ground again and the terms of a settlement. As a result of this prolonged discussion an amicable settlement was reached at 2 a.m.

Emerging from the palace at 2 a.m. the Sardar was greeted by the waiting crowd to whom he dramatically announced that as a result of his talks with the Thakore Sahib a settlement had been reached.

## TERMS OF SETTLEMENT

Amidst popular rejoicing Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel announced to a gathering of thirty-thousand people here the terms of the settlement reached between him and the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot.

This included the appointment of a committee of ten consisting of the President to be nominated by the Thakore Sahib, and two officials and seven representatives of the Parishad, amnesty for all political prisoners; and remission of all fines.

Sardar Patel announced that the personnel of the committee would be announced tomorrow or the day after and that it had been agreed that reforms should be brought into force as early as possible before the end of January.

It had also been agreed that the grievances of farmers would be fully gone into and redressed.

On congratulating the people, particularly the business community, on the support they lent to the agitation at Rajkot which ended so successfully, Sardar Patel remarked that in his opinion this settlement was better than the one that was suggested some time back, but which did not fructify.

Sardar Patel also took the opportunity to congratulate the Thakore Sahib for making the settlement possible.

The meeting was preceded by a procession of 50,000 people which was led by the released political prisoners. Amidst enthusiastic scenes the procession marched through Rajkot streets for two hours.—A. P.

It is much to be desired that in other States also in which the people are carrying on the struggle for responsible government, the Rulers will graciously accede to the demands of their subjects.

### *Hyderabad State Congress Satyagraha Temporarily Suspended*

An Associated Press message, dated Wardhaganj December 26, states that apropos the suspension of the Satyagraha movement by the Hyderabad State Congress, the Working Committee of the State Congress has released a statement clarifying the situation, of which the major portion is printed below :

tion. We could not disregard the advice of leaders whose sympathy and support are always a valuable asset in the conduct of the struggle for Swaraj within the State.

We suspend the civil disobedience movement in the hope that it will not need to be revived. But whether it will have to be revived and if so when, will depend wholly upon the State authorities. It is not without a wrench that we are suspending the struggle when more than 400 of our comrades are undergoing sentences of imprisonment varying from two months to 3½ years. We have more than 2,500 persons on our list as volunteers. The list is daily increasing, every fresh arrest bringing in an addition to the list. We have had embarrassing offers of volunteers from outside. We have been obliged to decline offers, as we realise that the movement in order to remain strictly non-violent, must depend upon internal strength and support.

But we have no desire to use our strength and undergo suffering, if we can achieve our end through negotiation and entreaty. We hope that the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam will recognise the wholly peaceful and loyal motive underlying the suspension. We hope that they will release the civil disobedience prisoners and lift the ban on the State Congress and its activities and pave the way to the inauguration of a scheme of Responsible Government with reasonable safeguards for the rights of minorities.

We support this hope.

### *The Struggle for Freedom in Hyderabad*

It would be a matter for satisfaction if the Nizam's Government respected the hope of the State Congress Satyagrahis.

We have to bear in mind that on the date of this writing (27th December), we have not received any information that the Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union have suspended their movements.

The struggle in Hyderabad is different in some respects from the struggle which is being carried on in some of the other States. In the latter generally the people have been fighting for civic and political rights. In Hyderabad, too, the struggle includes the fight for civic and political rights. The Hyderabad State Congress Satyagraha represents this aspect of the struggle.

### All-India Aryan Congress

As the Hyderabad State refused permission to hold a session of the All-India Aryan Congress in it, it was held at Sholapur, near the borders of the State, by the Arya-Samajists, with Mr. M. S. Aney as president. Pandit Dattatreya-prasad, chairman of the reception committee, enumerated the disabilities imposed on the Hindus and the Arya-Samajists in respect of their religious observances.

The Aryas, he said, are not allowed to construct "Havan Kund" or to hoist "Om" flag in the State where religious meetings in temples are banned. He added that whenever Hindu and Muslim festivals coincide the Hindus are not allowed to observe theirs. A Government circular prohibits repair of any temple in predominantly Muslim quarters when it so requires, and similarly Hindus residing near a mosque are not allowed to keep pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses that may be seen from the mosque. On the other hand, he narrated, "Tablig" movement is going on in the State for the conversion of the Hindus. The members of depressed classes, that number about 24 lakhs, are given all facilities on their conversion to Islam. He deplored that the State authorities are trying to destroy the culture of the Hindus by killing their language, ancient history and religious literature. The Hindus who number about 69 per cent. of the total population in the State get only 10 per cent. representation in State services. Four prominent Arya workers, namely Pandit Ramchandra Dehlin, Pandit Shiv Chandra, Pandit Chandra Bahau and Pandit Vyasdev Shastri, who tried for redress of these grievances, were interned from the State, and a few others including Ved Prakash, Dharm Prakash and Mahadev laid down their lives at the hands of the Muslims for preaching Arya tenets.

Some extracts are given below from Mr. M. S. Aney's presidential address.

He quoted facts and figures to show how the Muslims who numbered a little over 10 per cent. of the total population played a dominant part in the affairs and activities of the State. Out of 728 Gazetted posts in the State services 543 were held by the Muslims and 183 by Hindus and the judicial service was practically monopolised by the Muslims.

Here is an extract from a private communication:

"Suffice it to say, that there is complete suppression of all civil liberties for Hindus, while the Muslims are not only at full liberty to say whatever they like (which are more often than not nasty and provocative) both in the press and from the platform, but also indulge in fanatic and reprehensible ways. There have been cases of the nature of Bindu Gowalia's case, and in a more hideous and provocative form.....The rules and regulations make any assemblage impossible without a permit (we have in fact been under a perpetual reign of martial law). The other means of protest, viz., the press, has also been shut up for us. The Agency is paid Rs. 2,000 per month, and the—and other papers have regular and fat subsidies. The National press is always hesitant to give publicity to atrocious facts about this State owing to the false notions about communalism that have been set afloat by—. Within the State no Hindu is allowed to start a paper....Papers started outside to ventilate the State Hindus' grievances, as well as Hindu Mahasabha and Arya Samaj papers, have been banned."

### Famous Czech Writer's Death

PRAGUE, Dec. 25

The death has occurred of the well-known writer Karel Capek aged 48.—*Reuter*.

Our readers will remember that one of Karel Capek's books, containing his conversations with the late President Masaryk, was noticed in this Review some months ago.

### Dr. Khan Sahib on Grievances of Minorities in N.-W. F. P.

As we have referred in some previous notes on the grievances of minorities in N.-W. F. Province, the assurance of the prime minister of the Province is given below.

### Sir Brajendra Nath Seal

The death of Sir Brajendra Nath Seal has removed from our midst India's greatest contemporary savant. He took all knowledge for his province and tried to master all branches of learning and keep pace with their progress. His constant endeavour to be up-to-date in all fields of knowledge up to the day of his breakdown, was perhaps one of the reasons why he was unable to leave for his contemporaries and future generations any work that can give any adequate idea of his great intellect and his versatile genius. For he was not a mere learned man who had garnered in his mind the heritage of past ages. His genius was capable of new creations. Such a creation was his poetical production, *The Eternal Quest*, written in 1892 but published so recently as 1937. He was known as a philosopher, and a philosopher he certainly was in the most comprehensive sense, but not in any narrow sense. He wrote of the Positive Sciences of the Hindus. He wrote *New Essays in Criticism*. Trying to solve problems in higher mathematics was his recreation. That he was an authority in anthropology and ethnology was acknowledged by his election to open the First Universal Races Congress in London in 1911. When he was Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University he drew up an educational scheme for that state which embraced all stages of education from the primary to the post-graduate University stage, providing facilities for pursuing vocational or cultural courses at the end of each stage. In Mysore, too, he drew up a constitution in which the provision for safeguarding minority rights showed his statesmanship. The scheme for giving state aid and state encouragement to industries in that State owed much to his knowledge of matters economic and industrial. It was to him that in the field of politics Bipin Chandra Pal and others owed much of their philosophical ideas. A whole host of pupils, some both in name and reality and others in reality, though not in name, owe him an immense debt of gratitude for ideas and materials for their works in different fields of knowledge. It is no derogation to the masterly intellect of Sir Asutosh Mookerji to say that but for the co-operation and collaboration of Dr. Seal he could not have elaborated and carried to fruition many of his educational plans.

What Sir Michael Sadler, President of the Calcutta University Commission, owed to him had better be stated in Sir Michael's own words,

as published in this Review in January, 1936 :

"May one of his pupils (for pupil I was during the years 1917-19 and shall always revere him as one of my *Gurus*) express in a few words love and admiration for Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, and gratitude, which grows



Sir Brajendra Nath Seal

with the years, for his guidance in my thought and for what he taught me during many long and intimate discussions about education and about the needs and genius of India ?

"He was indeed guide, philosopher and friend to me. More than fifteen years have passed since we last met in the flesh. But the feeling of his presence is still strong in my mind. So close was the friendship which he allowed to grow up between us, that I can still turn to him as if I were at his side and can hear the kindly tone of his voice. Guru indeed he was to me, and I bless his name. There are streets and lanes in Calcutta, there are paths and terraces in Darjeeling, which were the backgrounds of our talks. And, as if I were still in Bengal, I can see what I saw then and hear once more what I then heard.

"In several volumes of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, and notably in volumes 7, 9, 10 and 12, there are writings from the pen of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal which are of permanent value and worth, I hope, be reprinted (at least in part) in any future issue of this Review."

Brajendra Nath Seal the man was as great as or perhaps greater than Brajendra Nath Seal the savant and the versatile genius and idealist. Pure-souled and free from guile, he was like one of our sages and seers of antiquity. At the celebration of the completion of the 72nd year of his life on December 19, 1935, striking tributes were paid to him by many distinguished persons, the most notable being the magnificent poem of Rabindranath Tagore addressed to him, printed at the time in *Prabasi* and this Review.

### *The Last Week of December*

During the last week or last nine or ten days of December so many conferences of varying importance, of a political, social, educational, scientific, economic, industrial, and philosophical or other cultural character are held in different parts of India that it is impossible to notice even a few of them. That we are not able to do so is not because of our unwillingness but is due to its impracticability.

### *Congress and the Indian States*

The attitude of the Indian National Congress toward the struggle for freedom in the Indian States is wise and judicious. A people can gain their object mainly in reality by their own strength. So it is wise to let the people of any State, struggling to be free, know that it is by their own capacity for combination, sacrifice and suffering that they can succeed. This is not to say that they are to be left alone without any help from outside. They have the moral support of the Indian National Congress and other Nationalist bodies and also pecuniary help from outside as far as it can reach them. But it is best for them not to expect persons from outside to join in their Satyagraha or other movements. For the entry of such persons into the State concerned can be and has often

been stopped. Moreover, such participation of men from British India in any State's people's struggle may give rise to complications between some provincial authorities and those of the State concerned. It is good also to make it impossible, so far as that can be done, for the authorities of the States to say that the struggles within them are incited and aided from outside, but are not of indigenous growth.

### *Struggle for Freedom in the Indian States*

The struggle for freedom has been going on in many Indian States for some time past. We are glad that it has already been successful in a few States. That is an augury for success in the others, too. Though we are unable to give details of the struggle in the different States, we deeply sympathize with their people. Harrowing accounts of the oppression going on in many States in Orissa and other parts of India have been published in the papers. We feel deeply for the sufferers, and trust that their unmerited cruel sufferings will not go in vain.

### *Congress Ban on the Hindu Mahasabha*

By one of its resolutions the Congress Working Committee has named the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League as communal organizations, which are "out of bounds," as it were, for Congressmen.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League are communal organizations in the sense that they are organizations whose membership is confined to their respective religious communities. There the resemblance between them ends. Even in the sense in which they are communal organizations there is a difference. The Muslim League does not admit any but Muslims to its membership. The Hindu Mahasabha admits to membership not only those who are popularly known as Hindus but also Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Brahmins and Aryasamajists.

Just as the Congress is to be judged, and is judged, by its constitution and its creed, and would refuse to be judged otherwise, e.g., by the speeches of its leaders and rank and file, so the Hindu Mahasabha should be judged by its constitution and its authorized manifesto or manifestoes, not by the speeches or writings of its leaders or rank and file.

In order to enable the public to judge whether the Hindu Mahasabha is a communal organization in any sinister, offensive, aggres-



sive and anti-national sense, we print below a statement unanimously approved at a meeting of its Working Committee held on March 23, 1931, at New Delhi at which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took the leading part. This statement was confirmed at the subsequent plenary session of the Hindu Mahasabha and has not yet, to our knowledge, been altered or withdrawn.

"The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue. It believes that no form of national responsible self government which India is struggling to achieve and which England is pledged to agree to, is compatible with separate communal electorate or representation in the legislature and administration, which function for the general good and secular well-being of the country as a whole. It is prepared to sacrifice and expects all other communities to sacrifice, communal considerations to build up such responsible governments, which can be worked only by a ministry of persons belonging to the same political party and not necessarily to the same creed, so that agreement on public questions, economic, social and political, should be the basis of mutual confidence and co-operation.

"The position of the Mahasabha is embodied in the following propositions:

"(1) There should be one common electoral roll consisting of voters of all communities and creeds as citizens and nationals of the same state.

"(2) There should not be any separate communal electorate, that is, grouping of voters by religion in constituency constituencies.

"(3) There should not be any reservation of seats for any religious community as such in the legislature.

"(4) There should not be any weightage given to any community, as it can be done only at the expense of another.

Hindus, nor does it seek to deprive Indian nationals of other communities of any of their legitimate equal rights as citizens. Hence its outlook is thoroughly national. The Congress Working Committee has acted unjustly and unwisely in placing it in the same class with the Muslim League, which wants separate and special privileges for Muslims and is anti-national in its outlook and activities.

### *Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi*

Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, whose death at a mature age was announced last month, was, in the opinion of those who know, the maker, or at least one of the makers, of modern Hindi prose. When at the suggestion of an acquaintance who was and still is a journalist, the late Babu Chintamani Ghosh, founder and proprietor of the Indian Press of Allahabad started the Hindi monthly magazine *Saraswati*, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi was appointed its editor. Chintamani Babu's choice was amply justified. Pandit Dwivedi made the journal the leading Hindi magazine of his day. Hindi journalists called him *āchārya*, for he was indeed a master of the journalistic craft. He was a competent critic and a good selector of articles and poems. Under his guidance many new writers acquired maturity of style. His own writings, we have heard, were models of Hindi prose. Latterly he had been leading a retired life discontinuing literary activity, which meant a loss to Hindi literature.

University led to his appointment as a professor in the Bengali Department of the Dacca University. There he won the love and respect of his pupils and the confidence of his colleagues as a scholar.

As a man of letters he is best known as a novelist. He has left some forty novels, besides some short stories. He was one of the most prolific of Bengali story-writers. He commanded a copious vocabulary and an attractive style, and had a facile pen. He wrote almost to the end of his days. He edited some old Bengali works, such as "Sunya Purān," "Chandi Kāvya," with scholarly introductions and learned annotations. His "Rabi-Rashmi," Vol 1 is the most voluminous of commentaries and annotations on Rabindranath's poetical works. He cherished the desire to see the publication of the second and concluding volume of this work. But that was not to be.

In recognition of his extensive and scholarly knowledge of the Bengali language and literature, the Dacca University conferred on him the degree of MA *honoris causa*.

He had travelled extensively in India and wrote a very interesting account of his travels in *Prabasi*.

pādhyāy, I. C. S., enables the reader to understand the importance of his work.

On our return journey from Karachi after attending the Congress session there in 1931, we visited the Mohenjo-daro site. Majumdar was there at that time the officer in charge. He very kindly showed us all that was worth seeing there, with his expert knowledge.

### All-India Medical Conference

MERUT, Dec. 27.

"One of our greatest drawbacks has no doubt been that Government did not view our movement favourably and it was dubbed as a political agitation," observed Dr George Da' Silva, presiding over the XV session of the All-India Medical Conference, which opened here this morning in the premises of the Merrut College.

Dr. Da' Silva noted with regret that the Association had not received sufficient support from the medical profession in India. "In spite of Congress Ministers taking over the administration of most of the provinces, our brothers in Government service are either not permitted or are not bold enough to become members of this association."

Dr. Da' Silva propounded two reasons for the deficiency of research work in India. Firstly, he said, the hospital authorities did not sufficiently encourage it and even those medical practitioners who were in easy circumstances were loath to sacrifice part of their practice; secondly, the I M S and others who were in a position to prosecute research lacked either the time or the knowledge.

"Even for tropical diseases, he pointed out, we have even now to depend on our western brethren to increase our knowledge in pathology and treatment."

In connection with the growing unemployment among medical men, Dr Da' Silva suggested that it would go to the credit of those, particularly young men, who went into the villages to earn a respectable if meagre, living.

— H S

### Some Government of India Appointments

After the retirement of Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir Jafarullah Khan is to become law member of the Government of India. After the incumbency of a lawyer of the eminence of Sir N. N. Sircar, whose great ability is admitted on all hands, the appointment of a mediocrity is an anti-climax.

When Sir James Grigg, the finance member, retires his place will be taken by his secretary, who is an I.C.S. Such an appointment cannot be commended.

### Keshub Chunder Sen Centenary Exhibition

In most provinces of India, in many towns and cities, the centenary of the birth of Keshub Chunder Sen has been or is being celebrated. Part of the celebrations in Calcutta took place in November last. They were continued in December and will conclude this month. The

December celebrations in Calcutta included an exhibition.

In connection with the Birth Centenary celebrations of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen a Cultural and Industrial Exhibition was opened at Wellington Square on Wednesday evening in the presence of a large gathering.

In the presence of the Mayor of Calcutta, Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj, a daughter of Keshub Chunder, performed the opening ceremony, which was held at a spacious decorated pandal specially erected for the occasion.

The proceedings commenced with Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore's famous song "Jana Gana Mana Adhunayaka" sung in chorus by a number of girls and a prayer by Dr. B. C. Ghosh.

On behalf of the organizers of the function Sri Jnananjan Neogi at first regretted that it had not been possible for them to make the exhibition as great a success as they wanted it to be because they had to organize it within a very short time. Keshub Chunder Sen, the speaker pointed out, was a great believer in the culture of India and it was one of the cherished dreams of his life that his country should develop industrially and in the field of art. In organizing this Cultural and Industrial Exhibition the organizers had not lost sight of that fact and he would like to request everybody to remember that when paying a visit to the exhibition.

To many people in modern times said Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Keshub Chunder was nothing more than a religious reformer. But the speaker would like to point out that the ideas and aspirations of the modern young man had found expression in the life of Keshub Chunder as far back as the year 1861. It could very well be said that Keshub Chunder was the living embodiment of freedom. He wanted man to attain fulness in every sphere of activity. In his time he represented the very spirit of modern India.

In declaring the exhibition open Maharani Sucharu Devi said that it was a proud day of her life and she would only like to join with others in recalling with pride the lofty ideals which Brahmananda preached and pursued in his life.

### *Keshub Chunder Sen and the Masses*

In our article in the last November number on Keshub Chunder Sen and "Nation-building" it was shown how he felt and worked for the welfare of the masses. Some extracts given below from his nine letters written in 1872 to the Viceroy Lord Northbrook and published in *The Indian Mirror* at that time will throw further light on the subject.

"Equally bitter and harmful is the misunderstanding which rages between the zemindars and the ryots. The landed aristocracy in India had for ages enjoyed and exercised unlimited power over the tenantry, and often under the impulse of ambition and avarice subjected them to most unjust and cruel oppressions. Though there are honourable men amongst the landholders, it would not be too much to say that, as a class, they have abused their powers and privileges and neglected their duties to the ryots, whom they have reduced to a most miserable condition of intellectual and moral penury, pitiable to behold. The downtrodden masses of the tenantry deserve your Lordship's peculiar solicitude and care; to ameliorate their condition should be one of your foremost duties. Yet it would be unwise and dangerous to sacrifice for

their sake the interests and just prerogatives of the land holders, or allow their prejudices in any way to impede the advancement of the nation. The poor and helpless ryot should be protected and saved from the tyranny of his masters but his unreasonable and unjust demands and his silly opposition to truth and civilization ought to be vigorously discountenanced and proscribed."

The next extract depicts the miserable condition of the dumb millions

"But alas! how sad and pitiable is the condition of the dumb millions in India! The light of knowledge has not descended to their humbler dwellings, and like their forefathers centuries ago, they are subject to all the evils—political, social and moral,—which ignorance brings in its train. Not only are the masses of the people debarred from the higher advantages and pleasures of learning, but they woefully suffer physical hardships, privations and oppressions, disease and death in consequence of their ignorance and deep-rooted prejudices. Illiterate, poor, credulous, weak and helpless—often at the mercy of grasping priests, rapacious zemindars, cruel planters and a vicious police—their lives are truly miserable. Who will compassionate the sufferings of the downtrodden masses in India and help to elevate them from their degraded condition by extending to them the blessings of education?"

The three paragraphs which follow relate to their education

"My Lord if you wish to educate the tenantry, let them not be left any longer at the mercy of the rich and the opulent, who have through selfishness or indolence, greatly neglected them so long. An efficient system of cheap vernacular schools must be organized by the state itself to benefit the masses directly."

We must somehow get at the agricultural and the working classes. A large number of evening schools should be opened for their special benefit, where the pupils, after the day's work is done, may receive elementary instructions of a practically useful character."

"The instruction to be imparted to the masses should be of a really useful character. Besides reading, writing and arithmetic they ought to be imbued with such rudiments of sciences as are needed to rectify popular prejudices. If a ryot, the pupil should also be able to write, to use the words of Mr Seton-Karr, 'a letter of business', to draw out a bond to understand the terms of a mortgage, to cast up his accounts and to understand the scope of Act X of 1839." (As an action, he should have such scientific information as may excite his interest in his occupation and make him ambitious to improve it.)"

These are only some of the passages which can be extracted from Keshub Chunder Sen's letters to Lord Northbrook—passages which are not merely of historical but of really present-day interest and present-day application also.

### *All-India "Progressive" Writers' Conference*

The All-India "Progressive" Writers' Conference, which met at its second session in Calcutta on 24th December last at the Anantash Memorial Hall (Bowbaniore), declared that it was the sacred duty of all those who loved culture to align themselves with "the forces in this country which were

political emancipation of India and to help through their writings and through all the moral and material forces at their disposal, the struggle for freedom of the Indian people.

The proceedings of the conference commenced with the reading of an article on Kemal Atatürk by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

One of the resolutions adopted by the Conference, while welcoming the extension of civil liberties to Indians under the Congress Ministries, protested against restrictions on freedom of speech and organisations in certain Provinces and the Indian States and the ban against the entry of "progressive" literature into this country imposed by the Government of India. The Conference called upon all persons and organisations interested in the growth of the progressive forces in India to organise countrywide protests against such restrictions and to secure a reversal of this policy.

### *Message to Students' All-India Cultural Conference*

At the request of the promoters of the All-India Cultural Conference, organized by the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, Srijit Ramananda Chatterjee gave the Conference the following message :

"I warmly congratulate our students on their decision to hold a cultural conference in connection with the All-India Student Conference. The value of culture cannot be exaggerated. Those peoples of antiquity which devoted themselves to all-embracing culture have bequeathed to humanity imperishable legacies in the spheres of literature, art, science and philosophy, in addition to leaving for our inspiration examples of unsurpassed heroism in peace and war and of supreme statesmanship in the region of political thought and activity. I need mention only the name of the ancient Athenians in this connection. By exclusive devotion to the science and art of fighting the Spartans, no doubt, produced some great military leaders but what else have they left to humanity except the names of these men? And even as soldiers they were not superior to the Athenians, who were votaries of all-round culture. The ancient Phœnicians excelled in commerce and attained great economic prosperity. They even produced a general like Hannibal. But, not having paid any attention to cultural progress, they have left nothing to posterity for which it may be grateful to them. In modern times, the Australians, the New Zealanders, and many of the South American republics are prosperous; and they have their politics, too. Compared to their size and wealth, however, their cultural achievement is meagre. But it is only the affluence of soul, heart, and intellect, denoted culture, that endures.

"Hence it is that we find that it is not only non-politically-minded persons, not only politically-minded Reformists, but great Revolutionaries also who have attached the greatest importance to culture. For example, Lenin, Russia's greatest Revolutionary, 'constantly insisted that communism . . . can only be understood as the outcome of the whole of human science and culture, on the basis of an exact study of all that previous ages, including especially capitalist society, had achieved.'

"I wish the students' cultural conference enduring success."

### *Nagpur Session of Hindu Mahasabha*

Of all the gatherings of the last week of December perhaps the greatest and the biggest was that of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Nagpur

NAGPUR, Dec. 23.

An imposing reception was given to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President-elect, 20th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha, at the Railway Station this morning. The most remarkable feature of the reception was "Pushpa Vrihti" (shower of flowers) from an aeroplane. Mr. Savarkar with Gurjadas, President-elect, Hindu Mahila Parishad, and Kshatras Jagadguru, President elect, Hindu Youths' Conference arrived by Bombay Mail, and were received at the platform by Mr. M. G. Chitnavis, Chairman, Reception Committee and Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Mr. J. P. Verma and Dr. L. A. Paranjape. Three thousand men and women volunteers presented a guard of honour to Mr. Savarkar. Mr. Kedar M.L.A. (Congress), Vice-Chancellor Nagpur University, garlanded Mr. Savarkar, and Dr. N. B. Khare, ex Premier, as he approached him, was locked in a close embrace for a couple of minutes.

After the garlanding of Mr. Savarkar by various organizations, the whole concourse of people converted itself into a loose procession. The Hindu Sabha banner was carried on an elephant and the President-elect was taken in a brougham drawn by horses. The procession started on its six mile route march. Every conceivable place of vantage on the way was occupied by enthusiastic men and women who showered flowers as the presidential chariot passed along the route. The procession passed through fifty gates or arches erected in honour of Mr. Savarkar and it took more than 4 hours for the procession to reach its destination. It terminated at the flagpost of the pandal on Patwardhan grounds where Mr. Savarkar performed the flag hoisting ceremony amid cheers and there was another shower of flowers from the aeroplane.

The open session of the Mahasabha commenced at 4 this evening.—U. P.

### *Address of Mr. M. G. Chitnavis*

"The fusion of all Hindus is the ultimate aim of the Hindu Mahasabha, but every change connotes some essential conditions, which the community, which at present considers itself in an aggrieved position has to accept before it can come to the desired position. In the meanwhile every community is free to agitate for its betterment and to bring together and amalgamate the sub-castes before wider fusion is attempted. There are so many sub-castes at present that it staggers one's imagination to attempt to realise the vast field and see that it is not only the case of the depressed classes but there are

ment and it had been compelled to hand over some substantial power to the Indians, the Moslems jumped down the fence and claimed their pound of flesh."

Mr. Savarkar reiterated the Hindu Maha-sabha's opposition to the Communal "Award":

"The Hindus will never tolerate the absurd and the unheard-of claim of the minorities to have any preferential treatment, weightages or special favours, over and above what the majority community obtains. The Hindu nation will go so far as to accept the equitable national principle of 'one man one vote' irrespective of religion or race or culture in the formation of a common Indian State. But it shall knock on the head any political demand that claims 'one Moslem three votes' and 'three Hindus one vote' or any cultural demand that antagonises or insults or suppresses Hindu culture in its historical, linguistic or racial aspect. The Minorities will be free to follow their religion, speak their language, develop their culture amongst themselves, provided it does not infringe on the equal rights of others or is not opposed to public peace and morality. If the Moslems join us on these equitable conditions and bear undivided loyalty to the Indian State and Indian State alone, well and good. Otherwise our formula holds good, 'If you come, with you, if you don't, without you; but if you oppose, in spite of you'—we Hindus will fight out the good battle of achieving the independence of India and herald the rebirth of a free and mighty Hindu nation in the near future."

Mr. Savarkar warned the British

"to take serious note of the fact of the open declaration of the Moslem League to divide India into two parts: leaving the alien Moslem nations from outside India to form a Moslem Federation and raise an Independent Moslem Kingdom in India. The British may find in the end that in their attempts to encourage the Moslem separation movement just to spite the Hindus the British have but succeeded in spitting themselves."

Regarding the foreign policy of the Hindus Mr. Savarkar said that

no academic and empty slogans of Democracy or Nazism or Fascism could be its guiding principle, but it would be viewed from an outspoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view.

Towards the minorities the attitude of the Hindus under the present circumstances must be differential. The Hindus would assure them all, that they hate none, neither the Moslems nor the Christians nor the Europeans, but henceforth Hindus shall take good care to see that none of them dared to hate or belittle the Hindus.

He exhorted the Dewan of Cochin to set his face sternly against any proposal or outside pressure to allow Jews to colonise the lands of Cochin.

Appealing for Hindu solidarity,

he emphasised the need to carry on the "Shuddhi" movement on the same voluntary and legitimate basis as that of the Christian missionaries. In this connection he added that the Christian minority in India is civil, has no extraterritorial political designs against India, is not linguistically and culturally adverse to the Hindus and therefore can be politically assimilated with us.

Referring to the present situation in the Travancore State, Mr. Savarkar said:

"It is only in our Travancore State that the Christians seem to cherish some political design against the

Hindu State and it is only there that we shall have to treat them with some political distrust by not allowing them too much latitude in the State affairs and officers, till they too cease to be political suspects to the Hindus as the Christians in other parts of India have ceased to be."

Mr. Savarkar in the course of his long address traced the historical background of the Hindus and said that Hindus had flourished in this land and it had been a Hindu nation for the last five thousand years.

He appealed for Hindu solidarity.—U. P.

We reserve our comments on the two Hindu Maha-sabha addresses and on the resolutions it has passed.

### All-India Women's Conference

A programme of "Constructive Politics" was sketched by Rani Lakshmi Bai Rajwade in her presidential address to the 13th session of the All-India Women's Conference on the 28th December last at Delhi. This programme, said the Rani Saheba, should be such as to meet the criticism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the Conference was a wholly bourgeois organisation.

She accepted the criticism in so far as it meant that the Conference was not making any marked effort to serve or to come into vital contact with the real mass of Indian women. The Rani Saheba observed, "You and I will gladly agree with Pandit Nehru's claim that the present awakening among women is due more to what the Congress has been doing than to our Conference."

It is strange that both Pandit Nehru and the Rani Saheba forgot (or do not know?) what the Brahmo Samaj and other reforming bodies have done for the awakening, emancipation and uplift of women.

Finally the A I W C might impress upon its members and on other women the importance of making use of the vote towards the attainment of political freedom.

These were some of the ways, said the Rani Saheba, in which the phrase "constructive politics" might be translated into practice:

She declared herself totally against the idea of a women's party in the country. She thought that there was no necessity for a women's party so long as the question of Indian independence was not settled, it was the duty of women to subordinate their sectional interests to the larger interests, in which surely they were in complete unity with the men of India.

She thought that the A I W C, as a body should for some time to come, remain aloof from the disconcerting hurlyburly of party-politics, though individual members of the Conference were free to participate even in party politics. She added that the fear that if they so expanded the constitution, their States branches or constituencies would hesitate to continue their connection with their body. That was a wholly useless fear. The Dewan of a great South Indian State had assured them that women in the States need not be afraid of so expanding their organisation as to include purely constructive political activities.

In the field of education, too, she felt that they should undertake on a large scale some concrete work. Efforts

should be made to remove women's legal disabilities. She suggested the formation of a committee of legal experts to go into this question and prepare a comprehensive draft of amendments embodying the removal of those disabilities.

She concluded by saying that despite adverse criticisms about Indians being other-worldly, she would emphatically say that man did not live by bread alone. By all means, let them bring bread, light and air to those that needed it. But as Indians—as women—as human beings—let them also remember that in spite of all their monstrous social injustices and in spite of so much fake spirituality, their land had always essentially been a land of seers and sages. They should remember that the aiding strengths and freedoms and happinesses came ultimately out of the spirit—not out of their possessions. "We shall strike at poverty and social evil. But we shall do so with a full and sleepless realisation that we do it so that beauty shall come in and the spirit become free."—A. P.

The members of the Delhi Municipal Committee gave a civic reception to the delegates and the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference at the Town Hall. Mr. Rajnarain Khanna, Junior Vice-President of the Committee, presented an address of welcome. Mr. Evans, I.C.S., President of the Committee and the Deputy Commissioner, was present to receive the guests.

### **Literacy Campaigns in Congress Provinces, and in Bengal (?)**

Readers of newspapers know what steps have been taken in U. P., Bihar, and C. P. for the liquidation of illiteracy among children and adults and what sums of money have been granted and spent for the purpose.

A Cuttack message states that even in a poor and small province like Orissa the Congress ministry will spend one lakh of rupees for the removal of illiteracy. The education minister of that province will soon call a conference for obtaining the co-operation of the teachers and senior students of educational institutions, members of the legislature and of local bodies and the workers of all social welfare associations. Text-books and lantern slides are being specially prepared for the purpose.

But what is being done in Bengal? How much has the Bengal ministry spent for the purpose and how much has been budgeted for it? A Committee had been appointed, with the Director of Public Instruction at its head, for the spread of education among the masses. What is that Committee doing?

In the fifth letter on educational measures which Keshub Chunder Sen wrote to Lord Northbrook and which appeared in *The Indian Mirror* on July 12, 1872, he wrote:

"Nowhere in India is the contrast between high class and elementary education so striking and painful as in Bengal."

### **India's Defence By All Parts of India**

In the Indian section of the army in India sipahis belonging to the Panjab and N.-W. F. P. and Gurkhas have been the predominant element for many decades past. Owing to British policy, an impression has been allowed to grow up that they are the only martial people in India and that they alone can fight. But the greater portion of the British empire in India was acquired with the help of sipahis of other provinces and those parts of India which at present are (wrongly) considered to be the only nurseries of soldiers were conquered by Indian men belonging to those other parts of India which are at present (wrongly) considered to be inhabited only by non-martial people. The real truth is that all parts of India can produce both privates and officers. In the course of his inquiries in France Dr. B. S. Moonje found that many French military officers were sons of grocers, bank clerks, etc., and that the parentage of some is unknown—they having been brought up in orphanages. In Soviet Russia a very big and efficient army has been built up by recruitment from the proletariat, the bourgeoisie and aristocracy having been either driven away or exterminated. Even the officers are drawn from the ranks of ordinary people. And with such an army Russia is able to challenge Japan and hostile European powers to a trial of strength.

What is true of other countries in the world is true of India. Those Indians and non-Indians who think that recruiting for the army can continue to be confined only to some parts of India, or that that policy will suffice for the defence of India under the new world conditions are very much mistaken.

Changes have taken place in the government of the several Provinces which have now become somewhat autonomous. Similar changes are rapidly taking place in the Indian States also, particularly in the bigger States. When Federation will be established quite radical changes will take place in the constitution of the Government of India. Under the circumstances, the Indian Army cannot remain in its composition what it is today, that is, practically a monopoly of the Panjab and N.-W. F. Province. The "autonomous" Provinces will have to be represented in the army according to the proportions of their population. Recruitment for the Army will have to be thrown open to the Indian States also. This cannot be done unless the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial classes is done away with. Recruitment will have to be thrown open to all classes, irrespective of the considerations of

Standard rules of physical fitness will have to be formulated, and no man who comes up to the standard and is willing to make the army his profession, will be refused admission into the Army merely on the score of his caste or creed or class or place of birth, or province of origin. The sooner Government does this, the better for the defence of India.

### *Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan in Gauhati*

The Prabasi Banga-sahitya Sammelan, which is an annual cultural re-union, nominally of Bengalis living outside Bengal, but in reality of Bengalis living in Bengal also, met this year at Gauhati last week. The proceedings were marked throughout with great interest and enthusiasm. Srijukta Anurupa Devi, the senior-most lady-novelist of Bengal, was the general president. The sectional presidents were: Literature—Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, Benares University; Science—Professor Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, D.Sc., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, U.P.; Sociology—Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., Anthropologist, Ranchi; Greater Bengal—Professor Doctor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), Calcutta University; Art—Chaitanya Dev Chattopadhyay, Artist.

The chairman of the Reception Committee was Rai Bahadur Kalicharan Sen, B.L., a local leader of great eminence and philanthropic activity, who is past 80. He was assisted by influential and energetic Vice-Chairmen, general secretaries, sectional secretaries, treasurer, etc.

The Sammelan was opened by Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi, prime minister of Assam.

There was cordial exchange of views between the Assamese and Bengalis.

The presidential addresses were learned, instructive and thought-provoking. Some other similar papers were read. An attractive and informative lantern lecture on Indian art by Srijut O. C. Ganguly was a feature of the programme.

Delegates attended from Cawnpore, Patna, Jaipur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Naogaon, Lalmanirhat, Saugor (C. P.), Simla, Kathihar, Monghyr, Goalpara, Ranchi, Delhi, Kashi, Shillong, Muzaffarpur, Chapra, Bakhtiarpur, Gorakhpur, Mirzapur, and Calcutta.

### *Political Science Conference*

REVENUES, Dec. 22

The Hon. Premier Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, accompanied by Hon. Mr. Sampurnanandji, Education Minister, joined at the Hindu University to participate in the first Conference. The Pandit was

fully packed by the staff and students and delegates of the Conference from various parts of the country. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya came with the Premier at 11-30 A.M.

Pandit Malaviyaji, after welcoming the delegates, the Premier and the Education Minister, related the various "injustices and atrocities" meted out to the Indians in spite of their many sacrifices and pointed out the sufferings that the Indians have to undergo in other parts of the world. He then referred to the present-day problem of the Indians, such as unemployment and poverty and requested the scholars of political science to find out means to end these miseries. "We fail to realize the shame" added he, "which the Indians suffer elsewhere; that is why we don't try to remedy it. The great need of the day is food and physique, and this is possible when India achieves independence."

"Swaraaj is no longer our aspiration, but a realisation. It is just the time that such Conference should be inaugurated," said Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, the Premier, who spoke after Malaviyaji.

Continuing, the Premier said that the dream which they had been cherishing so long—the dream of independence—was soon coming to be fulfilled and no one would be able to stop it, and that they were making order out of disorder.

After referring to the monstrosities that were being perpetrated in the name of Political Science, the Hon'ble Premier said, "Political Science is a fundamental problem. It is not like biology, zoology or other sciences. Individualism is the ideal of the day, but political science must aim at the co-operating state. Feudalism and exploitation should cease. The objects of political science are not to be realized in the halls of the Universities, but in the battles of actual life."

A donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Benares Hindu University by the U. P. Government was announced by the Premier, while replying to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the staff and students of the Hindu University.

To the students he said that the responsibility for Swaraj rested on their shoulders. The world's independence should also be their look-out. "Follow the great example of Malaviyaji and success will be yours," added the Premier.

Referring to strikes by students he asked the students to follow the old system of Gurukul and observed that strikes should be between labour and capital, not between the teacher and the taught.

Scathing criticism of the Federal Scheme was voiced at the afternoon session of the Conference by the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú, Dr. Gyan Chand, Prof. Binayendra Nath Banerjee, Dr. B. M. Sharma and Prof. Venkatarangya. The discussion centred round Prof. G. N. Singh's thesis that Federation itself was unsuited to Indian conditions under present conditions, and the scheme envisaged in the Act was unprecedented and reactionary.

Papers were also read on the League of Nations and Dr. Menon opened a discussion on Indian Overseas with reference to Ceylon. Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú gave his experience of conditions in Australia and Ceylon.

The last day's subject-matter of discussion relates to the Provincial administration, with special emphasis on local self Government and the development of conventions. Prof. B. N. Banerjee of Calcutta has an interesting paper on Recent Rahing in Bengal Legislature, dealing particularly with relations between two Chambers and Governor's control over Provincial Finance. Prof. Venkatarangya, Mr. S. K. Lahiri and Mr. Mukut Behari Lal has papers relating to the various aspects of Municipal and rural self-Government.

The delegates were met at a party by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which was largely attended.

### *Brihat Maharashtra Parishat in Calcutta*

We are glad to note that last week the Brihat Maharashtra Parishat or Greater Maharashtra Assembly held its eighth session in Calcutta. Delegates came from different parts of India. About one hundred ladies of Maharashtra also took part in the proceedings. We regret we have not been placed in a position to give any details of the proceedings of the assemblage.

### *Olympic Games in Finland in 1940*

We learn with pleasure from the first number of *Olympic News-Service*, issued at Helsinki, the capital of Finland, that with limited time and funds at their disposal the Finns are making preparations for holding the Olympic Games in their country in 1940. Finland is a country of great athletes and sound sportsmanship.

### *Activities of the Visva-bharati*

SANTINIKETAN, Dec. 25.

Mr. Rathindra Nath Tagore, Karma Sachiva, in submitting his report of the working of Visva-bharati for the year 1938 said that the educational activities of the various institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan, had registered considerable progress during the current year.

"The Cheena Bhavan (Department) of Sino-Indian studies) completed its first year in March last and its achievements in that short period encourage us to build high hopes for its future. Prof. Tan Yun Shan went on leave to China last April and although his return has been delayed by the unsettled conditions in South China, he hopes to be able to join us soon. The sympathy of this institution, as also the sympathy of our whole nation, is with his brave people in the severest crisis of their history." During Prof. Tan's absence, Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, directed the academic activities of the department.

"The Hindi Bhavan, whose foundationstone was laid by Mr. C. F. Andrews in January last, and the cost of whose construction is being met from the donation received by the trustees of the estate of the late Rai Bahadur Bhiswaul Halwasaya, is nearing completion and we hope that by the end of January next we shall have the honour of having it declared formally open by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru."

"The Lok-Siksha-Samsad, which was started last year as an experiment in Adult Education for the Bengal villages has already justified our hopes and several candidates took advantage of the scheme and sat for the examination this year."

The term of office of our Vice-President, Mr. C. C. Dutt expires on the last date of this month. On the recommendation of the Founder President, the Samsad has elected Mr. C. F. Andrews as Vice President for the years 1939 and 1940.—A. P.

### *All-India Educational Conference*

BOMBAY, Dec. 27

"If we wish to create a better world, it is necessary that we should clearly visualize what type of man or woman we desire to educate a child into, and attempt to mould our system of education consciously for achieving that end. I am sure conferences like yours are designed to answer this purpose," observed the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier and Minister for Education, Bombay, inaugurating the fourteenth session of the All-India Educational Conference."

The Conference passed some 70 resolutions, covering all stages, forms and aspects of education. Sir T. Vijayaraghavachari presided. *All-India Local Self-Government Conference*

A plea for reducing the number of local self-governing bodies in this country "to the absolute necessary minimum," was made by Mr. S. Satyamurti in course of his presidential address at the Second All-India Local Self-Government Conference held at the Council Chamber of the Calcutta Corporation last month under the auspices of the Indian Union of Local Authorities, Delhi.

Mr. Satyamurti said:

"We should go in for a programme of abolishing all local self-governing institutions, as they are called, except panchayats for large villages or groups of small villages and municipalities for all cities and towns. We must make it part of a compulsory programme, say, spread over ten years at the end of which, we should have compulsory panchayats governing large villages and also municipalities and towns, with populations of 10,000 or 20,000 and more."

Divergent views on the desirability of introduction of a Cabinet form of government in the sphere of Local Self-Government were expressed at the Conference.

The Conference also discussed the question of an All-India Municipal Service. All the speakers were unanimous in thinking that the idea to have an All-India Municipal Service was not a feasible one, at least for the present. Several delegates, however, favoured the establishment of a Provincial Municipal Service, while there were some delegates who were opposed even to the idea of provincialising the Municipal Service.

*Women And Swadeshi*



ference on the 26th December last. A large and distinguished gathering was present, including Hani Lakshmi Bai Rajwade, President-elect of the Conference, the Hon. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Rajkumari Anrit Kaur, Mr. and Mrs. Asaf Ali, Mrs. Sultan Singh and Sir Shadilal.

Rajkumari Anrit Kaur, requesting Begum Hamid Ali to declare the Exhibition open, said that

"The object of the exhibition was to reinforce the appeal to every Indian, particularly to women, to use only Indian goods. Begum Hamid Ali, she said, was one of those who never differentiated between Hindus and Mussalmans. The only difference she recognized was that between Indian and foreign goods.

Begum Hamid Ali, in appealing for the use of Swadeshi, said that for the last thirty years she and her people had used nothing but Indian-made goods. She spoke from personal knowledge of the difficulties that early users of Swadeshi had to face in procuring Indian-made articles.

### **Some Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Resolutions**

A revision of the boundaries of Bengal on the basis of linguistic affinities and re-union of all Bengali-speaking areas to Bengal, were demanded in a resolution adopted by the annual general meeting of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha in December last.

By another resolution the Sabha viewed "with grave concern the invidious treatment accorded by the Government of Bihar to the Bengali Hindus living within the boundaries of Bihar for centuries from the pre-British period, or established in Bihar during British rule, in the matter of elementary citizens' rights," and urged upon the Hindu leaders of Bihar and the Bihar Government to remove the disabilities of the Bengali Hindus in Bihar.

The resolution added that "as these disabilities are in effect directed against the Hindus of the same province, the Sabha considers them to be prejudicial to the interests of all India Hindu solidarity, and as such, emphasises the necessity of removing all unfair discriminations and of restoring amicable feelings among the various groups of Hindus in Bihar."

The resolution was moved by Dr. Shom Kumar Chatterjee and seconded by Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri.

Other resolutions were passed, emphatically condemning the Communal Decision, and expressing strong indignation at the continued persecution of the Hindu subjects of Hyderabad, and calling for a sifting inquiry by the Paramount Power.

The Sabha records its emphatic condemnation of the banning of the National song, "Bande Mataram," by the State, as being a deliberate affront to the Indian nation and expresses its whole-hearted sympathy with the Hindu students in their struggle for the maintenance of their sacred rights.

They have every right to sing "Bande Mataram."

### **Universal Strike in Burma : Students Arrested**

KYAILAT, Dec. 27.

Indian Polit. Science Conference and "Kashub" was

sent to the hospital during the whole day of 26th December, resulting in a clash between the police and the University and private college and school students both male and female.

The strikers of Yanangyang Oilfield labourers and unemployed men from Puko were marching towards Rangoon to express their grievances before the public and the Government. On their way at Magwe the District Magistrate passed orders prohibiting meetings and making public speeches under section 144 and 107 Cr. P. C. The strikers were to be present in Rangoon on or before 19th December. The strikers thus obstructed, Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Shwe, the President and the Secretary respectively of the Rangoon University Student's Union, proceeded to Magwe to lead the marchers, where they were placed under arrest. As a protest to their arrest and prohibitory order in force the Rangoon University students and many other schools went on strike by the second week of this month.—A. B. P.

### **The Muslim League Session**

The Muslim League held its session last week at Patna. The Muslims are an important part of the Indian people. The Muslim League represents a section—how small or large a section, we do not know—of Indian Muslims, and hence is entitled to notice. Its proceedings ought to be commented upon. But as these consist for the most part of fulminations against the Congress and the Hindus and boasts and bluff and of unfounded charges against the Congress provincial governments, and our comments on the same will not receive any consideration at the hands of the League, we refrain from noticing them further.

### **All-India Economic Conference**

In the course of his presidential address at the 22nd session of the All-Indian Economic Conference, held at Nagpur on the 29th December last, Dr. Gyan Chand observed :

"The world today is in a state of crisis which is due to the serious disequilibrium of ancient forces. The fact makes it necessary to revise the premises of all thought, particularly economic thought; for the malaise from which the world is suffering is primarily due to economic factors and calls for readjustment of social relations and therefore of economic outlook."

### **World Unrest Abroad**

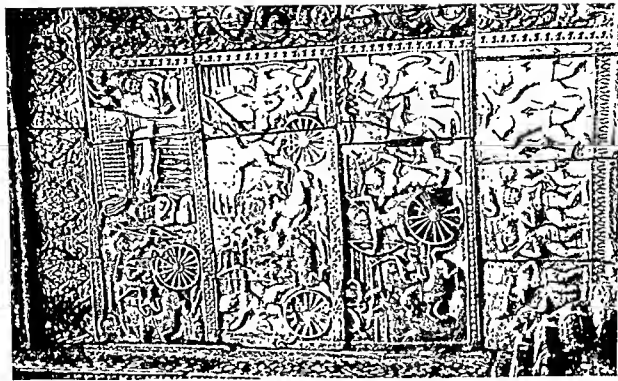
The Sino-Japanese war continues. Japan craftily proposes peace-terms which are only an invitation in effect to China to acknowledge Japanese paramountcy and cannot but be rejected by her.

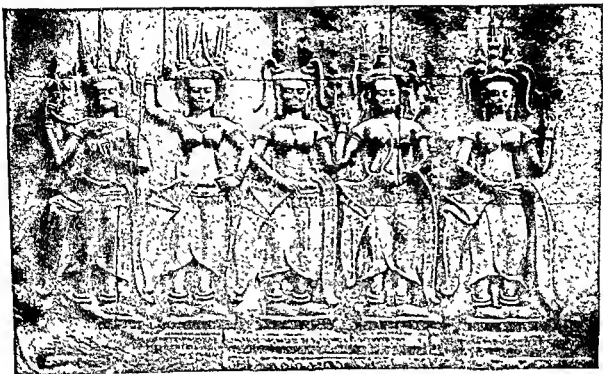
America's blunt but true characterization of Hitler and the Nazis has irritated them and roused their impotent rage.

France and Italy seem to be on the brink of war.

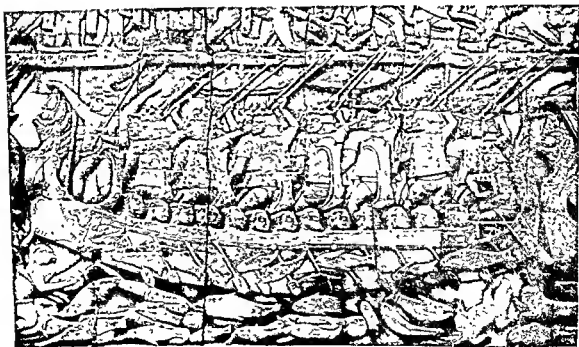
Palestine continues to be torn by bloody intestine conflict.

The Spanish civil war drags on its weary





Angkor Wat    Apsaras



Angkor-Thom. A naval battle

## EMERSON AND HIS FRIENDS, THE CHILDREN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

It is perhaps not an uncommon error to think of Emerson as a sort of rarified intellectual saint standing always aloof and isolated on the top of a column constructed of formidable hooks of metaphysical philosophy, oriental religions, and philosophical poetry. Nothing more conclusively shows the fallacy of this view than the fact of his sympathetic understanding of children and his fondness of them. In one of his essays he speaks of finding "a delight in the beauty and happiness of children that makes the heart too big for the body". What a delicate sympathy with the school-girl, mixed with charming humour, is in this passage from his essay on "Success": "To-day at the school examination the professor interrogates Sylvia in the history class about Odoacer and Alaric. Sylvia can't remember but suggests that Odoacer was defeated; and the professor tartly replies, 'No, he defeated the Romans'. But 'tis plain to the visitor that 'tis of no importance at all about Odoacer and 'tis of a great deal of importance about Sylvia, and if she says he was defeated, why he had better a great deal have been defeated than give her a moment's annoy. Odoacer, if there was a particle of the gentleman in him, would have said, 'Let me be defeated, a thousand times'." In another essay on "Education," we find this tribute to boys: "I like boys, the masters of the playground and of the street. They know truth from counterfeit as quick as the chemist does. They detect weakness in your eye and behavior a week before you open your mouth, and have given you the benefit of their opinion quick as a wink. They make no mistake, have no pedantry, but entire belief on experience. Their elections at baseball or cricket are founded on merit, and are right. They don't pass for swimmers until they can swim, nor for stroke-oar until they can row; and I desire to be saved from their contempt. If I can pass with them, I can manage well enough with their fathers."

In the life of Emerson written by Moncure D. Conway, entitled "Emerson at Home and Abroad", the author says of him, "His talk with any child that approached him was as gracious and dignified as his conversation with older people; and he was dear to all children

that knew him, the number of whom was large. He was fond of festivities and pleasure parties including children, which formed important features of the Concord summers."

We have from Louisa Alcott the following childhood recollections of Mr. Emerson: "When we (Louisa herself, and her sister May) went to school with the little Emersons in their father's barn, I remember many happy times when the illustrious papa was our good play-fellow. Often, piling us into a bedecked haycart, he took us to pick berries, or bathe or picnic at Walden, making our day charming and memorable by showing us the places he loved, the woods-people which Thoreau had introduced to him, or the wild-flowers whose hidden homes he had discovered. So that when, years afterward, we read of 'the sweet *Rhodora* in the woods', and 'the burly, dozing bumble-bee', or laughed over 'The Mountain and the Squirrel', we recognized old friends, and thanked him for the delicate truth and beauty which made them immortal for us and others."

Mr. James Elliot Cabot, Emerson's authorized biographer, tells us that while Emerson was closely intimate with no children but his own, he was warmly liked by the children of Concord generally, with whom he had wide acquaintance. Emerson visited their school and Sunday-school exhibitions, entering fully into the spirit of these and enjoying the parts taken by the children. He took pleasure in watching the boys and girls at their games, and was interested in the work they were doing at school. He liked, on occasions, to have them in his own home. When the village children met him on the street they would cross over from the side on which they were walking to his side, to have the pleasure of meeting and greeting him. Although they never romped with him or took liberties (everything of that kind being limited to his own children) they dearly liked to take his hand, walk by his side and talk with him, being sure of his sympathetic understanding.

est in every detail of our school affairs, our school politics and our school pleasures, was unbounded. We told him every word as we should have told our mates, and I think he had as much enjoyment out of it as we did. He considered it our duty to look after all the strangers that came to the school. At his desire we had large tea-parties at our house every year, and our duty was to make sure that all the out-of-town boys and girls came. He used to ask me, when I told him of a new girl: 'Did you speak to her?' 'No,' I answered, 'I hadn't anything to say.' 'But speak, speak, if you haven't anything to say,' he insisted. 'Ask her,—Don't you admire my shoe-strings?' And when they came to tea at our house he himself was always kind and friendly. 'Whom shall we invite to the berrying?' cried his young daughter one day, running into the house. 'All children from six to sixty,' was his reply. On these occasions our father's most charming talk was with the children."

Mr. Emerson's interest in children and affection for them extended even to the youngest. His daughter declares that a baby could not be too young or small for him to hold in his arms. Carefully guarded as was the retirement of his study, his own babies were never excluded from it. An illustration of this is shown in the following extract from a letter to his absent wife: "February 19, 1838 . . . Here sits Waldo beside me on the cricket, with mamma's best decanter-stand in his hand, experimenting on the powers of a cracked pitcher handle to scratch and remove crimson pigment. News comes from the nursery that our maid has taught him A and E on his cards, and that once he has recognized the letter T. Sitting here all roasted with the hot fire, he gives little sign of so much literature, but seems to be in good health, and has just now been singing, much in the admired style of his papa, as heard by you only on special occasions."

At holiday time Mr. Emerson joined in the children's pleasure over the presents to and from the small cousins in New York. He writes to his brother William, then living there: "Concord, February 3, 1845 . . . Dear Brother: The precious gifts of the cousins to the cousins arrived as safely as such precious parcels should. A happy childhood have these babies of yours and mine; no cruel interferences, and what store of happy days! We cannot look forward far, but we must arm them with as much good sense as we can, and throw them habitually on themselves, as much as we can, for moral strength. I do not wonder that you

and Susan delight in your boys. I spend a good deal of time on my little trinity,—for my own pleasure as well as theirs. Luckily, our interests are inseparable. Our happy study of the bewitching manners and character of the children is a most agreeable kind of self-knowledge."

Mr. Cabot calls particular attention to Emerson's care of his children, showing that he gave much more time and thought to their health, their comfort, their associations, their education, their play, everything that pertained to their welfare, than was common with New England fathers of that time. Emerson himself writes in his Journal: "There is nothing in the nursery that is not of the greatest interest to me. Every tear and every smile deserves a history, to say nothing of the stamping and screaming." He keeps a record of his children's little doings and sayings, as if they were of as much importance as the anecdotes of Plutarch. Says Mr. Cabot: "Their play, their work, their companions, their lessons, their outdoor-rambles and their home occupations, were objects of his constant care." Mr. Cabot also tells us that Mr. Emerson enforced the home discipline of his children by the gentlest and kindest methods. A childish quarrel, or outburst of petulance and silliness would be averted by a request to run into the study and see if the stove door was shut, or to go to the front gate and look at the clouds for a minute.

Ellen Emerson writes of her father: "He taught us that at breakfast all must be calm and sweet, nothing must jar; we must not begin the day with light reading or games; our first and best hours should be occupied in a way to match the sweet and serious morning."

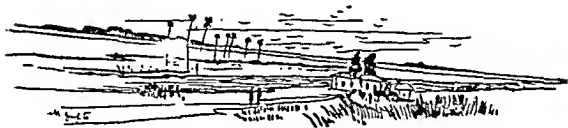
Great care was taken in the home to make Sunday a bright and happy day. There were church and Sunday-school in the morning. At the mid-day dinner, relatives or friends were likely to be present, which the children always enjoyed. Choice books were reserved for Sunday reading. A general air of quiet and thoughtfulness (but never gloom) prevailed in the home until two or three o'clock, after which the children were free to visit their friends or to receive visits, to play (but not boisterously) or, best of all, to take walks, oftenest with their father. Emerson's daughter Ellen has left glowing accounts of these walks. She writes: "Usually at about four, if the weather was fine, father came into the front entry and whistled, or called out, 'Four o'clock,' and we all walked with him, from three to six miles, according to the walking and the flowers we went to see. When a rare flower was in bloom,

"we went to find it in Becky Stow's Hole, or in Conventum, Mr. Channing giving the names to the spots. Our father was full of pretty speeches about what we were to see, making it a great mystery. Once I expressed my fear that he would cut down his Walden grove, or sell it. He answered, 'No, it is my camel's hump. When the camel is starving in the desert and can find nothing else, he eats his own hump. I shall keep these woods till everything else is gone'."

In his essay on Education, Emerson has given fine expression to his respect for childhood and youth, and his ideas of the opportunities for self-development that education ought to afford them. This essay might well be recommended as a guide and inspiration to teachers and parents today, wise is it and so uncompromising in applying to education those principles of child-psychology which the most progressive educators of our time hold fundamental but which the majority of our homes and our schools fail to exemplify. Says Emerson in this essay: "The secret of education lies in respecting the pupil. It is not for you to choose what he shall know, what he shall do. By your tampering and thwarting and too much governing he may be hindered from his end and kept out of his own. Respect the child. Be not too much his parent. Trespass not on his solitude. I suffer whenever I see that common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking on a young

soul to which they are totally unfit. Cannot we let people be themselves, and enjoy life in their own way? You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough. Or we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity."

Again, in the same essay, Emerson voices a criticism of contemporary education, that is, alas, as true of our time as of his, and points to the ideal that education should strive for,—an ideal that we are still far from attaining. "Our culture has truckled to the times,—to the senses. It is not man-worthy. It does not make us brave or free. We teach boys to be such men as we are. We do not teach them to aspire to be all they can. We do not give them a training as if we believed in their noble nature. We scarcely educate their bodies. We do not train the eye and the hand. We exercise their understandings to the apprehension and comparison of some facts, to a skill in numbers, in words; we aim to make accountants, attorneys, engineers; but not to make able, earnest, great-hearted men. The great object of education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one; to teach self-trust; to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity concerning his own nature; to acquaint him with the resources of his mind, and to teach him that there is all his strength, and to inflame him with a piety towards the Grand Mind in which he lives."



## PUNJAB AGRARIAN LAWS AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL BEARINGS

By RAJA NARENDRANATH, M.A.

THE peculiar socio-political conditions of the Punjab are not known to people outside the province. Other provinces are trying to attain the National stage by bridging the gulf between the two communities—Hindus and Muslims. The Scheduled Classes have created another division amongst the Hindus, which has come into prominence with the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1935, intensified by the Poona Pact. In the Punjab, we have three communities—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and also the Scheduled castes, which are a part of the Hindus. But our peculiar feature consists in this that each of the three main communities, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, is divided into agricultural and non-agricultural castes. We had almost acquiesced in this division. It has, however, been brought into prominence by recent legislation, which has produced extreme discontent and a feeling of insecurity amongst non-agricultural castes. I will deal with this subject in 4 parts: (1) I will describe the historical background of the question, (2) I will explain the agrarian laws recently passed by the Legislature and criticize them, (3) I will discuss the economic effects of the policy adopted in 1901, extended and intensified by recent legislation, (4) I will lay before the reader the constitutional aspects of these discriminatory measures, viewed in the light of our present constitution, so that when we frame the new Constitution, attempts may be made to remove these defects.

In 1901, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, was passed the Land Alienation Act, which, whilst ostensibly a protective measure, divided the whole population into two classes—the agricultural castes and the non-agricultural castes. Under section 4, Government was empowered to declare certain castes and tribes as agricultural castes or tribes, who could acquire land by exchange, gift, sale or mortgage from any one, but who had to obtain the sanction of the District Officer before transferring land by any one of the above methods to groups outside of those notified. The latter, whom we may designate as non-agricultural castes, could take land without such previous

sanction on 20 years' mortgage, but even within this period the agriculturist mortgagor had the right to claim redemption without payment, if he could show that the mortgage debt had been paid off or if only a part had been paid off then on payment of such portion as the District Officer deemed equitable. The law of pre-emption was also amended so as to deprive the non-agriculturist of the preferential right of purchasing land, which that law gave him. Sale of land belonging to agricultural castes, in execution of decree by Civil Court, was absolutely prohibited. In short, the agricultural castes could acquire land from any one, the non-agricultural castes could not take land from agricultural castes without the District Officer's sanction. This created a lot of discontent amongst the non-agricultural castes. It was, by no means, easy to obtain the necessary sanction. Executive instructions had been issued, from time to time, as to how the District Officers were to exercise their discretion. An agriculturist could not, in all cases in which he wanted to transfer his land to a non-agriculturist, get permission to part with his land. It is unnecessary for me to describe in detail what those instructions were. But the object was to direct District Officers to give sanction in as few cases as possible. The policy of creating a socio-economic group of agricultural castes was emphasised. Agricultural castes could take to trade, money-lending, or any profession, but an embargo was put on the non-agriculturists acquiring land from agriculturists. The result was class rivalry and friction. I may also remark that the communal proportions amongst agricultural castes are highly unfavourable to the Hindus. It is roughly estimated that about 25 per cent of the Hindus, about 60 per cent of the Muslims and about 70 per cent of the Sikhs belong to the agricultural tribes. The Act has from the outset been one of the main causes of communal friction in the Punjab.

A resolution was passed by the Punjab Government in 1919, by which preferential right of recruitment to services was given to agriculturists. The proportion reserved for

them in various departments varied from 50 to 90 per cent. The genesis of the institution of caste in India is veiled in mystery. It is justified on the ground that specialization of functions leads to efficiency. After the conquest of India by Muslims, this specialization did not remain unaffected. The four castes did not strictly follow the fourfold division of occupation, which was intended for them. But assuming for the sake of argument that the hereditary predilections and preferences still continue, and that on this basis the creation of a socio-economic group of agricultural castes was justified, one fails to understand why castes that were best fitted for driving the plough were given preference for occupations which involved the driving of the pen. The beneficial aspect of the Land Alienation Act consists in this that it gives protection to illiterate and backward peasants against the urban intelligentsia, but the policy adumbrated in the executive instructions of 1919, created a very anomalous position. We have men belonging to agricultural castes, holding the positions of High Court Judges and of Ministers in the Cabinet, administering departments for which high intellectual attainments are required. But where rights in land and property are concerned, the incumbents of all these high offices are treated, so far as the protective aspect of the Land Alienation Act goes, as Hindu widows and minors. But the Act also creates a preferential right and a privilege, viz., unrestricted right to purchase land, which is naturally appreciated, and these gentlemen holding high official positions are unwilling to forego the privilege. All these political and economic advantages which the agricultural castes enjoy were fully envisaged by the Franchise Committee, which was presided over by Lord Lothian. The following remarks made in para 170 of the Report of the Committee deserve consideration.

"It is, however, a most serious defect of the Punjab Government's scheme that only about 25% of the electorate will consist of members of non-agricultural tribes, whereas the non-agricultural tribes, form about half the population of the province. There was apparently some difficulty in compiling this information and we obtained it only a few days before we completed our report, when it was too late to discuss the matter further with the local government. We feel convinced however, that its significance is such as to necessitate further consideration of the whole scheme. The Punjab Land Alienation Act confers great advantages, social and economic, on the members of agricultural tribes, and it would not be right to give them in addition the political predominance, which they would gain if they formed three-quarters of the electorate. We recognise that the non-agricultural tribes contain a considerable element of the depressed classes

and landless labourers who would not obtain the vote under any franchise system based on property and literacy qualifications, but even so it should be possible to do more than has hitherto been attempted to correct the disparity between the agricultural and the non-agricultural tribes. The most obvious remedy would seem to be an extension of the *haysyat* or profession tax to all payers and not merely to those who pay Rs 5. Any further extension would apparently require legislation. Other measures have also been suggested on which we can express no opinion at present. If it is found impossible to secure a substantial increase in the number of members of non-agricultural tribes in the electoral roll, it may be necessary to consider a reduction in the voting strength of the agricultural tribes. An increase in the land revenue qualification from Rs 5 to Rs. 10 would result in a reduction in the number of landowners on the roll by half a million, without disturbing the communal proportions produced by local Government's scheme. We should regret any such curtailment of the enfranchisement of the agricultural classes, but if no other means can be found for reducing the disparity between them and the non-agriculturists, the possibility will have to be faced. The whole question requires further examination by the local government...."

No action was taken by the Punjab Government on the recommendations of the committee to bring the voting strength of the non-agriculturists at par with the agriculturists. We have now a legislature in which out of 175, nearly 120 members belong to agricultural castes. The Muslim non-agricultural castes have, so far, been reticent. Their number is very small. Out of the members belonging to the Hindu non-agricultural castes, 8 are Harijans, one of whom is a congressman, 17 are congressites who find some difficulty in securing co-operation between members of agricultural and non-agricultural castes belonging to their group. The Hindu non-agricultural castes outside the Congress are, therefore, in a hopeless minority.

I now deal with the agrarian laws which have given rise to much communal and caste friction. The following bills, some of which have become laws, fall under the category.

(1) Restitution of Mortgages Bill, which has received the assent of the Governor and become law.

(2) 2nd Amendment of the Land Alienation Act to cancel all *benāmi* transactions of the past and to declare them illegal for the future.

(3) Money-lenders Registration Act.

(4) 3rd Amendment of the Land Alienation Act, which placed agriculturist money-lenders on the same footing as the non-agriculturist money-lenders.

(5) Marketing Bill.

I will confine myself to the first two measures, which bring to light the socio-politi-



cal condition of the Punjab. I have nothing to say against the 3rd Amendment of the Land Alienation Act, the main policy of which I approve. Measures analogous to the Registration of Money-lenders Act have been passed in other provinces also, and I wait to see the general economic effects of these Acts. The only difference between this province and other provinces, where similar measures have been passed, is that in the Punjab, the Land Alienation Act has considerably restricted the credit of the peasantry and it is open to question whether it was desirable to place further restrictions on the exercise of the profession of money-lending (which is a necessary adjunct to our economic system) by requiring all money-lenders to get themselves registered and to obtain licences, liable to cancellation, on conditions of which the Executive Officer is to be the sole judge. The Marketing Bill is still on the legislative anvil and it will be premature to discuss its provisions.

The Restitution of Mortgages Act is the most drastic law. Measures for the relief of agriculturist debtors have been passed in Congress provinces also. But so far as indebtedness is concerned, valid contracts made in the exercise of proprietary rights have nowhere been interfered with. Mortgage contracts have not been cancelled or modified anywhere. The main provisions of the Restitution of Mortgages Act are the following.

(1) That mortgagors of lands which were mortgaged between 1878 and 1901, will be entitled to redeem the mortgages if on enquiry made by the District Officer it is found that the mortgagee has received from land not only the principal but also interest equal to the principal.

(2) That where the mortgagee has not received back twice the amount of the principal advanced, he should be compensated on certain terms which I need not describe. The members of the party representing Hindu non-agriculturists acquiesced in the principle of the redemption of mortgages, if the mortgagee had received back the principal plus interest at a reasonable rate and the cost of improvements, if any, effected by the mortgagee. But they insisted that the Act should be applied to all subsisting mortgages. It was also proposed by some of the members of the party and supported by some of the Congress members that mortgagors paying more than Rs. 300/- as land revenue, should not be entitled to claim redemption. These proposals were rejected. The Land Alienation Act and the policy of

reserving certain proportion of appointments in services for agricultural castes were accomplished facts, and were not the creation of the Unionist Party. But none of those who co-operated with the Unionist Party anticipated that other measures coming before the Assembly would be looked at with the political squint, which the Land Alienation Act produces. The only argument advanced against the proposal that the Act should be applied to all subsisting mortgages, was that mortgages under the Land Alienation Act should be held sacrosanct. We could not accept the view that this Act had any special sanctity, which other Acts in force such as the Contract Act, Registration Act and Transfer of Property Act had not. The majority of the members of the Assembly being statutory agriculturists, would not agree to give back the lands which they had taken on mortgage after passing of the Land Alienation Act. The area mortgaged after 1901 is much larger than the area mortgaged between 1878 and 1901. If the Unionist Ministry had been really desirous of giving relief to the peasantry, it would not have refused to accept our amendment.

We suspected that under the terms of the Act, as it stood, non-agriculturists would lose more than they would gain and as there was a remarkable disparity between the communal proportion of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh agriculturists, redemptions would also be unfavourable to the Hindus and Sikhs. We requested the Premier to compile statistics showing community-wise and caste-wise the area mortgaged between 1878 and 1901, which would be affected by the Act. We asked him to show us the instructions that he would issue in this behalf to the government officers. He issued confidential instructions for the compilation of figures. We were not taken into confidence and the orders issued were not shown to us. The result was a mass of figures which did not present a full view of the picture. He ascertained the total area mortgaged which will be redeemed under the Act; also the number of mortgagors community-wise and caste-wise, but not the area mortgaged community-wise and caste-wise. Neither in the Premier's presidential address, which he delivered at the Zemindars Conference at Lyallpur on the 3rd of September nor in the statements that have since been issued by the Director of Public Information Bureau, has any attempt been made to explain why mortgages affected after 1901, were not included in the Act. From a recent statement which came to my hand on the 4th of November,

it appears that the total area which will come within the purview of the Act, is 7,56,131 acres and that the total debt which will be washed away, will be a little above Rs. 4,13,08,502. A large majority of the mortgagors, if not all, will get back land without any payment. Within 60 years most of the mortgagees must have received twice the amount of the principal. The Ministry explains that the communal proportions amongst the mortgagors are Muslims 58.6%, Hindus 26.8% and Sikhs 14.5%, which the Ministry asserts, corresponds very nearly to the population of the communities, Muslims being 56.5%, Hindus 26.8% and Sikhs 12.9%. But the communal proportions of the mortgagees are not given nor the area mortgaged is shown anywhere community-wise or caste-wise, although a specific request was made for enquiry on this point. It is, however, not denied that land will be taken away from about 2,20,214 Hindus and Sikhs and only from 84,617 Muslims. In view of this unquestionable fact, there is not the least doubt that the Act is a class measure. The outstanding fact remains that mortgagors of areas which were mortgaged after 1901 by agriculturists get no relief.

The second bill, which has not yet received the Governor's assent and which is still under consideration with the Governor-General, also clearly indicates the desire to placate the agricultural castes and to disregard the legitimate rights of non-agricultural castes. After the passing of the Land Alienation Act a large number of agricultural castes took to money-lending, but the proportion of non-agriculturist money-lenders is still about 50% in the least. The non-agriculturist money-lenders resorted to a device which was necessitated by the Land Alienation Act, but which was held to be permissible. The agriculturist debtor alienated his land either by way of mortgage (other than that permitted by the Act) or by sale to a benami transferee, who belonged to an agricultural caste, the real beneficiary behind the screen being the non-agriculturist creditor. The agriculturist vendee or the transferee was not in all cases a philanthropist or a disinterested friend. He managed to derive some benefit himself. But a portion of the profits derived from the land was passed on to the non-agriculturist creditor also. Considerable controversy has been going on in the press whether these transactions which were held to be permissible under the law by the highest court were illegal or immoral. I do not wish to enter into that controversy. It goes without saying that if these transactions in which a member of the agricultural castes

acted as a dummy, had been illegal, there would have been no necessity to pass the law declaring them as illegal. The bill, which has not yet become an Act, makes all these transfers to be illegal and gives retrospective effect to the law. Our objection to the Bill has been that of the three parties to the transaction, the non-agriculturist creditor, agriculturist vendor and the agriculturist vendee, who is a dummy, the law exonerates all parties to the transaction (assuming it to be fraudulent) who are members of the agriculturist tribe but directs no enquiry about the rights of the non-agriculturist creditor. In many cases, he may not have been reimbursed for the money that he has advanced. Whilst the agriculturist vendor is allowed to plead his fraud and the agriculturist dummy has not been made to disgorge the profits that he has derived from the transaction, no enquiry is permitted about the rights of the non-agriculturist creditor who advanced the money. Amendments were proposed to insert a clause which would guarantee to the non-agriculturist creditor reimbursement for the money that he advanced, but these were rejected. The tendency of modern times is to alleviate the sufferings of even those who are convicted of criminal offences, but attempts to safeguard one's own interests within the provisions of a restrictive and discriminative law were condemned as worse than crime.

The above survey of the agrarian measures which I consider to be the most objectionable, will convince the reader that it rightly created a feeling of insecurity in the minds of the non-agriculturist population. Section 107 of the Government of India Act lays down that a provincial legislature cannot pass any law with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the concurrent list which is repugnant to the Federal law, whether passed before or after the provincial law. Item No. 10 of the concurrent legislative list which has bearing on the subject is reproduced below:

"Contracts, including partnership, agency, contracts of carriage, and other special forms of contract, but not including contracts relating to agricultural land."

It will appear that contracts with regard to agricultural land can be nullified although the Contract Act or the Transfer of Property Act, most of the provisions of which are supplementary to the Contract Act, are Federal laws. It was, therefore, rightly apprehended by the non-agricultural classes, that even sales effected within the last 12 years might be cancelled if such cancellation was advantageous to the agricultural castes. In the Punjab the urban

population is rapidly increasing and areas which were owned by agricultural castes are being rapidly purchased and utilized as building sites. The appreciation of town lands is going on at a very rapid pace. Within the last 12 years, price of land has increased nearly 20 or 30 times. The legislature has a large majority of agricultural castes. It may, at any time, pass a law directing the restoration of these lands transferred by sale to the original vendors, on the payment of compensation which may considerably fall short of the appreciation. The potential dangers, under the circumstances, which exist in the province, are very grave. A future Ministry may try to outbid its predecessor in placating the agricultural castes if this process of aggression was not nipped in the bud. The agrarian policy in the Punjab has created a group of privileged castes, a group of modern *dewjias* from which the old *dewjias* are excluded. It was, therefore, decided to approach the Governor and to ask for his intercession. But the attempt proved to be infructuous. The Governor has given his assent to the Restitution of Mortgages Act. It is not known on what points the Bill cancelling *benāmi* transactions has been referred to the Governor-General. But I doubt if the Governor-General will advise the Governor to withhold his assent altogether. Possibly the Bill will be referred to the Assembly with suggestions for some modifications.

The mind of the Unionist Ministry has begun to work in a wrong groove. There is not the least doubt that the peasantry needs relief and that the number of uneconomic holdings is very large. The Ministry found that a remission or reduction of land revenue or water-rates on a large scale would throw the provincial budget out of balance and it invented this device of conferring benefits on the agriculturists at the cost of non-agriculturists. But the Ministry should have realised that the course adopted is fraught with serious political danger and that thereby the Ministry loses the confidence of all the non-agricultural castes, who constitute the intelligentsia of the province.

The other laws should be judged in the light of what has been described above. Laws on similar lines, as Nos. (3) and (5) in the list, have been passed in other provinces too, but in them the peculiar conditions of this province which have created class rivalry and friction do not exist. Before long the major portion of the Indian officials will consist of agricultural castes in pursuance of the resolution of October 1919. and non-agricultural castes entertain the fear

that even the Registration of Money-lenders Act and the Marketing Bill, when it assumes the form of a law, will not be administered with the impartiality with which laws on similar lines will be administered in other provinces.

I will now suppress, for a moment, my indignation against the discriminatory nature of the laws. I will now examine the economic aspects of the policy. There are various causes that lead to the formation of opinion on human affairs. There are always some facts in support of the view taken, but conscious and sub-conscious prejudices play an important part. There is also a tendency to adopt and follow without criticism opinions, formed by those in whose hands is the authority to guide human affairs, whether that small group in authority consists of bureaucracy or of publicists. There are very few who have the capacity to analyse opinions coming from a higher source. A large majority of even those who have some capacity of comprehending opinions are carried away like particles of dust before a gust of wind.

When the policy underlying the Land Alienation Act was conceived, the urban intelligentsia was very much in the forefront. This class was also most clamorous about political rights. But there is not the least doubt that expropriation of the peasantry by the urban intelligentsia was proceeding at a fairly rapid pace. Money-lenders were no doubt appropriating the land of the peasantry but the proper course was to adopt measures to check this process. Transfer of land in execution of decrees for money might have been stopped, but there was not the least justification for replacing one class of capitalists by another set. In doing so the prejudices against the urban intelligentsia played an important part.

The Punjab has become the principal recruiting ground for the Indian army after the Mutiny of 1857. But on the memorial erected in memory of those who died in the battle of Chillianwalla, in the 2nd Sikh War, and which I visited more than once, I found inscribed the names of many Indian officers who were killed in the battle, most of whom belonged to classes now declared as non-martial. The Land Alienation Act was also sought to be justified on the ground that the discontent of the peasantry from which recruitments were made, was a political danger which should be prevented.

The first question to consider is, whether the peasantry has benefited by the Land Alienation Act. I glean figures from the Land Revenue Administration Report of the Punjab

dealing with land revenue administration up to September 1936. From the enquiry now made by the Premier, it appears that between 1878 and 1901, a period of 23 years, 7,56,131 acres were mortgaged, which gives an average of 34,179 per year. The figures for the areas held by non-agriculturist and agriculturist mortgages separately have not been ascertained and are not known. From 1901 to September 1936, a period of 35 years, 43,77,965 acres were transferred by mortgage including the area mortgaged to non-agriculturists on temporary leases, which are however, much less than the area mortgaged to agriculturists. This gives us an average of 1,25,084 acres per year. The figures for sales from 1878 to 1901 are not available but those from 1896 upto 1901 are given in the report and show that the average area sold per year since 1901 has been less than the area sold in the 5 years before 1901. One reason amongst others is that the price of land rose very rapidly. From a minimum of 63 per rupee of land revenue in the quinquennium between 1896 and 1901, it went up to a maximum of 301 per rupee of land revenue, in the years in which the prices of agricultural produce were at the highest. However, it appears that more was lost in the area mortgaged than was saved in the area sold. The poor peasant did not benefit. To him it was really a case of transferring his land from one set of land-grabbers to another set.

Assuming for the sake of argument, that the policy of confining recruitment to martial classes will continue, which, however, is not in consonance with the spirit of the times, I do not find much force in the contention, that a legislation of this kind was necessary in order to keep in a happy mood those classes from which recruitments were made. In the first place, as appears from figures, in the preceding paragraph, their interests have not been safeguarded. Secondly, all the agricultural castes do not supply soldiers to the army. Some of those who supply recruits have complained to me against their being classes with non-agricultural tribes. When the Simon Commission visited the Punjab, I received a representation from all Muslim Kashmiri retired army officers, complaining against their exclusion from classes who have preferential right of purchasing land. The number of agricultural tribes which since the passing of the Land Alienation Act has gradually been increasing by the inclusion of fresh Muslim tribes, is now estimated to be about 50 per cent of the population. Jats and Rajputs who

largely supply soldiers for the army are less than half the population of the province, being 68,38,128 out of 2,06,06,866.

The agrarian laws which have now been passed will have much more prejudicial effect on the peasantry than the restrictions imposed by the Land Alienation Act. The peasantry remains as poor as before. Its needs and requirements remain unabated. Population is increasing. Fragmentation by inheritance proceeds unchecked. The sanctity of mortgage has been assailed. The benāmi transactions which left a loop-hole for borrowing on some sort of security will be stopped, the agriculturist money-lender will be, as he should have been, on a par with the non-agriculturist money-lenders. I fear that measures have been adopted which will curtail the credit of the peasantry to an inordinate length. The least that I apprehend is that sales will take the place of mortgages and at reduced rates. Excess of sales on mortgage will be, at least, as great as the excess of mortgages on sales has been in the past. It is possible that sales may much exceed the mortgages.

I was, even as a member of the bureaucracy, opposed to the policy of the Land Alienation Act and more than once I had arguments with those who believed in the creation of a socio-economic group of castes with preferential rights to purchase land. They always told me that if this new group became aggressive in its attitude, they would change the law. They hardly anticipated, nor did I, that circumstances would arise which could transfer the power of law-making from bureaucracy to those very classes who were being given preferential rights in the important sphere of civic life. The agrarian conditions in the Punjab are very complex. The number of land-owners who possess large area and who pay Rs. 500/- or more as land revenue is not more than 3,000. It is by no means easy to put much extra taxation on receivers of rent who are not themselves tillers of the soil. A change in the revenue policy of assessment may be necessary, but I cannot discuss that problem as a side issue. I fear that the majority of the future legislators in the Punjab will come from classes who are themselves receivers of rent.

I now wish to view the socio-economic political conditions of the Punjab, in the light of the present constitution. The interests of the minorities can only be safeguarded if discrimination against the minority is condemned by the constitution. Punjab is no exception.

to this general rule. The principle is fully recognized by the framers of the present Constitution, so far as the Europeans are concerned. I quote below the portions of sections 111 and 112 which are relevant.

SECTION 111 (1) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935.

111. (1) Subject to the provisions of this chapter, a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any Federal or Provincial law as—

(a) imposes any restriction on the right of entry into British India; or

(b) imposes by reference to place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any disability, liability, restriction or condition in regard to travel, residence, the acquisition, holding, or disposal of property, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession.

SECTION 112 (1), (2) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935.

Section 112. (1) No Federal or Provincial law which imposes any liability to taxation shall be such as to discriminate against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom or Burma or companies incorporated, whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of the United Kingdom or Burma, and any law passed or made in contravention of this section shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid.

(2) Notwithstanding prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions, a law shall be deemed to be such as to discriminate against such persons or companies as aforesaid if it would result in any of them being liable to greater taxation than that to which they would be liable if domiciled in British-India or incorporated by or under the laws of British-India, as the case may be.

The following extract from para 357 of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee will be found to be of interest.

BILLS DISCRIMINATORY IN FACT THOUGH NOT IN FORM

357. But it will still be the duty of the Governor-General and of the Governors to exercise their discretion in giving or withholding their assent to Bills. And we think that the Instrument of Instructions should make it plain, as we have already indicated in connection with the Governor-General's special responsibility in relation to tariffs, that it is the duty of the Governor-General and of the Governors, in exercising their discretion in the matter of assent to Bills, not to feel themselves bound by the terms of the statutory prohibitions in relation to discrimination, but to withhold their assent from any measure which, though not in form discriminatory, would in their judgment have a discriminatory effect. We have made, we hope, sufficiently plain the scope and the nature of the discrimination which we regard it as necessary to prohibit, and we have expressed our belief that statutory prohibitions should be capable of being so framed as generally to secure what we have in view. We are conscious, however, of the difficulty of framing completely watertight prohibitions and of the scope which ingenuity might find for complying with the letter of the law in a matter of this kind while violating its spirit. It is, in our view, an essential concomitant of the stage of responsible Government which our proposals are designed to secure that the discretion of the Governor-General and

of the Governors in the granting or withholding of assent to all Bills of their Legislature should be free and unfettered; and, in this difficult matter of discrimination in particular, we should not regard this condition as fulfilled if the Governor-General and Governors regarded the exercise of their discretion as restricted by the terms of the statutory prohibitions. We further recommend that the Instrument of Instructions of the Governor-General and the Governor should require him, if in any case he feels doubt whether a particular Bill does or does not offend against the intentions of the Constitution Act in the matter of discrimination, to reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. We need hardly add that the effect of our recommendations for the statutory prohibition of certain specified forms of discrimination would lay open to challenge in the Courts as being *ultra vires* any legislative enactment which is inconsistent with these prohibitions, even if the Governor-General or the Governor has assented to it.

We may now compare the manner in which discrimination against European British subjects has been condemned with the manner in which section 298, which is a section defining the fundamental rights of Indians, has been drafted:—

Section 298 (1) No subject of His Majesty domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India, or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring, holding or disposing of property or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession in British-India.

(2) Nothing in this section shall affect the operation of any law which—

- (a) prohibits, either absolutely or subject to exceptions, the sale or mortgage of agricultural land situate in any particular area, and owned by a person belonging to some class recognised by the law as being a class of persons engaged in or connected with agriculture in that area, to any person not belonging to any such class; or
- (b) recognises the existence of some right, privilege or disability attaching to members of a community by virtue of some personal law or custom having the force of law.

(3) Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the special responsibility of the Governor-General or of a Governor for the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities.

This section should be read with the concluding part of para 9 of the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor of the Punjab and which I reproduce:

"Further, our Governor shall interpret the said special responsibility as requiring him to secure a due proportion of appointments in Our Services to the several communities and, so far as there may be in his Province at the date of the issue of these our Instructions an accepted policy in this regard, he shall be guided thereby, unless he is fully satisfied that modification of that policy is essential in the interests of the communities affected or of the welfare of the public."

The Land Alienation Act is clearly irreconcilable with clause (1) of section 298 of the Government of India Act; but clause (2)

has taken the Act out of the purview of clause (1). Clause (2) (a) gives wide discretion. The word 'class' in this sub-clause is to be taken to be synonymous with 'caste', within which are also included persons who have completely disassociated themselves from agriculture and have taken to professions, such as law or medicine or to government services and have settled down in urban areas.

Fixation of proportions for communities for recruitment to services is also left in the hands of the Governor. He may fix any proportion that he likes. Therefore, so far as Indians are concerned, the Governor is the sole custodian of the legitimate interests of the minorities and their civic rights. In the exercise of his discretionary powers the Governor is not responsible to any one except the Governor-General and through him to the Secretary of State. Section 52 (1) under which the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the minorities is assigned to him gives him wide discretion, when read with clause (3) of the same, Clause (2) of section 53 and section 54. All these are reproduced below :

#### SECTION 52 CLAUSE (3)

If and in so far as any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, he shall, in the exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken.

#### SECTION 53 CLAUSE (2).

The validity of anything done by the Governor of a province shall not be called in question on the ground that it was done otherwise than in accordance with any Instrument of Instructions issued to him.

#### SECTION 54.

54. (1) In so far as the Governor of a Province is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, he shall be under the general control of and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may, from time to time, be given to him by the Governor-General in his discretion, but the validity of anything done by a Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that it was done otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(2) Before giving any directions under this section, the Governor-General shall satisfy himself that nothing in the directions requires the Governor to act in any manner inconsistent with any Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor by His Majesty.

In the provinces in which the Congress Ministries exist, there is an understanding between the Congress and the Governor that the Governor shall not in the daily discharge of the duties of the Ministry exercise his powers of intervention. Whilst on the one hand the Constitution in no other way adequately protects the interests of the minorities, the convention set up by the Congress makes

the Governor's power of intervention practically useless, even in non-Congress provinces. I have always been of opinion that this power of intervention is apt to lead to differential treatment of minorities. We, however, tried the experiment and applied to the Governor, which proved to be of no avail. It is now clearly established that the Constitution provides no remedy whatever for the grievances of minorities who complain against discrimination. We were not at all confident of the success of our appeal to the Governor. But it was desirable to try all courses open to us. So far as we are concerned, we can now say, that it is just as well that section 52 (1) (b) be scrapped and something else substituted for it.

The Constituent Assembly promised by the Congress has not yet come into existence, but if that Assembly, whenever it is convened, proceeds on the lines on which the Karachi Congress of 1931 defined fundamental rights, the new Constitution will be no better than the present one. Clause (f) of the Karachi resolution is as follows :

(f) No disability to attach to any person by reason of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office or power or honour and exercise of any trade or calling.

The Hindu minority, wherever it exists, complains of preferential treatment given to persons professing certain creeds or belonging to certain castes. That preferential treatment is not interdicted by the wording of the above clause, which is in no way different from section 96, of the Government of India Act of 1919, which I give below :

"No native of British-India, nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India."

Discrimination on the basis of caste and creed has come into existence in spite of this section and will continue to remain in force, even, if the Congress adopts the draft of the resolution of the Karachi Congress of 1931, which however, is different from sub-clause XIII section 4 of the Nehru Report also given below: I do not know whether the change was deliberately made or was unintentional.

(xiii) "No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office or power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling."

When, therefore, the political leaders sit down to frame a new Constitution, the jumble and the confusion existing in the Punjab of

which the above is a true picture, must be taken into account. This state of affairs is a hindrance to the growth of a national feeling without which no democratic government on

representative basis can work. If each caste and community has to pull the string in its own way, there will be an end to any orderly government.

## FACTS AND FALLACIES OF INDIAN HISTORY

By RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Fact and opinion are two distinct mental categories. It is presumed that there can be no two opinions about a fact, while there may be two or more opinions about an opinion. It is also easy to understand why this is so. The evidence of the senses should be presumed to be incontestable and, barring a little bias or ignorance that may creep into one's observation, any one thing or event perceived should be the same no matter who perceives it. Such things and events whose truthfulness as it were is self-contained are facts. History deals with such facts. But history has also to correlate facts, link numerous single things and events into a comprehensible chain. There is no reason why this mere correlation of facts should become controversial ground, for there is nothing done except to put two or more facts together into a process of continuity. Even so, the element of bias or ignorance which does not very much interfere with the observance of a single fact may utterly damage the logic of correlation of facts. Fact then ceases to be a fact and becomes an opinionated fallacy.

Indian history is full of such fallacious facts. The bias of our imperialist masters has left little or no truthful history in our schools and, coupled with our own unmindful ignorance, the press and the platform have also been vitiated. There is an atmosphere of lies around us and it holds us in its vicious grip. It damages our national conscience, does harm to our sense of dignity, disheartens us in our appreciation of the present and generally slackens our rate of development and progress. How long have the British ruled over India is, for instance, a very simple question and can have but one answer. There is not room here for opinions, because it is a matter of historical fact. The answer to this question is also fundamentally relevant to our sense of national dignity and the spirit of glorious rebellion against evil. Even so, this

question is almost never truthfully answered. Our histories teach us that the British have been ruling India for the past 180 years and not a few of our renowned publicists exaggerate this period to two centuries for rhetorical purposes. They date the British rule over India from the year 1757. It is not difficult to see that such a dating is an infamous lie. It was only a very small part of India that was at this date conquered by the British and even then they had to wait for another decade before they could call themselves rulers of this very small part. If it is legitimate to date the British rule over India from the Battle of Plassey, there is no reason why someone else should not date it from the Mutiny or even later the Burmese Wars. Between the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the War of Independence in 1857, stretches a period of a whole hundred years and it is only about the end of this period that the British could call themselves rulers of India. Even a good fifty years after the Battle of Plassey the larger part of India had no taste of British rule. Any objective history of India would call the hundred years up to the War of Independence a period of wars and conquests, but not of rule. In this period of wars and conquests, the British lost many battles but always won the decisive ones and the Indians won many battles but always lost the decisive ones. There was great suffering and widespread slaughter and the spirit of India went on resisting foreign conquest for a whole hundred years. It would therefore be right and truthful to date British rule over India from the year 1857, which would give the British the pride and India the indignity of an 80 years' British rule. Even if this conclusion were not to meet with general approval, the year 1818 around which the larger part of India had passed under British rule and the Imperial capital had fallen will, I hope, be generally regarded as the date of the beginning of British

rule over India. That would give the British the pride of a hundred and twenty years' rule and India the indignity of a hundred and twenty years' slavery. The words pride and indignity have been advisedly used for it is such consciousness that forms the backbone of a nation. It is very relevant to our sense of national power and strength to know correctly the duration of British rule over India. It is both an untruthful distortion of history and a deforming of the nation's emotional state to say that the British have ruled for 180 or 200 years. The British have not ruled India for a day longer than 120 years.

Such false presentation of dates of Indian history has given rise to another historical fallacy strutting about as fact that the Indians are docile and submissive and a resigned race. India is represented as an easy prey to foreign conquest and docilely resigned to foreign rule. To sugar-coat such presentations and make them assume a semblance of truth, it is sometimes suggested that Indians are a race of profound thinkers, little concerned with problems of politics and almost entirely devoted to pursuits of the spirit. This does the spirit of India incalculable harm and deforms the mind of her children. Were we again to enquire into the British period of Indian history, what would be the length of time during which Indians have displayed these eminent metaphysical virtues of docility and resignation? No history has yet given a straight answer to this question, but every history starts with an under-current of belief that India has accepted British rule now for almost 150 years. Such beliefs are sedulously planted and nurtured by tyrants and it is a tragedy that slaves should also accept them. The Indian people perhaps more than any other people in the world has been restless, troubled and agitated in face of foreign rule and has shown great fight. Rebellion against authority has been a distinguishing feature of the Indian people, and Indian history earned from Hegel the adjective of "chaotic anarchy." If the

Indian people has known how to rebel against authority as such, what of foreign authority? In the British period, for instance, India resisted and fought through wars the British conquest for a whole hundred years, and, barely had three years passed after the War of Independence during which cruelty had excelled itself and the British had consolidated themselves, when the peasants of Bengal rose in silent revolt against the British indigo tyrants. In like manner, there were peasant rebellions in Maharashtra during the eighties of the last century. The Indian National Congress was also born at this time and only a few years after its birth numerous imprisonments on charges of sedition were taking place. Even admitting that the under-current of Indian life after 1857 was an acceptance of British rule, the important question is how long did this under-current last. Already with the beginning of the 20th century, we find the province of Bengal shaken up and its youth tortured at the fact of British rule and the rest of India in a state of turmoil and awakening. The post-war years have been an unending series of Satyagraha campaigns against British rule in which practically the entire Indian people is an emotional participant. The Indian people has accepted British rule, at a most pessimistic estimate, for less than 50 years, between 1857 and 1900\*.

An awareness of the Nation's history moulds the nation's present. This awareness must be objective and truthful and should correspond to events as they actually took place. Neither the vain-glorious emotionalism of the patriot nor the imperialist decent of the tyrant should interfere with this awareness. It is only on the basis of this awareness that the nation struggles and aspires and works in the present for a better future.

\* We have shown in "Prabasi" and "The Modern Review" (November, 1938) that the absolute acceptance of British Rule at any time, so far at least as Bengal is concerned, is a myth—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.





## HYDERABAD TO-DAY

By S. RAMA CHAR

THE people of the Indian States are on trial. Their zero hour has struck. Mysore raised the banner of revolt. The flames spread to Travancore, Kashmir, Rajkot and have at last reached Hyderabad.

Hyderabad the premier State of India has had a peaceful reign of more than three decades. Its peace is disturbed and we hear the cry of "revolt".

It is a well known fact that Hyderabad in spite of being a premier State in area and population is certainly the most backward State in matters political, social, and educational. In the year 1919 the Nizam by a special Firman directed the then president of the council, Sir Ali Imam, to prepare a scheme to expand the so-called Assembly. Unfortunately for Hyderabad Sir Ali Imam left the State soon and nothing could be done. Nineteen long years have rolled by. At last on September 29, 1937 the Nizam's Government announced the appointment of a packed committee for "investigating and reporting on suitable alternatives for more effective association of different interest with the Government." We are not told what the Nizam's Government mean by "different interest." What the people of Hyderabad want is not the association of any "interests" in the Administration but that the people should have a hand in running the administration.

Let us look at the present Legislative machinery in Hyderabad. There is no popular Assembly or Council. The so-called Council that is in existence is made up of 21 members, of whom 13 are officials and 6 are non-officials. Among the non-officials two represent the High Court pleaders and two Jagirdars. The remaining two are nominated by the Premier one of them at least is the representative of the Paiga Jaigar. The Nizam is the supreme Lord of all affairs. It is now more than a year since the Reforms Committee was appointed to suggest an alternative to this body. The result of its deliberations is so far known only to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam.

Civil Liberties are unknown to Hyderabad. There is an obnoxious "Gusti" (No. 53) which prohibits the holding of any public meet-

ing. Recently this Gusti was amended and its provisions were made more "liberal". Even under this liberally amended rule if any individual wishes to hold a public meeting he cannot do so without the permission of the authorities and for that he has to apply in the following form to the authorities:—

FORM.

I.....son of.....native of...residing at..... do hereby inform you that I intend holding a Public meeting..... on.... at (time) under the Presidency of.....son of.....native of.....residing at..... under the auspices of.....the object of the meeting are.....

Date... ..

Signature of the Applicant.

Here is an instance which shows how the rules work. Kodamur is a village in Khammam Taluk in the District of Warangal. People desire to perform the anniversary of an association which is neither political nor economic and applied to the Tahsildar for permission. The Tahsildar in his letter dated 20th Isfandar 1942 Fasli ordered:

"Your case has been referred to the Talukdar and on receipt of permission you will be informed. However you should not remand this office of this. Further note for the future guidance: it is improper to write letters to this Office instead of petitioning in the proper form. Send eight annas stamps for court fee for the letter already received."

This reads like a story in Aesop's Fables. I doubt if a similar state of affairs can be found anywhere in the world.

Economically too the condition of the people of Hyderabad is as bad, if not worse, than that of their brethren in British India. The entire revenue of about eight crores is drawn from the poor. The rich go scott free. There is no income-tax. Of course death duties are unknown. Not only is the entire Government revenue derived from the poor but the agriculturists are always dependent on the mercy of Patels, Patwaris, Deshmukhs and other hereditary officials. There are 21,830 villages in Hyderabad State. These village officials have made it impossible for the agriculturists to exist. According to Mr. Collins (formerly Secretary of the Nizam's Government in the Department of Commerce and Industry):

"About a quarter of wet land has passed out of the hands of the original owner. Most of this seems to have gone into the hands of Deshmukhs and other land owners who dominate the economic life of the agriculturist."

The result is people are forced to live on debt. As many as 25,000 people are engaged in the "haram" business of moneylending. Most of the people engaged in this profession are Hindus and Hindus belonging to higher castes. According to Prof. Keshav Iyengar:

"In a village consisting of 35 families, 27 families are indebted to the extent of Rs. 4,680. The average indebtedness being Rs. 173. To add to this there are about 1,167 Jagirs which have between them a population of five millions with an annual revenue of about Rs. 4,00,00,000. These Jagirdars are nothing less than 'Chota Nuzams'."

They are free from all obligations except that of collecting taxes which are neither graded nor systematised. Educational facilities and medical relief are unknown to the subjects of these Jagirdars. They suffer in silence and die in serfdom.

Coming to the question of Education one cannot but pity the people of Hyderabad. The annual expenditure is about a crore of rupees. Yet what is the result? About 28.6 per cent of the boys of the school-going age and about 4.7 per cent of the girls of the school-going age attend school. The number of literate people stands at the grand figure of 5 per cent. Every man and woman knowing to read and write is classed as literate in Hyderabad. 85 men and 12 women are literate in Hyderabad per mille against that of 408 and 168 of Travancore, 331 and 79 Baroda and 174 and 33 of Mysore.

There are four main languages in Hyderabad, Telugu, Marathi, Canarese and Urdu. In a population of 14½ millions, 6,900,000 speak Telugu, 3,700,000 Marathi, 1,600,000 Canarese and 1,500,000 Urdu. That is Urdu-speaking population is 10½ per cent of the whole. Yet the medium of instruction in the Osmania University is Urdu. It is a misconception to say that all the Muslims speak Urdu. The Muslim population of Hyderabad is about 18 per cent. Only ten and half per cent claim Urdu as their mother tongue. Even among the 10½ per cent a large number of people who live in rural areas know local vernacular as well as Urdu, if not better. I may state that I am not against evolving a common language, Hindustani, for the whole of India. But the language that is taught in the Osmania University is not a "combination of Urdu and Hindi." As a student of that University I am in a position to state that the language

taught there has a greater leaning towards Persian and Arabic than any other local language. A perusal of the books published by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University will make this point clear.

During the year 1934-35 the total Government revenue from excise was Rs 1,87,43,635. According to the Chief Justice of the Hyderabad State who also happens to be the president of the newly started Temperance Association 78,82,61,104 seers of toddy giving an average consumption of 54.6 seers was consumed by the people of Hyderabad during the year 1934-35. According to the same gentleman "four crores of rupees were sunk by the people of the State in the purchase of this wasteful luxury in one year." He further asked how much it would have affected the earning capacity and the economic condition of those who wasted this money and how much of pain and misery and moral degradation it would have brought in its train could only be imagined. May I ask who is responsible for this moral degradation and waste of earning capacity? Could not this "Islamic State" in which the sources of Taxation are not at all explored, put an end to this evil by a stroke of the pen?

With the advent of the Congress Government in some provinces and with the introduction of Prohibition in all the provinces surrounding the Hyderabad State, one thought, the Hyderabad Government would also introduce the scheme of Prohibition. But the Hyderabad budget has quite a different tale to tell. The Nizam's Government would receive Rs. 10 lakhs more as excise revenue during the current year than what it did during the previous years.

While this is the political and economic condition of the people the Nizam's Government takes a pride in presenting surplus budgets every year. In Fasli 1344 they presented a surplus budget of 13.14 lakhs, next year of 21.08 lakhs. During 1346 a surplus budget of 22.18 lakhs, last year they presented a surplus budget of Rs. 37.69 lakhs and this year a surplus budget of 36 lakhs. These surplus budgets imply no compliment to the Nizam's Government.

The administration is top-heavy and corruption is rampant. It is a common saying in Hyderabad that if any one gets into any Government Court he cannot get out of it at least for a decade. In Fasli 1343 the total strength of the police was 16,729. More than 54 per cent of the police is illiterate. An important branch of the administration as that of the



police consists of people of whom the major portion is illiterate. How can such persons be expected either to be conscious of their duties or to be above corruption? The condition of the people who come under their protection may as well be imagined. In Hyderabad to get into these services, in the words of Sir Richard Trench, "family claims" are in most cases enough. Hence it would be idle to expect Government servants to think of their position as an avenue of service.

Little wonder there is a revolt in the State. The wonder is that it has come so late.

In this connection it is to be deplored that certain persons are clouding the issue by raising communal slogans. It is an unfortunate fact that one community in Hyderabad has overwhelming representation in the superior services. This has led them to regard themselves as "Foteh Khoun." It is unfortunate that a minority community which is economically

dependent on the majority community in a hundred ways, should be blind to the fact that the problems of hunger, poverty and unemployment are common to them all. In fact the economic position of the Muslims in spite of their higher representation in the Government services is much worse than that of their Hindu brethren. Their political and economic future is naturally closely connected with that of the Hindus. It will not be long before this consciousness will dawn on the people of Hyderabad.

The Hyderabad authorities may postpone the grant of Responsible Government for a long time to come, but let them not forget that to delay the introduction of reform is dangerous. There is no necessary antithesis between reform and revolution, but reform long deferred leads inevitably to crisis. And can anybody deny that both political and economic reform is long overdue in Hyderabad?

## AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT "THE ROYALTIES"

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

"THEIR MAJESTIES" came into my hands last night (October 27th, New York time). What pleasure, illumination and viands for profound and wide reflection I have received! What a treat it has been to go through *Their Majesties!*

I should have started by telling you that *Their Majesties* is a new book, published in New York City yesterday, a book that gives a representative American's view of the crowned heads of the world.

Mr. Seymour Berkson is a very distinguished and well-known American editor and foreign correspondent. For more than a dozen years he was assigned to the various capitals of Europe, and thus has known intimately the play of world politics. His writing of *Their Majesties* at this crisis is an event of importance, comparable to the British journalist Mr. Henry Nevinston's publication of *The New Spirit in India* full three decades ago.

Just as Nevinston had given not only the surface glamour but the psychological depths of the New Spirit of ancient India, by using the device of portraying a number of outstanding national leaders, so now Berkson presents the outer and inner shells of kingship against the mighty world transition.

Mr. Berkson marshalls the parade of the crowned heads of all the continents with an unconscious, and for that very reason, profoundly American insight and philosophic appraisal.

He is not deliberately playing the part of Mark Twain. *Their Majesties* is not another satire and comedy like the "Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court." But it has irony and humor that indicate the synthesis of wit and wisdom achieved only by those who are fundamentally courageous, and seek and tell the truth. Mr. Berkson, without malice towards any king or queen, and without superstitious awe of *Their Majesties*, presents to the readers hitherto unknown, dramatic facts about the power of monarchy and its weird manifestations in our so-called "modern world."

If his study of the palaces makes you laugh, you know that it is what the philosopher Bergson calls a deep intellectual laughter, an experience of the release of the mind. The American journalist's flashlight illuminates the dark mysteries of the imperial, royal and ducal courts—and somehow we all breathe more easily.

Monarchism has an abiding interest, especially in countries which still are ruled by emperors, kings, queens, sultans, nawabs, maha-

rajas. But there is nothing simple about it. It is all veiled and disguised by mystifying verbal notions, and other countless complexities of modern political magic.

In this restless universe, king-ship too undergoes incessant inner and outer transformations, the results of which influence the present and future destinies of all mankind.

For obvious reasons the people who have to live under kings cannot observe, and speak about, these august rulers dispassionately and clearly. But Mr. Berkson, a son of the New World, is able to make an objective, analytical study of royalism. He has brought uncommon information, talent and gift of writing to bear upon *Their Majesties*, in addition to his heritage of American candour.

What America thinks and feels towards king-ship is a momentous question in itself. Her primary political pattern is anti-monarchist, being republican. But Americanism today is a most complex world force. It enters into varied inter-actions with monarchism—which, let us remember, is a "state of mind" even more than an institution. The resultant of the two forces, Americanism and Monarchism, is the key to world dynamics in ways so devious and varied that but few of our generation truly comprehend them.

Although Mr. Berkson writes as a sparkling man of letters, not as an academician, it is pertinent to say that he has carried special studies and research in the fields of political science and sociology, beginning with his college years at the great University of Chicago.

Going through the pages of *Their Majesties*, the reader is startled and impressed more than ever by the great paradox of these times.

The paradox, of course, is that the whole world is now enveloped in a new kind of Medievalism. The 19th century in England, Western Europe and America, was an epoch of "modernity", characterized by an unqualified belief in the validity and march of science and democracy, rationality and liberty.

Now, proud Western Europe is wrapped in Neo-Medievalism. Since Europe continues to rule Asia and Africa and whatever is there in the Old Hemisphere, the anti-modern forces are universal. Naturally the shrieks and shadows of the New Middle Ages reach out to the New World, producing consternation here too.

In this Neo-Medievalism—when dictatorships, dogmas, emotionalism, pseudo-science and pseudo-social panaceas are rampant—monarchism is again a power to reckon with, all over the globe.

Writes Mr. Berkson at the very opening of *Their Majesties*:

"It is a strange era of political make believe through which the world is drifting, mid stream in the twentieth century—an era of Kings who pretend to be Presidents and Presidents to be Kings, while their more boisterous contemporaries, the dictators, behave as if all the venerated deities had abdicated in their favor and endowed them with immortality."

How has this come to pass? Why did the late 19th and early 20th century Progressivism,



Mr. Seymour Berkson,  
the author of *Their Majesties*

Liberalism—which was embodied in the movements of suffrage for women, rights of labor, emancipation of subject races and minorities, rebirth of defunct nations—gave birth to such a brood of dictatorships? Why did the age of science evolve into an age of new superstitions?

Is it possible that, in a very large measure, the very orders of society—workers, women voters, subject races and communities—who had acquired new power in political, economic and cultural fields, are themselves responsible for the tides of reaction? Have they been incapable of adequately understanding the true meanings of democracy and science, and how these had emancipated them?

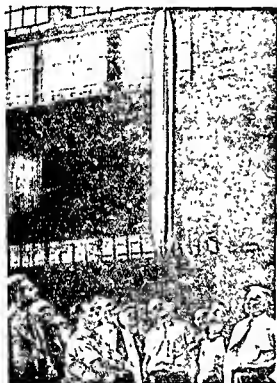
Not only the dictators, but also the kings wearing halos which have been re-polished,

the inner crypt of the copper torpedo. All air has been evacuated from it and has been replaced by nitrogen to avoid rusting or moisture damage to the big glass cylinder's contents.

No doubt, our descendants of 6938 to whom this small museum in an undestructable nutshell has been dedicated will be keen to study the evidences of what their forefathers did and

When preparing and collecting the contents of that "nut-shell of knowledge", Westinghouse called upon authorities in every field, and with the assistance of archaeologists made a final decision of what was to be placed in the tube. And this is what our descendants in 5,000 years will discover as a legacy of that restless year 1938:

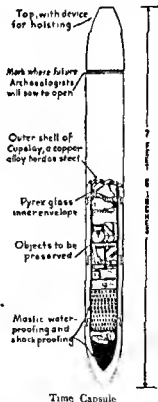
First, there are about thirty-five objects in common use, ranging from a can opener and a woman's hat (style, fall of 1938) to a miniature camera. Second, there are seeds sealed in air-tight glass tubes, in the hope that they will blossom five thousand years hence as the grains of wheat found in the Pyramids are reputed to do. Archaeologists of 6938 will find not only wheat but corn, oats, barley, rice, soya beans, sugar beets, carrots, alfalfa, flax, cotton, and tobacco seed. Third, they will discover an assortment of about forty common materials



The 800 pound "parcel" that will not be delivered until A. D. 6938 and which contains a complete cross-section of our civilization

which achievements they dared to classify as highlights of their civilization and culture. Perhaps at that time the ultimate aim of technology will have been realized: a better order of society and elimination of perpetual war threat. Perhaps nothing will have been changed fundamentally during the last 5,000 years.

What objects will they find as representative of the civilization of 1938, enclosed in this tremendously hard metal shell? Space is limited inside the Pyrex glass container and thus bulky objects were out of the question, as well as fluids or any materials which would dissociate into corrosive liquids or vapors.



Time Capsule

and textiles in form of watches, samples, and wire. Each article has been wrapped separately in the most durable rag paper, carefully tied with hene twine, with a descriptive label written in permanent ink on special paper. The heavy-

est items are packed at the bottom, the lightest at the top.

But the core of the large torpedo's contents, the actual cross-section of our civilization and culture, is the three newsreels and the four reels of microfilm, comprising an 1,100-foot cyclopaedia which consists of over ten million words and a thousand illustrations—a micro-film equivalent to more than a hundred thick volumes of fine print. The print is easily read with the aid of a small microscope included in the capsule or by the aid of a projection machine, diagrams and instructions for the building of which are to be found on the reels. The scientist of the seventieth century who will read all this material may require more than a year to finish it and probably over a decade to assimilate this treasure of accumulated knowledge.

But how will he manage to read and understand the language of his long extinct ancestors? Easily—because this miniature library in small round aluminum containers begins first with directions for translation and pronunciation of modern English and second with a Standard Dictionary and a Dictionary of Slang. Moreover, there is a reproduction of the Fable of the North Wind and the Sun in twenty languages and one of the Lord's Prayer in three hundred.

There follows an entire cross-section of our daily life, arts and sciences. Whole books are reproduced in their entirety, as e.g. catalogues of some important concerns, the World Almanac, and three well-known novels. Many sections of the Encyclopaedia Britannica serve to describe arts and sciences. The futurians will find microphotographs of famous pictures of our era as well as copies of the best known musical compositions of our time. About eighty popular magazines and leading newspapers, and railway and airway timetables from every part of the world have been microfilmed.

The summary of the sciences and industry occupies more than half of this nutshell library, with description and elaborate information on everything. Religion, philosophy, and education have separate sections. Our customs and manners, our homes, offices, and factories are described in detail as well as radio, theatre, motion pictures, sports and games, and other entertainments.

Except for a copy of the Bible, only one actual book is included in the capsule, namely a copy of the Book of Record of the Time Capsule, an example of the finest modern printing and bookbinding. It contains all in-

formation that will guide future historians to the spot where the Cupaloy torpedo will have been hidden for five millennia. Similar copies of this book have been mailed to the foremost libraries, museums, and other carefully chosen repositories all over the world, in the hope that at least one of them will survive to tell the scientists of the future what the capsule contains, how it is to be located and lifted when the time comes. The exact spot of the "eternal well", the capsule's burial place, its latitude and longitude, is measured sufficiently accurately



The last item in the cross-section of civilization, a woman's hat, style Autumn 1938, is being pecked at the top of the Pyrex glass inner crypt of the Time Capsule, just before it was exhausted of air and filled with nitrogen to preserve its contents for archaeologists of fifty centuries from now.

to locate a small coin on the earth's surface. Instructions are included for finding the capsule by the best methods of electro-magnetic prospecting, methods by which water, oil or ore deposits are discovered.

Will the people of 6938 required such instructions, will they not command much better scientific and technical means than the

clumsy ones of our time, when they start to unearth this concentrated library and museum? Probably, but no one knows surely. There are messages enclosed in the capsule from celebrities of today to the people of A.D. 6938. In his message one of these men asks posterity whether there will be a slowing up of scientific development in the future. And in this suspicion there is even included a faint possibility of a setback to technology and civilization.

On the other hand, the scientist who will view the fifteen minute newsreel with the help of that obsolete projection machine built according to the directions of the "ancients of 1938" may be rather disappointed in the culture and civilization of the twentieth century. For beside peaceful addresses and celebrations, fashion shows, and sport shorts, he will see

sham warfare and the bombing of Canton by Japanese aviators—a gloomy picture of our civilization!

During the World's Fair the Time Capsule may be seen through a periscope, and duplicates of all the objects it contains will be on exhibit. When the Fair is over, pitch and concrete will be poured down the well and the capsule will be left for future unearthing.

One should not believe that vandals will dig it out to exploit its contents. It wouldn't be worth while and certainly would cost more than the metal of the capsule would bring. What thief would venture to sink a caisson or to freeze the ground with brine pipes to recover 800 pounds of copper alloy?

New York

## SOME ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL PLANNING IN CEYLON

By K. D. GUHA, M. Sc (LIVERPOOL), A.M.C.E.

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PLANNING has become as well known in the economic and industrial activities of the world today as vitamins have been in relation to dietetics during recent years.

The old laissez-faire policy which dominated the economic thought of the last century was seriously challenged by the post-war economic developments which demanded a new readjustment resulting in the supremacy of the new doctrine of "Planned Economy" or "Economic Planning" which has already refashioned the economic structure of many countries and will certainly have a far-reaching and abiding effect on the economic future of the world.

The new doctrine of "Economic Planning" has been in practice in one form or another, with considerable success, in all the progressive countries irrespective of the form of their Government whether Socialist, Fascist, Democratic or Republican. The economic depression of recent years has accelerated the process of its adoption in many countries which are mobilising all their national resources for planned programme of economic production both in the spheres of agriculture and industries. Ceylon can no longer afford to drift without

a plan for her agriculture and industrial production when the depression has already revealed the economic unsoundness of Ceylon as a purely agricultural country with a haphazard and opportunist system of cultivation and it is very significant indeed that the Government is now considering a planned action for the economic regeneration and public works of the Island for which a loan of Rs 100 million has been secured.

A survey of the Ceylon Customs Returns reveals an utter dependence of Ceylon on other countries for the primary necessities of life and suggests a very comprehensive programme of industrial production comprising large varieties of manufacture. But as a preliminary to the attempt to formulate such a plan for the industrial development of Ceylon, it appears to be necessary to consider the following facts with a view to determining the extent to which she possesses the essentials for transforming herself from a purely agricultural to a moderately industrial state:

(1) Status of her industrial life, the factors retarding or promoting it in the past;

(2) Resources of the country, both material and human;

(3) Economic, social and political organisations through which the contemplated development would have to take place.

Re (1). The industrial life of Ceylon, in the modern sense of the term, has hardly yet reached the stage of infancy after the gradual collapse of her indigenous system of cottage industries which catered for the needs of her people in the past. The highly lucrative investment in the primary products like tea, rubber, coconut, plumbago, etc. attracted all the capital in the past retarding the growth of manufacturing industries which came in the wake of the Industrial Revolution of the West, and was fast replacing the old technique of industrial production all over the world. The old balance in the economic production of Ceylon in the sphere of agriculture and industries was soon lost and from economic self-sufficiency she became purely an agricultural country. Even in agriculture, she was selective and is perhaps the only agricultural country which imports more than half of her staple food from outside.

Re (2). No thorough scientific investigation has been made regarding the material resources of the Island, either existing or prospective. The necessity for a comprehensive Geological Survey and a systematic examination of available raw materials is very keenly felt in any attempt at a satisfactory assessment of the resources of the country.

varying degrees of development, but there is enough room for their improvement and expansion, especially the textile and the soap industries.

The Safety Matches Industry has made remarkable progress during the last five years and a saturation point was soon reached by the products of eight factories which have sprung



Mr. K. D. Guha



ing cheap power to the industries from the proposed Hydro-Electric Scheme. The supply of cheap power is the key to the industrial success and the future of the industrial development of Ceylon is inseparably bound up with the success of the Hydro-Electric Scheme which I hope will be an accomplished fact before long.

As regards the human resources, the inhabitants of Ceylon unfortunately have hardly any industrial tradition which is one of the most essential factors in the industrial development of any country. The total population of Ceylon is about 5,617,000 of which about 85 per cent are agriculturists who live in villages. Partly due to the climatic conditions and lack of habit and partly due to temperamental reasons the indigenous labourer in Ceylon is not reputed to be very hardworking, but he is intelligent and inherently artistic in nature and I believe his potentialities could be released through adequate training. Sinhalese girls employed in the local safety match, cigarette and tile factories, etc., have proved to be very efficient and I have reasons to be hopeful about the future of their brothers and husbands also.

Re (3). Although the average standard of living in Ceylon is perhaps a little higher than that of many other countries in the East, the available indigenous capital for investment is rather unsatisfactory, chiefly because of the lack of business enterprise and hoarding tendency among the people. The social system is patriarchal and the pronounced love of home of the Sinhalese is perhaps responsible to a great extent for the lack of interest on their part to work in regimentation in the tea and rubber estates. The factor is very important and should be taken into account in deciding the nature of the industrial organisation of the country. The temperament of the people is apparently suited to the requirement of cottage and small-scale industries which do not imply any ruthless regimentation and separation from home.

Personally I believe in decentralising industrial operations as far as possible. The human element in industry hardly receives the respect and consideration it deserves in a big mass-production organisation which invariably tends to reduce the worker into a cog in the machine. The social and cultural loss to the individual is often appalling. There are industries, however, which are incapable of decentralisation for economic and practical reasons and adequate provision should be en-

forced by law for the general well-being of the workers employed in such establishments.

The political organisation of the country appears to be favourable for the successful operation of an industrial plan which will involve a sufficient tariff protection to the industries concerned at the initial stages of the organisation.

The foregoing analyses of the various factors involved in a plan for the development of industries in a country like Ceylon, which has not got even the primary organisation to cope with the problem, abundantly indicate the difficulty of designing any practical plan comprising major industries which will have produced satisfactory results within a limited period without artificially raising the price of the commodities concerned by abnormally high tariffs in view of the fact that every skilled operative has to be imported from abroad at considerable expense for the first few years of the operation.

Besides, the general principle of commercialisation of industrial production is involved in such a plan, and I presume that the Government is prepared to pioneer such industries as hold out prospect of development by starting commercial units with a view to handing them over to private companies when the industries are properly established. I would not, however, recommend the complete withdrawal of Government control and supervision.

There is always a correlation between the size of the manufacturing unit and its efficiency and no factory should be smaller than an economic unit if it could be helped. Model factories when started on a very small scale tend to degenerate into mere academic shows, while there are certain major industries like cement, rubber, ply-wood, etc., which it would be absurd to start on uneconomic units in a small country like Ceylon where the scope of extension of such production is likely to be restricted by the limited home market. In the cases of such major industries, the Government should have the monopoly of production which will not expose the scheme to the charge of Government competition with private enterprise. Whenever possible the Government should encourage the formation of companies on limited liability basis by purchasing shares, advancing loans, etc.

The extent of industrial production in any particular manufacture will be primarily conditioned by the principle of self-sufficiency as it is likely to be very difficult if not utterly

impossible to capture any export markets which are highly protected by tariffs. At the outset, therefore the production units should be so designed as to meet only the local demands.

The direct participation of Government in the development of industries dates back to the medieval days, in one form or another. The system of State Capitalism was perfected in Germany long before the term "Economic Planning" has been introduced in the scheme of industrial production. The example of Germany has been emulated by Japan which has proceeded to develop many new industries itself turning them over to private capitalists after they have been made profitable, but often retaining an interest in the enterprise.

Nearer home, the Government of Mysore has developed a number of industries by State Capital. About 20 years ago a model soap factory was started by the Government at Bangalore with a view to promoting private enterprises. The factory has since developed into a big commercial concern with its own trade secrets to guard even against the public of the Mysore State, and although its main objective to promote private enterprises has been utterly defeated, it is nevertheless one of the most successful soap factories in India today. In addition to the soap factory, the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works, the Sandal Oil Factory, the Ceramic Factory, etc., have been started by the Government at a considerable expense and I am sure Ceylon will not tread a lonely path in the quest to ameliorate the unemployment and increase the general prosperity of the Island by following the principle of State Capitalism.

But the fundamental laws of industrial evolution should not be lost sight of in the enthusiasm of initiating industrial advances. The growth of industries and industrial traditions is organic in nature and every country must pass through the normal phases of its industrial evolution from the primitive agricultural production to the highly efficient factory operation. A planned programme of industrial development may enormously accelerate the growth from one phase to the next but it cannot enable a country to skip any of the intermediate phases altogether. The different levels of economic development of every country may be marked by the following:

1. Primitive agricultural production.
2. Cottage industries production.
3. Improved agricultural production.
4. Small industries—Improved cottage industries production.
5. Factory production.

Even the most revolutionary scheme of any country must design its operation in conformity with the existing level of its economic and industrial development. The necessity of a tremendous amount of spade-work should not, therefore, be overlooked in any attempt to understand the problem of the industrial development of Ceylon whose level of economic development is primarily limited to primitive agricultural production.

During these days of economic nationalism there is a strong tendency for an absolute self-sufficiency in the sphere of economic production. The theory of self-sufficiency beyond a certain limit is self-denying and definitely prejudicial to the best interest of the countries to which it is applied. For instance, it is absurd for Ceylon to undertake a scheme for the manufacture of iron and steel from the imported ore and coal as an attempt at self-sufficiency. I admit there is hardly any technical objection to any kind of manufacture at the present stage of scientific development, and certain types of utterly uneconomical manufactures have been made possible in many European countries with the help of prohibitive tariffs even as the rearing of the banana tree in the Green House of Edinburgh by temperature control. The manufacture of power alcohol as a substitute for petrol by France is an instance but it should be remembered that the manufacture has been inspired by political exigency rather than economic ones. Besides, the extreme form of economic nationalism seeks to negative the international co-operation in the exchange of commodities and ideas on which the structure of the modern civilisation has been built.

Having discussed the fundamental conditions essential for a scheme of industrial development of Ceylon, we may now outline the organisation that is contemplated to carry on this work.

A Department of Commerce and Industries has recently been organised and is being equipped with technical staff, laboratories, workshops, etc., with a view to launching on a programme of industrial research which is essential to any industrial planning and its successful operation.

The Department should carry on the necessary scientific investigation on raw materials available and plan out the development of prospective industries and place the necessary technical and economic advice at the disposal of the public. In the absence of private enterprise the Government would initiate those industries which are of economic importance to the country. The traditional arts and designs

of Ceylon should, as far as possible, find expression in the industrial products of the Island.

The industries which hold out prospects for development in Ceylon may be divided into three categories :

1. Cottage industries
2. Small scale industries
3. Big industries

Re (1). The importance of cottage industries in rural economy has been recognised by all the predominantly agricultural countries and efforts are being made, especially in India, to arrest the gradual decline of cottage industries by placing them on up-to-date scientific foundations both in matters of technique and organisation.

Most of the traditional cottage industries of Ceylon have been reduced from a utility trade into a mere curio trade owing to the ruthless competition of factory products with the result that thousands of artisans have been compelled to give up the profession of their ancestors and drift into unemployment and destitution. I have seen the miserable condition of the weavers of Batticaloa and Jaffna districts, the mat-weavers of Dumbura Valley, metal workers of Kandy and Hambantota districts, the tortoise-shell workers of the Galle district and the coir workers all along the coast-line where coconut is grown, and efforts are being made to help them and organise these industries on up-to-date lines. It should be remembered that the success of the bigger industries will ultimately depend on the increased purchasing capacity of the villagers who are capable of being trained as cottage workers—either as a subsidiary or whole-time occupation.

Special efforts have already been directed to improve the hand-loom and coir industries of the Island. A scheme of peripatetic demonstration consisting of six parties—four textile and two coir—has been operating for the last three years in different parts of the Island with encouraging results. A large number of coir spinning machines has been introduced among the village folk and the primitive throw-shuttle looms are being replaced by up-to-date fly-shuttle looms as a result of the demonstrations. A model coir factory which has been designed to work in co-operation with small manufacturers and cottage workers has been functioning for the last few months, in Colombo. A comprehensive scheme for the development of the hand-loom industry on improved lines has also been prepared to follow up the activities of the Textile Peripatetic parties. The Scheme contemplates to begin with, seven production centres in the rural areas with

a Central co-ordinating organisation in Colombo for finishing, designing and marketing.

Research should also be undertaken in the proposed workshop with a view to improving the technique of other cottage industries, e.g., basket weaving, mat weaving, fibre work, tortoise-shell products, metal work, pottery work, etc. The problems relating to the technique, design and marketing of cottage industries should receive the attention of the department in an attempt to improve them from a mere curio trade to which they have been reduced at present.

I should, however, like to make it abundantly clear that those cottage industries which are found to be incapable of being developed on efficient, scientific and economic lines should be allowed to die a normal death. No useful purpose would be served in keeping them alive by artificial respiration. The state aid and energy so employed may be much better directed to foster prospective industries on mass production line perhaps rather than subsidising uneconomic production and poverty.

Re (2) Small scale industries should be distinguished from cottage industries by the application of small power machines to the former. Special investigation should be carried out in the laboratories and workshops with a view to improving and standardising the methods of such industries. I consider that the following may be developed as small scale industries :

1. Small weaving factory with Jacquard and semi automatic or automatic looms
2. Hosiery factory
3. Pencil, nib and pen holder factory
4. Shoe and leather goods factory
5. Button factory
6. Cutlery and metal works, etc

Re. (3) Considerable investigation and research are very necessary before a complete plan for the establishment of suitable industries could be prepared. Attention is being directed at present to the related problems of the following industries which appear to hold out prospects for development :

Cement, textile, leather, sugar, porcelain, paper, plywood, rubber, fish products, fruit canning, caustic soda, bleaching powder and soap, etc.

The manufacture of Cement in Ceylon has been engaging the attention of the Government for a long time. Negotiations with private parties to float a company in Ceylon is now in progress.

The co-operation of various departments would be obviously necessary to carry out joint

investigations on Chemical, Engineering, Agricultural, Geological and Biological problems involved in the development of the industries just mentioned.

A Four-Year-Plan based on the available data has been prepared and a sum of 3 million rupees has been allocated for the purpose. In addition to the Model Coir Factory which has already started operation, the following industries have been included in the Plan :

1. Hand-loom Industry
2. Hosiery
3. Paper
4. Caustic Soda and Bleaching Powder
5. Tanning and Leather Goods
6. Rubber
7. Pottery

8. Ply-wood
9. Sugar

In conclusion I may mention that the success of different industries is inter-dependent—the by-product of one being the raw material of the other and vice versa. The days of isolated development of individual industries are past and the modern tendency for planning could be clearly seen in the increasing growth of huge industrial combines all over the world. The future of Industrial Planning in Ceylon will therefore depend largely on the amount of co-ordination that could be brought to bear on the operation of different industries to be developed under the scheme with a view to completing the industrial circuit of economic production.

## FLY-PASTE

By DR. R. L. DATTA, D.Sc., *Industrial Chemist, Bengal,*

AND

SUSTHIR CHANDRA SEN, M.Sc.

The fly is a well-known pest of the tropics and in India it is a evil of the first magnitude being notorious as a carrier of infection of dangerous diseases. The pest can be effectively kept under check and even exterminated for the time being by the use of the fly-paper but the high cost of such paper prohibits its use on a large scale. These papers are mostly imported from abroad. The present communication is made with the object of helping the public to make with ease a cheap and at the same time efficient form of fly-paper for domestic use.

The experience of the writers goes to show that localities having a high concentration of flies can be made entirely fly-free by the continued use of such paper for about a month. Sporadic effort for a day or two or some days will be of little avail and the campaign must be relentlessly pursued. In a particular case, the writers spread each day about a dozen and a half sheets at places where the flies swarmed. The catch in the beginning was as high as about 50,000 per day, but it soon fell and the place became gradually free from fly and finally no fly could be seen there. The experiment took about 3-4 weeks' time. For a continuance of the state of immunity a little vigilance is necessary and one or two papers at spots where any fly may be noticed will keep the place absolutely clean and free from flies.

The paste with which the papers for this experiment was coated was made from a mixture of castor oil and ordinary rosin, which are very common and cheap materials. The exact proportion of these ingredients by weight for such a paste is—

Rosin—63 parts  
Castor oil—37 parts.

Where weighing is difficult or inconvenient to be done, it can be readily prepared by taking a small measure such as a tin scoop found in food products or even a tin stopper of a phial used upside down and measuring out the constituents as follows—

Rosin in roughly powdered form—3 level scoopfuls  
Castor oil—1 scoopful plus about  $\frac{1}{4}$  scoop which is secured by measuring with a little overflow.

To make the paste, the two constituents are taken in a pot of any material and heated gently over a low fire when the rosin melts and mixes with the oil to form a thin fluid. Care should be taken not to heat this mixture to the smoking stage. The paste thus prepared should while still hot and mobile be applied evenly by means of some improvised brush on one side only of ordinary white paper in sizes of a foolscap sheet or even a double foolscap sheet. Any kind of waste paper such as newspaper can also be used. As the paste cools on the paper, it becomes very sticky. The stickiness, i.e., the efficiency of the paper is usually maintained for 24-36 hours and the paper must be used to catch flies within this period. For this purpose the paper is spread, the pasted side on the top, at places infected with flies. The latter alight on the paper and get stuck. The catches continue so long as any available space of the paper is left. The paper with the flies should then be destroyed, preferably by burning. Fresh papers are to be made for use every day but it is not necessary to prepare new paste every day. The prepared paste may be stored in a covered tin container from which portions may be taken out for daily use or as required, heated to a clear melt and applied on paper in the hot state as already described.

## BYRON—A RETROSPECT AND AN ESTIMATE

BY PROF. D. K. SEN, M.A.

IF LITERATURE constitutes the noblest contribution of the Anglo-Saxon race to the wealth of nations, England must ever cherish the memory of her great poets who flourished in the first quarter of the last century. The advent of four of her greatest poets in that age was not a mere accident. Mighty forces were at work to leaven up society. The French Revolution, coming in the wake of the revolutionary philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau, shook the very foundation of the old *regime*, and new ideas of freedom, justice and equality animated and inspired the best minds of the age. The national spirit too burst into flames to combat the Napoleonic menace to autonomy, and mighty reserve forces leapt to the fray, transforming in due course the political, social and intellectual life of the Continent. The new spirit had infected even Wordsworth in his seclusion, and wrung from him the confession—

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven<sup>1</sup>

His early enthusiasm, however, soon evaporated away, and he lived a long and monotonous life, in quiet contemplation of the joyous harmony of nature and the still, sad music of humanity. In sharp contrast to this were the brief but dazzling careers of his younger contemporaries, Byron and Shelley.<sup>1</sup>

The two poets were born with a fiery will, a restless spirit, an egotism and hauteur, rare even in the case of the *genus irritabile*. None perhaps answered better Tennyson's description of the class :

The poet in a golden clime was born,  
With golden stars above;  
Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,  
The love of love.

No wonder that these tameless and proud spirits hurried into conflict with society and denounced the injustice, hypocrisy and fanaticism of the age. But their message fell on deaf ears and they were shunned as abnormal men, if not veritable monsters. This spiritual kinship and a curious similarity in certain outward circumstances of their lives have however

obscured the essential fact that, in many respects, they were almost the antithesis of each other. Shelley, burning with an insatiable zeal to reform society and trying his utmost to realize an impossible world, was almost like an angel who 'in this harsh world drew his breath in pain'<sup>2</sup>, Byron, on the other hand, never talked Utopia, never ignored the practical calls of life to pursue a visionary gleam. His revolutionary liberalism was poles asunder from the pure idealism of Shelley. Yet Shelley felt a sincere admiration for his friend, idealized him in his *Juhan and Maddalo*, and finally paid him the following glowing tribute :

The Pilgrim of Eternity whose fame  
On his living head like heaven is bent,  
An early but enduring monument.

Shelley's prophecy might seem strange, almost fatuous, to some modern readers, but one may note, by the way, that literary judgments, even by eminent critics, have often proved absurdly erroneous. The greatest genius of all times was only an inspired barbarian, in the opinion of Voltaire. The organ roll of harmony of the greatest modern epic seemed harsh and uncouth to Dr Johnson.<sup>3</sup> Lord Jeffrey's verdict on Wordsworth was that he was a 'drivelling idiot,' and even Matthew Arnold criticized Shelley as "an ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." Posterity, however, has judged them aright and made amends by putting on their laurelled heads the crown of immortality. But Byron's case is almost unique. At twenty-four, he flashed into sudden, dazzling fame, the like of which never fell to the lot of any other poet, but five years later, the idol was hated and shunned as a pariah and driven into perpetual exile. The heroic death of the poet had no mollifying effect, the blatant fury of passion and prejudice continued unabated, ecclesiastic and layman, poet and reviewer,

2. 'I grow weary to behold.  
The selfish and the strong still tyrannize  
Without reproach or check, etc.'  
Dedication to *The Revolt of Islam*.

3. The pugnacious Doctor quotes with approval the witty remark, 'Blank verse seems to be verse only to the eye.'

1. It is usual to connect with them Keats, though in fact his spirit preferred to dwell apart in the 'fairy land of high romance.'

biographer and buffoon, all stood up against the supposed enemy of morality and social order, and for many decades England did not even think of a national memorial to one of her most illustrious sons.

This indeed is an occasion that might well call forth Chalmers' impatient exclamation, 'The public is just a great baby!' But the attitude of the English public is strongly defended by many colder critics of posterity. Byron, they say, was a vile man, a mere cock-comb, 'who posed all his life long.' His works, they add, are deficient in morality; they are 'too free', too sentimental, too flashy. He defied convention in poetry as in life, and lacked the sure and firm touch of the true artist. His versification, grammar and diction are such as have 'corrupted the English language.' His style is 'slovenly, shapeless, infelicitous,' and his verses break down into 'sheer bellman's rhyme and kitchen maid's grammar.' 'Byron', says Prof. Saintsbury 'seems to me a poet distinctly of the second class. . . His verse is to the greatest poetry what melodrama is to tragedy, what plaster is to marble, what pickbeek is to gold.' Critics like Scherer have gone a step further and put him, in Herbert Paul's witty phrase, 'where sensible travellers put themselves--in the third class, because there is no fourth.'

If these critics are right, then the Byron puzzle becomes, forsooth, 'plain as way to parish church!' But, in fact, such criticism, by its very simplicity and narrowness, only emphasizes the inherent difficulty of the question. Much of what has been said and written by Byron's early critics against his private life and character is undoubtedly true, but the spirit that animated them was often malicious and their real entirely misguided. They were too near Byron, too directly affected by the cross currents of his strange career, to judge him wisely or dispassionately. They were not troubled by any thought of heredity, environment, individual genius--what Tennyson calls, the abysmal depths of personality. Criticism is often vitiated by a lack of consideration of these things, by the foolish attempt to study, in a sort of philosophical vacuum, a complex character, and then to label it up. Byron, like many other men of genius, would bear no such labelling. How, indeed, shall we characterize a man who was, in a sense, his own worst enemy, always blurting out 'confessions' of moral lapses which had often little truth in them? How shall we account for the queer 'cussedness' in his disposition which impelled

him to pass from extreme to extreme, from aristocratic parade and vanity to vulgar love of money, from scorn of society to a slavish craving for popularity, from sordid wine-bibbing and fast living to heroic fighting and dying? For a proper appreciation of this strange union of opposite extremes, we must fully weigh the forces that influenced him from birth and gave him his peculiar bias. Genius is apt to be erratic, but surely denunciation is not the proper attitude to it.

To modern readers Byron's revolt against society and its conventional morality appears in a new light. We have it on unimpeachable authority that England then was a very hot-bed of vice, fanaticism, hypocrisy in morals, and of reactionary Toryism in politics. Byron appeared on the scene with the beauty of Apollo Belvedere, the pride and scorn of the born aristocrat, and a genius that seemed unique, and at once became the lion of society. Never perhaps was a soul so lavishly endowed by nature so irretrievably spoiled by the accidents of birth, fortune and society. But Byron had the fury and passion of a Titan, and when the fickleness and injustice of society revolted him, he left England for good, but never forgot to wreak his vengeance on it. The result was a 'lava-stream of scorn and irony' unsurpassed in literature, as well as the fantastic 'confessions' which so scandalized his country-men. But the dissipated life of the reckless exile does not represent the true Byron. Surely a weak sensualist or a mere coxcomb could never produce, in hot haste, such works as the third and fourth cantos of *Childe Harold*, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, *Manfred*, *Beppo*, *Don Juan*, *Cain*, and *The Vision of Judgment*. Byron's intense literary life and his noble death are his best answers to all unworthy slanders and insinuations.

Byron, who shared with Napoleon the wonder of Europe, may well be compared with him. He was indeed 'the grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme.' The fire, the passion, the egotism of the conqueror is fully present in the poet. Their tragic careers furnish a curious commentary on the vanity of human ambition and the irony of fate. Few other

names arouse emotions so diametrically opposite, deification alternating with superstitious horror and suspicion.<sup>6</sup> Thackeray's amusing story of the Calcutta servant, who thought that 'Napoleon ate three sheep every day, and all the little children he could lay hands on,' is matched by the 'weird' story of Mrs. Harvey, a pious English lady, who actually fainted in horror to hear Byron announced! Byron's estimate of Napoleon, it may be added, reads like a piece of self-revelation:

There sunk the greatest, nor the worst of men,  
Whose spirit antithetically mist,  
One moment of the mightiest, and again,  
On little objects with like firmness fixt.

Byron's elusive personality deceived both friend and foe, and a storm of contending passions raged round his name for about a century. The closest scrutiny, however, showed that he possessed certain noble qualities which did not fail him even at his worst—hatred of cant and tyranny, sympathy for poor sufferers, devotion to friends and followers, and a passionate love of liberty that was free from any touch of insularity. The moral controversy is now over, but it must be admitted that it had a tremendous influence on public opinion in the last century. Its repercussion was chiefly felt in England, and the general reader, 'your British blackguard' in Byron's bitter phrase, simply smiled at his poetry without reading it. The belief had sunk deep in the public mind that it was but an empty reflex of his own morbid life<sup>7</sup>, full of parade and declamation, but without any truth, beauty or elevating thought. It seems strange, indeed, that Scherer's sweeping and uncritical remarks passed for true criticism and the phrase, Byronic pose, became a by-word of reproach.

Byron's limitations are many. He is a careless artist, an undramatic dramatist, a satirist without true humour. His verse is disfigured by loose, slipshod phrases, jarring rhymes and gross breaches of taste. But if poetry is essentially an outflow of strong, sincere and passionate emotion in forms of beauty, Byron is undoubtedly a true poet, one of the greatest in English literature. His best works abound in lines that bear the sure stamp of genius, in rare gems, such as the following:

6. Leigh Hunt thought that though Byron was a fine poet, he was not a gentleman. So Emerson says of Napoleon, '... you are not dealing with a gentleman at last, but with an impostor and a rogue.'

7. 'He has treated hardly any subject but one—himself'—Scherer.

8. 'Byron is no poet at all.'

'He heard it, but he heeded not; his eye  
Were with his heart, and that was far away.'

'Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,  
And all went merry as a marriage bell;  
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a  
rising knell!'

'But when I stood beneath the fresh green tree  
Which living waves where thou didst cease to  
live, ...

I turned from all she brought to those she could  
not bring.'

Sir Arthur Quiller Couch says:

"If any man deny that for poetry—deny to that last line, with its dragging monosyllables, the informing touch of high poetry—let us not argue with him."

Byron never lost his hold on the Continent, though his popularity steadily declined in England after his death. Swinburne is of opinion that Byron's jingling verse and careless expressions are improved by translation into a foreign tongue, but such minor considerations hardly account for the above fact. The true explanation, as suggested above, is to be found in the inter-action of a variety of causes, social, literary, political. Byron, more than any of his contemporaries, caught up the spirit of his age and gave it a most vivid and passionate expression. He was at once its most faithful exponent and its most merciless critic. His countrymen hated him and yet devoured his writings and wept over his sorrows and complaints. He was specially fitted to minister to that restless age and he did it with astonishing success. His fiery indignation, slashing scorn and reckless revolt mirrored the fierce discontent that was then seething in countless souls, and he was hailed as the most cosmopolitan of English poets, as Europe's greatest champion of justice and freedom. His poetry still supplies the oppressed and disheartened nations of the world with some of the most inspiring and lofty calls to liberty, e.g.,

'The mountains look on Marathon  
And Marathon looks on the sea;  
And musing there an hour alone,  
I dreamed that Greece might still be free.'

'Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not  
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?  
By their right arms the conquest must be wrought?'

'Eternal Spirit of the chainless Mind!  
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art'

'Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,  
Streams like the thunder-storm against the wind;  
Thy trumpet voice, though broken now and dying,  
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind.'

Verily, the song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed.

Byron was born in 1788, (i.e. 150 years ago), and died in 1824. It is time now to form a final estimate of his poetry, without regard to his historic eminence, the glamour<sup>9</sup> of his personality, or the blind deification and exaltation of the last century. Is he a true classic? Will his poetry live? To that question there can be only one clear answer today. Byron may lack the natural ease of Wordsworth, the

perfect expression of Keats or the lyrical fire of Shelley, but in his own sphere he occupies a unique place. His superb rhetoric, daring imagination, and picturesque description are unsurpassed in literature, and for passion, sweep of power and energy he is almost unequalled. Goethe said long ago:

"The English may think of Byron what they please, but it is certain that . . . he is the greatest genius of our century."

Well, the English too think differently now—they too have cast away their inheritance of ingratitude and many of their eminent critics acclaim *Don Juan* as one of the few greatest things in literature. *Don Juan*, says one of them, was 'his Heights of Abraham: and falling, he passes into a splendour of memory.'

9. (a) 'Byron is dead!' Tennyson says how he went about speechless all day, only muttering to himself, 'Byron is dead!' 'I thought the whole world was at an end'

(b) Mrs. Carlyle says: Had I heard that the sun and moon had fallen out of their spheres, it could not have conveyed to me the feeling of a more awful blank than did the simple words, 'Byron is dead!'

## BEHIND THE NEWS IN EUROPE

By CHAMAN LAL

Which God Helps Hitler?—England Befooled—Manufactured War Scare—Money in The Trenches—London Will Hell Hitler—Future of France—Empire is Doomed—Lloyd George Speaks Truth—Peace With Permanent Trenches—Halle Selassie Warned Benes—What Germans Think?—Spiritual Exhaustion of Chamberlain—No Hopes for Simon—What King Can not Do?—Chamberlain's Motto—Churchill to Make Money—Italy's 20,000 Colonisers.

PEOPLE in India are afraid of the "god of Saturday" and give lots of charities to avoid his wrath, but the same god is very friendly to Hitler.

Saturday has been Herr Hitler's favourite day for spectacular moves.

Saturday, June 30th, 1934, Hitler "purged" the Nazi party, made himself undisputed master of Germany.

Saturday, March 16th, 1935, Hitler decreed conscription throughout Germany.

Saturday, March 17th, 1936, Hitler's troops re-occupied the Rhineland demilitarised zone.

Saturday, March 12th, 1938, Hitler's troops marched into Austria.

Saturday, October 1st, German troops marched into Czechoslovakia.

### CHAMBERLAIN'S TRUMP CARD

Believe it or not Chamberlain under the influence of this "god of Saturday" helped Hitler by creating war-panic in London and compelling the British people to ask him to save them at all costs. He fooled the country successfully.

Currently there are four schools of thought in Britain on the genesis of the recent crisis, says an English weekly cavalcade:

No. 1, the dominant school regards Prime Minister Chamberlain as a miracle man who saved the world from certain disaster. "Peace in our time at all costs" is the watchword.

No. 2 takes the view that Herr Hitler was staging a mighty bluff which could have been called had France and Britain lined up with Russia in an emphatic "Islands-off-Czechoslovakia" warning to the Fuhrer.

Third grouping sees in the whole affair the logical process of the Chamberlain-Hallifax pro-German policy, which always aimed at a Four-Power Pact.

This faction alleges that a good deal of the "scare" and its "appeasement" was deliberately manufactured.

Britain, they aver, will now have its own particular brand of Fascism, that the adoration of Chamberlain is but the preliminary "build-up" for the "Fuhrer Ideology" in British politics.

### MONEY IN THE TRENCHES

The British are truly Banias. Even out of war-scare they made millions out of their poor countrymen. An English woman got a brain wave and she advertised in the papers as follows:

"Lovely trench in home garden. Room for three. Standing accommodation offered at five shillings per hour. Hot water-bottles for feet at 2½ shillings extra."

She received a large number of applications even advances, but her business could not



prosper because Chamberlain saved England by selling Czecho-Slovakia!

### ENGLAND TO "HEIL HITLER"

If Chamberlain's plans work out, England will be shouting "Heil Hitler" before the advent of the new year. Here are some questions beard in a West End club:—

1. When will Hitler be visiting England?
2. Are we seeing the start of Fascism here?
3. What colonies are we going to give up?

It is certain that England would offer Hitler places like Nigeria, Gold Coast, French Dahomey, and parts of Togoland but she will try to say "no" as far as Tanganyika and South West Africa are concerned.

### FUTURE OF FRANCE

Thus laments the *Neus Chronicle*:

"What of France? The Popular Front has been broken by M. Daladier's part in the Munich deal and the vote which followed it. Is the Fascist tide to overwhelm the French next? Talks of a Franco-Italian rapprochement suggest that that may come. Or will French democracy crumble in increasing terror behind her Maginot line, while the forces of Fascism grow stronger around her?"

"What of Britain? The trend of the Anglo-Italian talks suggests that once again the Spanish Republic is to be abandoned, with all the vital strategic positions which go with it. Is Britain shortly to be gathered in as an associate member of the Fascist fold?"

### EMPIRE AT STAKE, SAYS LLOYD GEORGE

While Chamberlain tried to fool his countrymen by saying that the "scrap of paper" signed by him and Hitler meant "peace for our times", the leaders of conservative England have begun to realise that the Empire was never in a greater danger as today. Hitler's march to the East is proving such a great success that many countries known to be friendly to Britain are falling in line with Germany and even Czecho-Slovakia has decided to adopt a friendly policy towards Germany.

England by her own cowardly policy of treachery to Ethiopia and Czecho-Slovakia has lost all her friends in Europe. Today France is the only country that stands with England and that too for her own selfish interest.

### LLOYD GEORGE SPEAKS OUT

Mr. Lloyd George in the course of a strongly worded article says:

"Three years ago Britain and France rallied 47 nations behind them in the enforcement of economic sanctions against Italy because of her invasion of Abyssinia. Today they could not rally to stand against the rapacity of the dictators any country in Europe except Russia—who has no fear of the dictators. The influence of Britain has vanished from the map of the world."

This is a former Prime Minister's verdict. Yet when I said the same thing last year in my book *Vanishing Empire* (banned and confiscated by the British Government) I was deprived of my passport.

Lloyd George would have been imprisoned if he were an Indian.

### LORD LLOYD SAYS SAME THING

And Lord Lloyd says the same thing. He writes:

"The safety of our Empire is at stake . . . We must ask our leaders to realize their duty."

He urges conscription.

Lord Winterton says that unless British people can follow the lead given by Italy and Germany in organisation and sacrifice, there is no hope for the British nation and adds "we shall sooner or later be destroyed." These are the prophecies by three eminent Englishmen and let us say "Amen".

For the simple reason that Britain has enjoyed the rape of India, the Chinese opium wars, and the ruthless exploitation of Colonies and thus has become rich and cowardly, it must face the consequences in the near future. England's difficulty will be our opportunity.

### IS IT PEACE?

Now read and laugh at the hypocrisy of some British journalists

The *Sunday Chronicle* writes:

"Thanks to his untiring devotion to the cause of peace, Mr Chamberlain carried Britain and Europe safely through its worst crisis."

### MAKING TRENCHES PERMANENT

And in the same breath the paper adds:

Men and women should be enlisted for A. R. P. to the last one needed and with an ample reserve. A new campaign must be begun.

All wardens and their assistants, together with motor drivers and the rest, should be given a uniform, or some portion of a uniform, that is distinctive and of which they can be proud. A small badge which cannot be seen in the dark is not enough.

Now is the time also not only to make the trenches permanent, that have been dug, but for new ones to be constructed and on improved lines.

Time now exists also for concrete, bombproof shelters to be erected; and there are the unemployed to build them. Above all, every householder should see to his own resources in room or cellar.

### HAILE SELASSIE WARNED BENES

Rumour circulating in Prague is that during the height of the crisis Dr. Benes received the following telegram from Haile Selassie, late of Abyssinia:

"I understand that you are receiving the support of the British Government. Please accept my most profound sympathy."

It is evident that Doctor Benes could have saved the country from dismemberment if he had listened to Haile Selassie's warning and made truce with Hitler by giving autonomy to Sudetens. He must thank Britain now.

### CHAMBERLAIN HELPING HITLER

#### A German view :

Feelings of German democrats these days are shown in a letter from a Hamburg anti-Nazi which has just been received—underground, of course—by a member of the Labour Party in London, and is printed in the October number of "Germany Today," a bulletin of news from illegal anti-Fascist sources.

"Do not forget, in your sorrow for Czecho-Slovakia (the letter says), the equally important fact that Chamberlain and Daladier have at the same time helped Hitler to prolong his reign of terror in Germany.

"During the last months our movement had grown rapidly. Here in Hamburg the opposition against Hitler is particularly strong.

"It consists of the most varied social strata. There are, of course, the Communists and Social Democrats and Trade Unionists; but the middle classes, Protestants and Catholics and many businessmen, big and small, are also eager to get rid of this war-monger.

"We have given up hope that the democratic peace forces in Germany will have an ally in those who are at present ruling the Western democracies, England and France."

The Truth is that a vast majority of Germans are behind Hitler and his latest victory without a shot has made all opposition hate the so called democratic powers, England and France.

### KING CAN NOT SMOKE

According to the French paper *Marie Claire*, King George VI could, if he wanted to :

...sell the Fleet, because it belongs to him; sell the Duchy of Cornwall, which is his personal property; open the doors of every prison and set all the prisoners free; dismiss all the soldiers and sailors and send them all home; dissolve Parliament and prevent it from meeting for as long as he desires; declare war on France, but only for the purpose of regaining Brittany; preach once a year in St. David's Cathedral, of which he is Canon, and from which he receives a yearly salary of 25s.

But, on the other hand, he has not the right to smoke in public, not even a cigarette.

### NO HOPE FOR SIMON

Indian readers fed with *Reuter's* rich propaganda may be under the impression that since Parliament voted for Chamberlain, the people are behind him. This is a false notion, Chamberlain's political death (and moral death has already taken place) is quite certain. Hereafter he will face a still more

hostile House of Commons and his resignation is certain.

Sir Samuel Hoare will be the next Prime Minister. Sir John Simon will not be supported by the Conservative party, since it is believed that :

"the choice of Sir John Simon as Premier would be making a very serious breach of that front."

### SPIRITUAL EXHAUSTION

I make the prophecy that far sooner than most people expect, Mr. Chamberlain will retire for ever from public affairs.

It is not physical, but spiritual, exhaustion which envelops him. Munich to him may be what the repeal of the Corn Laws was to Peel. Peace with Honour to Disraeli, the Abdication to Baldwin—their last adventure.

### CHAMBERLAIN'S MOTTO

On the back of the Prime Minister's watch there is a Latin motto which means "Never make a promise you can't fulfil" :

It is said that his grandfather, who like his father (of Tariff Reform fame) was called Joseph, was extremely keen on chemistry and was always experimenting and inventing.

One day he borrowed five shillings from one of his teachers, and with it bought some gunpowder. While experimenting he exploded the gunpowder, and was severely whipped as a punishment.

He was told, however, that he was not so much being whipped for the explosion, but rather because he had borrowed money that he could not possibly repay.

Now the watch, engraved with the motto that was chosen after this incident, is continually with the Prime Minister, and surely, for one in such an important position, it is an appropriate reminder.

### CHURCHILL TO MAKE MONEY

Mr. Winston Churchill disgusted with Chamberlain has decided to make more money :

His attack on the Munich agreement and the dangers he foresees to freedom of speech and Press in this country, will enhance the interest of Americans in his lecture tour there later in the month.

There is already much talk of at Minneapolis; they are asking whether the University auditorium would be large enough to hold all those wanting to hear him on October 28, the date he is due to speak there on "Danger Problems of the World."

### £200 A LECTURE

Speakers of the calibre and reputation of Winston Churchill are paid as much as one thousand dollars (£200) a lecture. I dare say Winston can manage as many as 20 appearances; but the £1,000 that would then come his way would be considerably reduced after the United States income tax folk have had their "cut."

### ITALY SENDS COLONISERS

There was a time in our history when India sent thousands, perhaps millions of her adventurous sons to all parts of the world including the ancient America of pre-Columbus days.

Now we are content with hoisting flags every Sunday and conspiring to capture Congress offices.

But the living nations who do not want to stagnate always migrate to the open world which offers opportunities to those who have the spirit of adventure.

Italy will celebrate the 17th anniversary of the march on Rome this year (October 28) by launching the greatest organized migration in history.

First departure will take place at noon on October 28, when Marshal Balbo, Governor of Libya, will sail from Genoa in the *Vulcania* at the head of a fleet of 20 vessels carrying 20,000 Italian peasants to populate Libya.

The 20,000 emigrants comprise 1,800 families. Many of the emigrants have never seen the world beyond their home fields.

They are carrying barest personal necessities. Household possessions, furniture, bedding, farm implements have been left behind, for Marshal Balbo boasts that he has overlooked nothing, and that in the new homes assigned to them in Libya they will find everything they need.

A fully-furnished house awaits each family. There is fuel in the fireplaces and food in the larder.

When the settlers' fleet arrives at Tripoli they will be met at the pier by 1,800 army lorries. Each family will climb into a truck and they will be taken to their new homes.

In addition to clothing and farm implements each farmer settler will find his new house equipped with flour, straw, wood, potatoes, macaroni, rice, salt, coffee, sugar, olive oil, wine, vinegar, canned tomatoes, lamps, matches, cans of evaporated milk for the babies, and one crib.

India needs a leader who should organise a mass migration of a few million adventurous people to countries like Brazil, which needs millions of settlers. Let India send a cultural mission to South America, Australia, U. S. A. and other countries and explore avenues of settling a few million Indians abroad, not as aggressors but as peaceful workers and cultural messengers of India.

London,  
October 9, 1938

## THE UNSEEN POET

By NIRMAL A. DAS

So fond of fame  
I signed my name  
To ev'ry verse I made.

Oh, earned in pain,  
My tears, in vain,  
Must never blush to fade.

The songs I sold,  
When I am old,  
May pave my way to fame.

For, God, for fame,  
To all His claim,  
Has never signed His name!

New York City

But, God, for fame,  
To all His claim,  
Has never signed His name!

The milky way  
In bright array  
Has failed to show His name.

The winding waves  
And cloistered caves  
Will never tell His name.



## SOME REASONS FOR REJECTING THE BRITISH-MADE FEDERAL SCHEME

By K. K. BHATTACHARYA M.A., B.L. (Cal.) LL.M. (London), Bar at-Law,  
*Reader, Law Department, Allahabad University*

CAN healthy conventions obviate the obnoxious features of the Government of India Act and make the scheme acceptable to us Indians? When so much of the powers are reserved by the Governor-General and the Governor, more so in the Centre, overshadowing the Ministers completely at the Centre, reserving all the Departments which vitally affect the Indians in the hands of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India, when the Indian policy is liable to be dictated to by the British Cabinet any time they choose to interfere, only one answer can be given that no amount of conventions can improve the situation. The Act has got to go—more so, the Federal part of it. The Governor-General will stride the whole political board of India armed with his so many powers stretching out in all directions. It is the British Cabinet which will be determining the pace and progress of India's constitutional evolution; it will be the Governor-General who will play the role of the super-minister, irremovable and irresponsible, answerable only to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India for the exercise of his discretion, his individual judgment and his general policy. It cannot be said even by the greatest advocate for the reforms that we have under this Act in the Centre got any self-government at all or any semblance of responsible government. Even in the Provinces there have been large deduction from self-government. The administration of the excluded areas, the tribal areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces leaves much to be desired. Responsible government has not been introduced into these areas, and thus vast tracts of territory will be under "irresponsible" government. In the Centre, where the interests of the Britishers are vitally affected, they have been safeguarded to such an extent as to make the progress of India impossible. Trade, commerce, fiscal policy—all will have to toe the line which will be beneficial to Great Britain. One needs peer below the surface to see the real constitution, and to be convinced that the future progress of the country is doomed once for all if the Act

does not disappear or be not altered beyond recognition. Undoubtedly it is clear that under the present Act as it is, we have not got the slightest power of control over the all-devouring military expenditure. Not only the expenditure but also the policy regarding the Army will remain outside the purview of the Ministers. More than 80 per cent of the Central Revenues will remain non-votable, and even with regard to the remaining 20 per cent the Governor-General can arrogate to himself by virtue of his special powers in the discharge of special responsibilities the remaining 20 per cent. Added to this, the Ministers in the Centre as also in the Provinces will have no control over the Imperial services regarding their recruitment, their salaries, their pensions, etc.

British investments have been made amply secure. British commerce and trade, etc. have been guaranteed. The entire Railway administration has been placed mainly at the disposal of the Governor-General acting in his discretion.

The Reserve Bank of India is an institution dominated by the Governor-General acting in his discretion.

The Governor-General under his special law-making and ordinance-making powers has been empowered to deprive the citizens, by passing the most arbitrary Acts and ordinances, of their civil liberties. The composition of the Houses is also very unsatisfactory. The existence of the bicameral system in the Provinces and in the Central Legislature is unwanted in the interests of efficient and smooth running of the constitution. In the Central Legislature the most fundamental defect is, the over-representation of the Princes; the people in the States have been left completely in the cold shade of neglect. And the Princes' nominees along with the conservative elements will be dominating both the Houses. The system of indirect election of the members of the Federal Legislative Assembly, of conferring co-ordinate jurisdiction upon both the Houses of the Central Legislature as also of the Provinces, where the bicameral system exists, eats into the vitals of responsible government. The Federal Legislature, in such

of creating a revolution in England. Necessarily the device has been invented to perpetuate the present Government of India Act. The same argument applies to the Orders-in-Council applicable to India. They will have to be approved of by both Houses. The reason why the House of Lords has been given such undue importance with regard to Indian affairs is therefore not far to seek. Further, the second Schedule to the Act goes to show that the power of the British Parliament to effect any change with regard to the protected provisions therein will cease to be exercised unless and until the Federated Princes condescend to agree to the changes therein. The Second Schedule which gives us the key to the Act when read in conjunction with Section 6(5) is sufficient to convince any one as to the rigidity of the Act. Of course it is just possible for us to imagine that, if the Paramount Power takes a strong attitude, the Princes might agree to the changes suggested by the people in British India or Indian States. But there is just the other possibility too. Thirty-five crores of Indians have therefore been placed at the mercy of a handful of Indian Princes who will be the arbiters of India's destiny and future progress.

Responsible people, including the members of the British Cabinet, prominent Liberal peers, Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel have all eulogised the scheme in unmitigated terms. Even a responsible man like H. E. Lord Linlithgow in his recent speech before the Central Legislature at Simla asked the Houses to believe that ushering in of the Federation notwithstanding the anomalies will be a great blessing for India. His Lordship declared :

"First, the early establishment of a constitutional relationship between the Indian States and British India, is of utmost importance from the point of view of the maintenance of unity in India, and secondly, the existence of a Central Government capable of formulating policies affecting the interests of the sub-continent as a whole, is of direct and immediate relevance to the economic circumstances of India of today.

Lord Lothian also pleaded in a similar strain, and advocated that the marriage of democratic British-India with autocratic India-India would be for the good of India as a whole. He possibly forgot that the marriage of democratic India with autocratic India, as picturesquely said by him, under the strait jacket of the Government Act of 1935 is no marriage but a mis-alliance or at any rate uneasy and unholy wedlock without honour. Mr. Jinnah in his speech before the Central Legislature in 1935 disapproving of the Federal scheme said that there is 98 per cent irrespon-

sibility and 2 per cent responsibility. I go further and say that there is cent per cent irresponsibility. The Indian Exchequer will have to find money for running the costly structure which will confer on India no benefit at all. Lord Lothian also pleaded very strenuously that the Act is not rigid but flexible, and must be accepted. I cannot of course endorse the view of Lord Lothian; for looking at the Act as a whole, it strikes one as crystal clear that the Act is not only rigid but cast-iron.

No constituent power has been provided for in the Act itself. In the Simon Commission Report we find the members of the Commission stated the need of providing constituent power in the future Government of India Act. To quote the exact words :

"The first principle which we would lay down is that the new constitution should as far as possible contain in itself the provision for its own development. It should not lay down too rigid and uniform a plan but should allow for natural growth and diversity.....Constitutional progress should be the outcome of practical experience where further legislation is required, it should result from the needs of the time, not from the arbitrary demands of a fixed timetable. It has been a characteristic of the evolution of responsible Government in other parts of the British Empire that the details of the constitution have not been exhaustively defined in statutory language. On the contrary, the constitution of the self-governing parts of the British Empire have developed as a result of natural growth."

But the words of the Simon Commission fell on deaf ears, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report ignored the matter altogether. Mr. C. R. Attlee in his speech on the 27th March, 1937 said :

"The whole idea of the Dominion Status entirely disappears from the White Paper even as the ultimate goal. The second thing which entirely disappears is any idea of a progressive advance to full responsible Government. The Simon Commission among other things definitely laid it down that the Constitution should contain within itself the seeds of growth. In the whole of the proposal, there is no suggestion of growth. There is no suggestion that at any time, or on any occasion will the powers of the Governor-General be relaxed. There is no suggestion that at any time the power of the Secretary of State and of this House through the Secretary of State will be relaxed. There is no hint of time."

Mr. Coombs speaking on 12th December, 1934 in the House of Commons made it perfectly clear in his speech that the constitution which was actually said to be introduced was not flexible but a rigid constitution. He stated the scheme as a static plan, a rigid plan, rather a cast-iron, even perhaps almost a final plan. It does not contain within itself the provisions for its own development. Mr. C. R. Attlee also

in his draft report laid stress on the fact that the "constitution should contain possibilities of expansion and development which may with further Act of Parliament realise this object." His draft report was brushed aside. Col. Wedgwood speaking in the House of Commons on 19th February, 1935 observed as follows:

"It is undignified to go on pretending that by this Constitution we are providing something for the benefit of India. What we are proposing is obviously worse at the centre than the present situation. . . . Once this Bill goes through its present state, there is no chance of any further step towards freedom, towards Dominion Status, towards a Democratic Franchise."

Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State, speaking in the House of Commons, "left no doubt in the corner of any mind when he said:

"This Constitution is a rigid Constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament. It is rigid because of the peculiar conditions prevailing in India and because Parliament here would not be prepared to abandon its oversight of future changes."

There cannot be the slightest justification also for introducing the principle of over-representation of European interests in Bengal, or Assam. When population basis has been accepted as the main criterion of representation what justification is there for giving such a huge representation to the Europeans, especially in Bengal and Assam? Was it not for the safety of European trade and commerce in Bengal, and the interests of the planters in Assam?

The Mohammedans have been treated with special favour in Bengal. Even considering the population basis of Bengal, namely 45% and 55%, can there be any justification for giving so few seats to the Hindus and 119 to the Mohammedans? Even on the population basis of Bengal Hindus are entitled to get 103 or 104 seats if the Mohammedans get 119. The Hindus of Bengal are rightly entitled to weightage. But far from giving them weightage, even their legitimate seats have not been given to them. Furthermore, to introduce the element of scheduled caste Hindus into the body-politic has been very harmful to the interests of Hindus generally, especially in Bengal. Scheduled castes in Bengal never laboured under any handicap. They are not regarded as untouchables as in some other Provinces they are. Their sight or touch does not contaminate any one. Even leaving aside scheduled caste members, the Mohammedan representation in Bengal cannot be at all justified. The reason is not far to seek, and Sir Samuel Hoare made it abundantly

clear in one of his speeches in the course of the debate on the 27th March, 1933 in the House of Commons:

"I do not wish to make prophecies about the future, least of all of the Indian future. But I will ask the Honble members to look very carefully at the proposal which we have made, . . . and if they analyse these proposals I think that they will agree with me that it will be impossible, short of a landslide for extremists, to get control of the Federal centre. I believe that to put it at the lowest it will be extremely difficult for them to get a majority in a Province like Bengal."

By extremists of course Sir Samuel Hoare meant Congressmen, and perhaps he has received with shock the news that today 8 Provinces are under Congress Ministers and one Provincial Ministry, viz., Sind Ministry is being kept in power because of the Congress support. His utterance made it abundantly clear why under-representation of the Hindus was resorted to in Bengal. It was with the clear object of keeping the Hindus down by giving them such a small number of seats that they would find it very difficult even with alliance with other progressive parties to run the administration, for all the Hindus of Bengal appeared as suspects in his eyes. But Sir Samuel's hopes in this direction also, notwithstanding the greatest injustice that he had done to the Hindus in Bengal, are doomed to disappointment; for Bengal, too, will very probably come under Congress Ministry very soon. The electorates, Hindu and Muslim have found out that communalism is a thing which is beneficial to neither the Hindus nor the Mohammedans. They are sure to close up their ranks and present a united front sinking their religious differences, making the economic issues the real, live, tangible issues of the nation.

Communalism is one of the worst features of this Act. Communalism is being fomented not by the sincere well-wishers of the country, but by those who want to play their role for their own selfish ends. Whether a Muslim or a Hindu is knighted or gets a fat-salaried post, does not advance by an iota the interest of the Mohammedan or Hindu masses, who are without money, without security, without medical help, without education, dragging on a dreary, miserable and sunless existence, from year's end to year's end, toiling and molling like galley-slaves. From the body-politic of India this canker of communalism must be rooted out, and the best way to do is by educating the masses, and the moment the masses are educated they will be able to realise that the real benefactors of the country are not the

communal leaders who want to set so much store by "religion" in order to exploit their ignorance to fatten themselves and their relations at the expense of the ignorant, the illiterate and the poverty-stricken, and thus drag down the high destiny of the nation. The day the masses are educated they would cease to be exploited by the communal leaders and will know the essence of communalism, i.e., that it retards the growth of the nation as one complete, homogeneous, united whole. Communal representation must therefore go, for otherwise it will continue to be the greatest obstacle to the growth of India as a united nation. I therefore strongly advocate joint electorate, and the abolition of the Communal "Award."

I am, upon consideration of all the facts and circumstances,—clear in my opinion that the Federal part of the scheme as envisaged under the Act must have to go altogether.

It is clear that even if an assurance like the one that came from the Governor-General and Secretary of State in 1937, is again forthcoming, we must still resist the working of the Federal scheme, for no amount of assurance or convention will be able to rid the federal part of its obnoxious features. The Act of 1935 is not a constitution. The stream of omnipotence flows from the footsteps of Whitehall.

There is a world of difference between working the proposed Federal part of the

constitution and the Provincial part, for despite the various subtractions of responsibility in the provincial sphere, since the vital British vested interests are not in the Provinces, the Governor, or Governor-General or Secretary of State would not put unnecessary clogs in the wheel of provincial administration. But not so with the Federal part, where the British vested interests, services, etc. have all been guaranteed, and Indian interests have been thrown to the wolves.

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ALLAHABAD,  
December 8, 1938

## IRAQ

By MUHAMMAD IS-HAQUE, M.A.

BAGHDAD enjoyed its first "Baby Week" on the 26th May, 1938. Nothing like it was ever staged before in this country, and the entire populace of the capital participated with enthusiasm, which was fanned to a high pitch by the spectacular opening ceremony on Thursday evening. This consisted of a procession of decorated lorries which drove over a circuit of some 10 miles from North Gate down the length of Al-Rashid Street, along the new riverside promenade as far as the Al-Wiyah Club and back by a slightly different route.

It was a carnival procession, hitherto unknown as a form of entertainment in Baghdad, and it was received with great applause by the

people of the city who are always easily pleased by anything spectacular and colourful. Each lorry in the procession represented some sphere of child and infant welfare, and demonstrated means of maintaining health and combating disease. Easily the most magnificent was the production of the Rafidian Oil Company whose enormous red, green and yellow petrol lorry with its 2,300 gallon tank, was surmounted by a vast "Imshi" gun fitting an equally gigantic and most realistic fly (largely constructed from painted petrol tins and cardboard), which flapped its gauze wings and then sank down dazed by its death agonies.

in his draft report laid stress on the fact that the "constitution should contain possibilities of expansion and development which may with further Act of Parliament realise this object." His draft report was brushed aside. Col. Wedgwood speaking in the House of Commons on 19th February, 1935 observed as follows:

"It is undignified to go on pretending that by this Constitution we are providing something for the benefit of India. What we are proposing is obviously worse at the centre than the present situation.....Once this Bill goes through its present state, there is no chance of any further step towards freedom, towards Dominion Status, towards a Democratic Franchise."

Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State, speaking in the House of Commons, left no doubt in the corner of any mind when he said:

"This Constitution is a rigid Constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament. It is rigid because of the peculiar conditions prevailing in India and because Parliament here would not be prepared to abandon its oversight of future changes."

There cannot be the slightest justification also for introducing the principle of over-representation of European interests in Bengal, or Assam. When population basis has been accepted as the main criterion of representation what justification is there for giving such a huge representation to the Europeans, especially in Bengal and Assam? Was it not for the safety of European trade and commerce in Bengal, and the interests of the planters in Assam?

The Mohammedans have been treated with special favour in Bengal. Even considering the population basis of Bengal, namely 45% and 55%, can there be any justification for giving so few seats to the Hindus and 119 to the Mohammedans? Even on the population basis of Bengal Hindus are entitled to get 103 or 104 seats if the Mohammedans get 119. The Hindus of Bengal are rightly entitled to weightage. But far from giving them weightage, even their legitimate seats have not been given to them. Furthermore, to introduce the element of scheduled caste Hindus into the body-politic has been very harmful to the interests of Hindus generally, especially in Bengal. Scheduled castes in Bengal never laboured under any handicap. They are not regarded as untouchables as in some other Provinces they are. Their sight or touch does not contaminate any one. Even leaving aside scheduled caste members, the Mohammedan representation in Bengal cannot be at all justified. The reason is not far to seek, and Sir Samuel Hoare made it abundantly

clear in one of his speeches in the course of the debate on the 27th March, 1933 in the House of Commons:

"I do not wish to make prophecies about the future, least of all of the Indian future. But I will ask the Honble members to look very carefully at the proposal which we have made,.....and if they analyse these proposals I think that they will agree with me that it will be impossible, short of a landslide for extremists, to get control of the Federal centre. I believe that to put it at the lowest it will be extremely difficult for them to get a majority in a Province like Bengal."

By extremists of course Sir Samuel Hoare meant Congressmen, and perhaps he has received with shock the news that today 8 Provinces are under Congress Ministers and one Provincial Ministry, viz., Sind Ministry is being kept in power because of the Congress support. His utterance made it abundantly clear why under-representation of the Hindus was resorted to in Bengal. It was with the clear object of keeping the Hindus down by giving them such a small number of seats that they would find it very difficult even with alliance with other progressive parties to run the administration, for all the Hindus of Bengal appeared as suspects in his eyes. But Sir Samuel's hopes in this direction also, notwithstanding the greatest injustice that he had done to the Hindus in Bengal, are doomed to disappointment; for Bengal, too, will very probably come under Congress Ministry very soon. The electorates, Hindu and Muslim, have found out that communalism is a thing which is beneficial to neither the Hindus nor the Mohammedans. They are sure to close up their ranks and present a united front sinking their religious differences, making the economic issues the real, live, tangible issues of the nation.

Communalism is one of the worst features of this Act. Communalism is being fomented not by the sincere well-wishers of the country, but by those who want to play their role for their own selfish ends. Whether a Muslim or a Hindu is knighted or gets a fat-salaried post, does not advance by an iota the interest of the Mohammedan or Hindu masses, who are without money, without security, without medical help, without education, dragging on a dreary, miserable and sunless existence, from year's end to year's end, toiling and moiling like galley-slaves. From the body-politic of India this canker of communalism must be rooted out, and the best way to do so is by educating the masses, and the moment the masses are educated they will be able to realise that the real benefactors of the country are not the



communal leaders who want to set so much store by "religion" in order to exploit their ignorance to fatten themselves and their relations at the expense of the ignorant, the illiterate and the poverty-stricken, and thus drag down the high destiny of the nation. The day the masses are educated they would cease to be exploited by the communal leaders and will know the essence of communalism, i.e., that it retards the growth of the nation as one complete, homogeneous, united whole. Communal representation must therefore go, for otherwise it will continue to be the greatest obstacle to the growth of India as a united nation. I therefore strongly advocate joint electorate, and the abolition of the Communal "Award."

I am, upon consideration of all the facts and circumstances,—clear in my opinion that the Federal part of the scheme as envisaged under the Act must have to go altogether.

It is clear that even if an assurance like the one that came from the Governor-General and Secretary of State in 1937, is again forthcoming, we must still resist the working of the Federal scheme, for no amount of assurance or convention will be able to rid the federal part of its obnoxious features. The Act of 1935 is not a constitution. The stream of omnipotence flows from the footsteps of Whitehall.

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constitution and the Provincial part, for despite the various subtractions of responsibility in the provincial sphere, since the vital British vested interests are not in the Provinces, the Governor, or Governor-General or Secretary of State would not put unnecessary clogs in the wheel of provincial administration. But not so with the Federal part, where the British vested interests, services, etc. have all been guaranteed, and Indian interests have been thrown to the wolves.

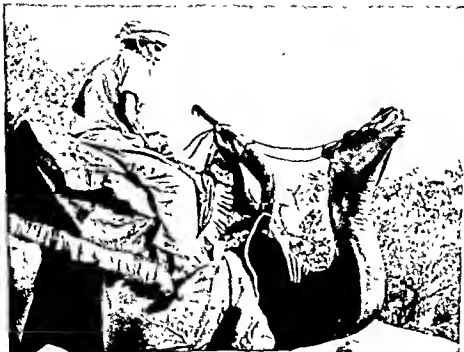
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ALLAHABAD,  
December 8, 1933



A Rajput on Horse

S. Bhatia



The Chariot

—S. Bhatia

## RAJPUT SONGS OF WAR

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

[The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, wrote to Srijut Devendra Satyarthi in one of his letters :

"I have read practically all your articles published in *The Modern Review* and congratulate you warmly for their general high standard. They reveal the inner soul of Rural India and it is extremely desirable that they should be known in other parts of the world as well"

We also wrote in September, 1934 :

"Prof. Devendra Satyarthi has been very usefully occupied for some years in collecting the folk-songs of the different parts of India in the languages spoken there. His collection is already rich and I hope it will be richer as time passes. The work he has been doing is very important. Folk-songs enable us to understand the mind and heart of the people. From similarities in the folk-songs of different regions we perceive the unity in diversity in human nature and if the folk-songs of all countries could be collected and compared it could be seen that there was one mind and heart underlying them common to all mankind. His collection should be of considerable use to philologists, anthropologists and educational psychologists, in addition to being a source of pleasure to ordinary listeners and readers."—*Enron, M. R.*]

### I.

The whole history of the long warfare in Rajputana brought about an anonymous harvest of heroic *Doochas*.

The *Doocha* in Rajputana attained four types: (1) The *Doocha*, (2) The *Sortha* or *Sorthio Doocho*, (3) The *Bado Doocho*, (4) The *Tumvri Doocho*. The second type, named after



but the theme is old. The heroic poetry was as good as romance; the sword was perhaps as dear to a hero as his wife; he shone like a star, and it was perhaps like a shooting star that he fell in the battle-field fighting to a finish most bravely; the fiery *Maru Rag* swept the Rajputs off their feet. The people at large shared the composition of the heroic *Doohās*;<sup>2</sup> their living warm flesh, worthy of folk-songs, gave a vital force to them. Individual composers did not claim authorship.

The task of gathering songs and poems from the lips of the bards and the people is not always easy; it requires great persistence. It is interesting to note that Tod's monumental work, *Annals of Rajasthan*, which celebrated the old heroic glory of the Rajputs, went a long way to inspire the scholars to take to the study of Rajput poetry.

"There is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylae and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas.....The annals of those states possess commanding interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, sacrificing whatever was dear to them.....a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion."

These words of Tod's give an insight into the heroic poems of Rajputana. In 1903 Sir George Grierson wrote in his *Linguistic Survey of India*:

"Numbers of poems in old Marwari, or Dmgal, as it is called when used for poetical purposes, are in existence but have not yet been studied....I allude to the corpus of bardic histories described in Tod's *Rajasthan*...a virgin mine of history and of language"

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee claimed three-fold value for Rajput poems when he observed in his speech before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on February 3, 1915:

"The bardic and historical survey of Rajputana is a work which has a two fold importance, historical and literary; it has also a political importance, which cannot be altogether ignored....The double importance of the survey is shown by its object, which is to save from oblivion and save from probable destruction an entire literature of an almost exclusively historical character, and, at the same time, in the particular case of bardic poems, of the highest literary value....It has always been impossible to know how vast it is, but the little portion of it, that has come to the knowledge of a few investigators, is sufficient to enable one to guess how extensive the mine must be....It seems to have arisen under the aegis of the Rajput political power, not long before the first Muhammadan invasions, and to have flourished under the enlightened patriotism of the Rajputs....May be, their action was inspired by a desire to gratify national vanity, as the subject of this literature was principally furnished by their own military exploits; but to show that they were not devoid of a literary taste, examples can be quoted of warrior kings who were good

judges of poetry, as also excellent composers....It is superfluous to add the fact that this literature is confined to a description of the life and history of the Rajputs, does not diminish its importance or impair its universal character, as during the times in question the Rajputs were the principal ruling race and the only makers of history."

Lately three scholars of Rajputana, Thakur Ram Singh, Sri Suryakaran Pāreek and Sri Narotamdas Swami, have joined hands to collect all types of folk-songs and bardic poems from various parts of Rajputana; Sri Narotamdas Swami's *Rajasthan ra Dooha*, published in 1935, gives a well-balanced selection of heroic *Doohas* along with others. Two more scholars,



Rabindranath Tagore and Devendra Saiyarthi

Sri Raghunath Prasad Singhania and Sri Bhagvatprasad Bisen, have been doing considerable research-work in this direction.<sup>3</sup> Poet Rabindranath Tagore's speech before the Rajasthan Research Society, in 1937, seems to have inspired the scholars engaged in heroic poems of old Rajputana.

I took to the study of these songs in 1928. It required great devotion and persistence to be quite at home with their spirit; linguistic difficulty attended my work for months together. The songs were stirring and brought to me echoes from old Rajputana. I saw the people and looked into their eyes to know if they shared the same heroic glory that breathed in the words of the songs. But I could not stick to Rajputana for a long time; the gypsy-spirit took me from place to place in India; at different times, however, I have been sharing the company of the Rajput poems which every time fascinated me. In 1937 I had been to Udaipur and Chittor to renew my reminiscences of the land of these songs.

Along with the *Doohas* I have included some longer songs, known as *Saiyhor*, *Sanor*

2. I cite my article, "The Charana of Rajputana," *The Modern Review* for December, 1938.

3. *Ibid.*

and *Supankhro* after their metres. I have not been able to give specimens of poems called *Kabitta*

I feel quite responsible for the final versions of the songs. The original emotion, mood and matter have been faithfully dealt with. The person and number have been kept as in the texts; the mode of speech, direct or indirect, has been preserved. The original form could not be kept. Every line of a *Doocha* is divided into two lines in the translation in most cases

I have given the songs in five parts under separate headings :

1. Rajput Woman
2. Kings, Warriors and Chārāns
3. Warfare
4. Mythological songs of heroism
5. Fall of the Spirit

All the songs are not of equal worth as poetry. In some of them the whole psychology of kings and warriors, who had to fight for the honour of their motherland, is miraculously revealed. Joined together, they offer a feast, they have much to tell us, much that we may not find elsewhere. Again and again sword and shield come in: the warrior's horse has been celebrated with love and care; the war-drum is inevitable: the warrior wears a saffron-robe: the Chārān, as a proverb has it, is born with a war-slogan on his lips: the flag floats in the wind as a symbol of undying courage: the warrior twists the ends of his moustache with a gusto: at the news of her husband's heroic death in the battle-field, the Rajput woman hurries up for the sacred rite of *Sati*: she must burn herself in the lap of *Agni*, the Fire God, who would take her soul to heaven where the deceased warrior has gone: the *Apsaras*, heaven's dancing nymphs, try to win the warrior's heart before the arrival of his wife, the *Sati*. One marks with interest the sincerity of sentiment. The mythological pieces are noteworthy. The sun stops for some time to behold the Rajput warrior fighting most heroically to a finish. The deceased hero turns into a god. The picture of the deceased hero, going heavenward, is an inspiration.

Many of the songs were originally dialogues. The tiny, little odes assure their genuineness. To bewail the hero's death was not an usual practice, Rana Pratap's monody at the death of his horse, called Chetak, is believed to have echoed for more than one hundred years, it is a pity that it has fallen into oblivion. The cowardly warrior is a great shame for the country; there are almost endless satires upon him, as he comes homeward showing his back to the enemy, his wife shuts the door and does not want him to come in; her satire often moves him to go back to the battle-field. The stronghold of satirical poetry has a long history. There is a constant mention of the heroes being celebrated with *Arati*, the rite of waving a lighted *ghu*-fed lamp round his face as in the case of the image of a god in a temple; he is presented with pearls at the time of the *Arati*. The hero, in some songs, is likened to a peasant who sows pearls of glory and reaps a good harvest. The enemies in the battle-field re-



—S. Bhatia

#### A wedding procession

The Rajput bride of olden days was glad to have wedded a hero who will fight to a finish for his country

present clods in a tilled field; the hero, like a wise peasant, breaks them before he can sow his seeds.

The *Doochas* and other longer songs are fragmentary as compared with Chand Bardai's epic, *Prithviraj Raso*, of which the oldest manuscript is as old as 1647, Maharaj Prithviraj's *Krishna Rukmani ri Velj* (1637) 5 and

4. Now with the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi.

5. Maharaj Prithviraj, a contemporary of Rana Pratap at Akbar's court.

One widely diffused theme is that, as a warrior awaits the day when he would show the feats of his swordsmanship, a Rajput girl awaits the day when she would marry a hero.

The shell awaits the fall of the heavenly dew,  
The bird Chakore awaits the rising sun;  
The warrior awaits the renewal of the battle,  
And the damsel awaits a hero.

The people believe that the drops of dew from heaven deposited in oyster shells form themselves into pearls. The heart of a brave person is likened to a shell in which heroism is formed like a pearl. As the Chakore is attracted to the rising sun, the Rajput girl is drawn to a hero, that shines like the sun.

A bride tells of her experience after the marriage-ceremony :

O while I was being wedded to him I marked  
His armour that he put on under the wedding attire  
I at once went on to think with interest  
That he is not destined to live long.

The bride is right in her trend of thought. One who can not give up his attraction for the armour even at the wedding is sure to fight to a finish in some forthcoming battle; the Rajput bride, unlike her sisters in other parts of India, is apparently glad to have wedded a hero who will soon end his life for the cause of the motherland; of what avail to her can be a coward who lives a long life of shame?

The sword is given a personality. It feels ashamed when it finds itself in the hand of a coward. Its greatest desire is just to kiss a hero's hand. The wife of a hero, while rousing him to go to the war, knows it

These are your companions, my hero —  
A stout heart, a sharp sword, and a strong hand  
Which will you hold superior, tell me,  
When you go to the field of battle?

A duet brings forward the neem tree in contrast with the mango tree :

"O you uprooted the mango tree!  
And you planted a neem instead,  
If you fail to mark the difference,  
Just taste the fruits of both and see."

"Yes, the bitter neem now stands in my yard, sister,  
Bashfully I water it now and then;

"My husband is an illustrious warrior; with neem  
leaves boiled in water  
I'll wash his wounds and he'll be soon healed every  
time."

The warrior feeds his horse on ghee; his wife jokes. Two Doochas make a good duet :

- "O forbid me not to feed my horse on ghee;  
My horse will help me when I run after the enemy."
- "Who feeds the deer on ghee? O they live on grass,  
Faster than your horse they run, dear hero."

The hero's wife strikes a note that is entirely her own. The barber's wife comes to dye her feet with henna, and she addresses her in an indigenous strain :

Dye not my feet, pray dye not, barber's wife,  
Tomorrow begins the battle, I hear,  
And if my hero-husband gives his life fighting,  
Remember to come and dye my feet with the deep red

Then she rouses her husband to hurry up :

Thy horse neighs at the door, my love,  
Brave warriors have come, and they call upon thee;  
Here is a hero's bracelet, wear it and go,  
Lo! a call hath come from the war-drum.

A necessary part of the Rajput war atmosphere, the drum itself is addressed in a number of Doochas. Here is one :

With your throbbing sound, go on, O Drum,  
O make me a good wife of my husband;  
Bring me honour in public,  
Preserve the respect I get from the women of the neighbourhood.

The suggestion is that if the war-rhythm on the drum is kept alive the warrior will fight recklessly, and it will maintain the honour of his wife.

A woman of Rathor clan speaks significantly :

Rather women are conspicuous,  
Children born of them are never of commonplace stock;  
Their husbands never run back from a battle,  
And they never produce sons who run back.

The origin of such songs remains unknown nor it can be said with certainty that they were first sung by women.

One woman wishes to fight side by side with her husband :

If you advise me so, my lord,  
I may accompany you to the field of battle;  
So that the enemy may mark  
My feats of fighting with the sword.

She further sings in an indigenous strain that has become proverbial :

My lord, I ask you to take care of your father's honour, as also of my father's.  
Life is but a shadow, it goes and comes;  
Running back cowardly, mind you,  
You'll get a pillow alight, not my arm instead.

Songs are many in this series. All are vital; rich in images, they bring to us home-scenes of old Rajputana. Woman speaks again and again :

Don't you run back, my love,  
It would be a shame for me, if you do so;  
Women of the neighbourhood, my friends,  
Clapping their hands, would turn their faces from me.

Or :  
Don't you look ever backward,  
Don't you ever step backward, my love;

No matter if you are cut to pieces,  
But don't you return defeated.

Or :

No charm at all in widowhood,  
If the husband is a coward;  
Even widowhood is graceful,  
A hero's death if he dies.

Of course, widowhood in case of a Rajput woman was only for some hours, for she believed in meeting her husband soon after the rite of *Sati*. In some songs we see her hurrying



Every Rajput warrior loved his horse

up for the rite of *Sati* as she hears the war-drum, thinking that her husband must fight to a finish; here is a significant specimen :

O sister, my husband had come with a drum playing  
To marry me at my father's house;  
Since the war drum is being beaten now,  
I am going to pay him in the same way.

The idea is that soon the husband will die and through the rite of *Sati* she will marry him in heaven

Or :

O wayfarer, pray take a message of mine  
Direct to my father's village;  
Tell him that at my birth he didn't beat the metal  
plate,  
And now a drum at full beat they play on for me.

A big metal plate (*thal*), used as a utensil, is played upon at the birth of a male child as a mark of joy. She refers to it. She draws a contrast between the occasion of her birth and the inevitable performance of *Sati*.

*Amal* (lit. intoxicant), which generally

stands for opium rather than wine, is introduced in some songs. Here is one :

The opium jumps up from big cups,  
The saffron colour jumps up from above the elephant's  
saddle;  
O my love, while going to that home—the field of  
battle,  
One shouldn't think that his head is with him.

When she says that the opium jumps, the Rajput woman illustrates the warrior's fondness for it; it aids his fighting capacity, she knows

She addresses her husband's elder brother's wife as *Bhabhi* and assures her of her husband's bravery :

O *Bhabhi*, do not think that your *Devar*, your  
husband's younger brother, fights single-handed,  
And do not worry about his success in the battle;  
O he is a lion and I am sure of his courage,  
O he is a destroyer of many an army

Here is an elastic sort of a soul that becomes enthusiastic during the war. Punningly some one tells her :

O listen to me, you warrior's wife, my sister,  
Many a people have surrounded your husband;  
His head is amidst the money-lenders, his face the  
pivot of beggars  
And all around him are numerous enemies.

The warrior's wife proudly replies :

With money he'll please the moneylender, with  
charity he'll satisfy the beggars,  
With the feasts of flame-like swords he'll finish the  
enemies  
Rest assured he'll pay the due to all,  
Only if he could find time to stand in the battle

The calculation of a newly-married bride may make her sad

O sister we live amidst the enemies,  
Swords always strike up and down on one another;  
Tell me for how many days  
The marital bliss would be my guest ?

Again she says

All day long I find my husband engaged in the battle,  
Every night he cries due to his painful wounds;  
Not for a single night have I enjoyed sound sleep,  
Since I came to this house, dear sister.

Brimming over with heroic glory, the woman of the neighbourhood puts courage into the heart of the sad bride; comparing a battle with cultivation on the lines of an age-old Rajput proverb *Ran kheti Rajput ri* (A battle, a Rajput's cultivation), she breaks forth :

O you mad one, why this fear in a trifling strain ?  
Don't you try to lose the profit of "cultivation" ;  
Wherever the owners of a land live  
Fight they must for it

Some of the details are very vigorous. We find Rajput women facing a sudden attack of the enemy in the absence of their men :

appears on the scene to keep the whole situation in her control :

Wounded by swords, here lies my brave husband,  
Innumerable stiches are seen on his limbs;  
Stop, O Minstrel, thy song of chivalry,  
Lest he runs to the battle with his fresh wounds.

Some songs are satires on the cowards. The whole Rajput nation mocks at a warrior who shows his back to the enemy. The woman denounces her cowardly husband quite openly; she wants him to go back and do great deeds. We also find the goldsmith's wife, the perfumer's wife and the dyer's wife finding fault with the cowardly warrior: they have their own satires. The satiric war-songs are important.

The cowardly warrior's mother addresses him in a tone worthy of a woman of a brave race :

O my son, I brought you up amidst troubles,  
Feeding you on the milk of breast;  
I did not know then, my darling,  
That putting my milk to shame you'll cowardly  
return from the battle.

The coward does not speak. The mother further addresses him :

O you innocent one, what fear made you run back ?  
O tell me if you forget the way to the battle-field,  
My daughter in-law, your bride, would behold you,  
And she would bow down her head out of your  
shame!

Then his wife comes forward and addresses him :

O my husband, it is rather well and good that you  
ran back,  
Now be prepared to wear my clothes at once;  
These beautiful bangles of mine feel ashamed of you  
I may only see you in my next birth.

She was preparing for the performance of  
Sati's taking for granted that her husband would  
give his life in the battle :

Now tell the drummers to close and go home,  
The coconut, required for the rite of Sati, may be  
kept somewhere,  
My husband has come home cowardly from the field  
of battle,  
You all now salute him bowing down at his blessed  
feet.

Or :

All these ornaments of mine, and my beautiful  
apparel

Hasten to wear, O warrior of battles, my love;  
I would put on the black tile blanket on my  
shoulders and would pass my days in penance,  
And you'll save the money you used to spend on  
my bangles.

Then comes the goldsmith's wife.

The *Sanari*, the goldsmith's wife, feels sad and says :  
"O *Thakur*, you have lost your family glory,  
O you the destroyer of my husband's wages for the  
new ornaments,  
Death may take you away from the face of our land."

The suggestion is that, if he had died heroically, his wife would have ordered new ornaments to adorn herself most beautifully at the time of *Sati* rite, and the goldsmith would have earned wages.

The dyer's wife, too, steps forward.

This saddens the dyer's wife, the *Rangrezni*,  
"O Rajput, why you proved yourself so false ?  
I had a strong hope to dye new clothes for your  
wife's *Sati* rite,  
Alas you have tumbled down my dream."

The perfumer's wife has her own part to play.

The *Gandhin*, the perfumer's wife, cries, "What a  
pity!  
This cowardly home coming of yours spoiled my hope;  
Your wife had ordered for fresh perfume, delicately  
she wished to scent her apparel at the rite of  
*Sati*,  
O now, who would buy such a costly perfume of  
ours ?"

The hero's wife sings songs which have their place and use in the presentation of the hero's character against the background supplied by her own personality. She compares him to an innocent woman's pitcher that falls down from her head, and she again likens her to a *Sati*'s coconut that is burnt along with her :

My warrior husband is an innocent woman's pitcher,  
(like that pitcher he falls heroically in the field).  
Like a *Sati*'s coconut he shares the conflict;  
Single-handed has he gone to face his enemy,  
O how should I hope for his safe return ?

Or she may see him face to face in the light of her own valorous thoughts. She may like to go to the battle herself wishing to die before her warrior husband :

Keeping me behind you, my love, yourself leading  
You had brought me to this house as a bride;  
O if you really love me as you love your life,  
Let me lead you to the front.

Or she may proudly have a vision of her husband in the battle :

My husband stands on the field with his one foot in  
the saddle's stirrup,  
Enemy's soldiers have all surrounded him;  
Even at such a critical moment, he turns not  
His attention from twirling his moustache !

(To be concluded)



## OUTLINES OF THE NEW EUROPE

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Now when the sudden smoke of the crisis is dispersing we can begin to discern the outlines of the new Europe. And it becomes ever clearer as we do so that at Munich not Czechoslovakia only but the whole of Eastern Europe fell into Germany's grasp. Mr. Chamberlain indeed was looking at the sprat instead of the whale when he suggested, in his broadcast speech, how fantastic it was that we should be brought to the verge of war over a dispute in a little country most of us knew nothing about. That dispute over the Sudeten Germans was to German imperialism what the divorce of Catherine of Aragon was to the Reformation in England. It was "the hinge on which the door was to swing wide open."

All this will soon be ancient history. But before we close the Czech chapter it would be well to reflect upon two things. The first is this: Germany advanced her claims to the Sudetenland in the sacred name of self-determination. But, as was pointed out the other day in a speech by a distinguished German exile, Germany's conception of self-determination is, in fact, the very negation of self-determination. Self-determination, if it means anything, means the right of the individual to pronounce on his own alignment. But it does not mean this to the German. To the Germans, to the present Nazi rulers, it is not an individualist but a collectivist concept. It means that every German must want to belong to the German Reich. And any German who does not can expect, in Goebbels' expressive phrase, to be "placed in a concentration camp until he turns black."

The second point to remember is not ideological. It is concerned with the part played by England in the crisis. We were brought to the edge of war because Mr. Chamberlain could not accept the terms which Herr Hitler advanced at Godesberg. He could not recommend them to Czechoslovakia and so deadlock ensued until the eleventh hour—when his appeal to Signor Mussolini to mediate, and the Munich Conference which followed it, seemed to offer a way out. But the final result of Munich, of the labours of the complaisant Berlin International Committee, is worse than Godesberg.

All the vultures, Germany, Poland and Hungary, have picked out Czechoslovakia. Poland and Hungary have not got quite all they wanted. They wanted a common frontier in Ruthenia so as to make a barrier there against German expansion in the east. But Germany is not going to allow that. Ruthenia is her gateway to Roumania and oil! So in this respect Germany champions Czechoslovakia. And as we have agreed to guarantee the new Czechoslovak frontiers (though we would do nothing to save the old which buttressed Europe) we may find ourselves in the ironical position of backing up Germany in her predatory game. We could be asked to resist this attempt of Poland and Hungary to join at Ruthenia. We could be asked to keep the road clear for Germany to get at Roumanian oil!

Germany's new frontier with Czechoslovakia, it is now plain to see, is drawn in the interests solely of strategy. It is nothing allied to self-determination and whole Czech villages have been sacrificed to strategy. One last crime against the spirit of self-determination has been committed: any poor "persons of non-German race who remain Czech citizens shall leave the territory of the Reich within three months of receiving notice to do so." That the Czechoslovak Government "may exercise a similar right in the case of persons of German race" does not even things up.

But the truth is of course that none of Germany's eastern neighbours have now got a frontier, none until she gets to Russia. Germany commands both sides of the Danube and she is about to make a canal between the Oder and the Danube. She is building a great chain of roads connecting Berlin, Prague and Vienna. From Prague a road will run right through to Roumania. And along this road, we are told, Roumanian oil will be sent by car instead of being loaded by British ships in the Black sea ports—and Germany will "be very near to the great mineral treasures of Roumania."

No wonder the King of Roumania has been paying an anxious visit to this country. His situation, in fact, suggests the present dilemma of Europe. He is placed between Russia and Germany. Are there any Great Powers in Europe now except Russia and Germany?

world. But to what extent is this only facade? Herr Hitler has just been initiating a new drive for the Winter Relief Fund. It was announced that "more than nine million Germans had profited" by the Fund during 1937. In other words, as is pointed out in the current number of *Headway*, "In Germany, although unemployment hardly exists and there is in fact a serious shortage of labour, the standard of living is so low that at least every tenth German must be assisted from public funds."

This low standard of living in Germany is likely to persist for some while yet. The most serious set-back was revealed in trade figures just published and covering the first nine months of the year. Germany with Austria exported less in the first nine months of 1938 than Germany without Austria exported in the same period of 1937. Worse still, a favourable trade balance of 296 million marks in the first nine months of 1937 is changed into an unfavourable trade balance of 310 million marks for the same period of 1938. (Some people believe, it might be added, that the real reason for the imposition of a fine of £83,000,000 on the German Jews, following the murder of von Rath in Paris, is that Nazi finance is at its last gasp. The murder served the excuse for a capital levy. And they also believe that the reason why the Nazis will not allow the Jews to leave until this fine is paid is that they hope that sympathisers overseas will help to pay it—thereby furnishing Germany with some of the foreign currency which she so urgently requires.)

In the fact that there is no unemployment in Germany, although wages are so low that many workers have to go on relief, lies one whole difference between a totalitarian State and a State such as France or England. It poses the problem to France and England: how can we compete with a country where everything is organized for the sake of increasing production, whereas in our own economy everything is organized on the one hand for increasing profits, and on the other (by the trade boards, trade unions, etc.) for raising the standard of living?

This problem faces France urgently at the present moment. Indeed so acute is the situation there that it is believed in some quarters that revolution—either from the Right or from the Left—may ensue. To save French economy, to increase production, M. Daladier is bent on introducing drastic measures. Hours are to be lengthened, salaries and pensions reduced, taxation increased and imposed in such

a way as to take in those on the lowest income levels. But, in the interests of stimulating trade, big business is being let off more lightly.

No wonder the workers are incensed. But at the moment of writing M. Daladier is calling up police and troops and so on and conciliation is not in the air. So confused, too, are the issues that no one knows what to hope may be the solution. But there seems to be a pretty general idea that, although M. Daladier is anything but conciliatory, for the workers to oppose him now, at this juncture in European affairs, may most likely result in a regime in France which is a very good imitation of a dictatorship.

The workers, it is worth pointing out, are not the only ones in France who reject the idea that they must be forced into competition with Germany. A most interesting, most eloquent, article appeared recently in a French journal called the *Nouveaux Cahiers*. Said the writer: "We must decide whether we want to be mighty or happy . . . decide between arming beyond our strength and living. If we decide to be mighty we shall have forthwith to go on a war footing. We shall have to welcome war in all its horrors . . . It is impossible to be mighty while working only 40 hours when next door they are working 60; while eating our fill when next door they make do with a beggar's rations; while arguing when next door they obey; while avoiding fatherhood when next door they forbid celibacy; while exporting our cash when next door the penalty for exporting funds is death . . . We must have the courage to decide on the one course that we can take." This writer, of course, rejects the fierce competition with Germany. Better by far, he considers, to become instead a second-class Power, a second-class Power, that is, as regards material strength. "But judged according to the power of the intelligence and of the universal moral values of justice and freedom; according to art, taste, and the mind, we shall regain without a struggle the rank that is due to us but that the illusion material might is causing us to lose: the first."

Thank God for a few affirmations of faith in these gruelings times.

An affirmation of faith, of a more urbane kind, was made the other day by Mr. Eden. He pleaded, in the House of Commons, for an England that was strong all through—with no canker of unemployment and malnutrition at the roots. At the time the speech was made, it seemed as if it was a prelude to a new campaign, to the formation perhaps of an Eden party, and perhaps a National Opposition.

It was followed by about 40 influential Conservatives putting down an amendment to the King's Speech, and this of course raised any such hopes still further. But Mr. Eden has not broken with the Conservative organisation yet—and there are some who think that his training and his loyalties make such a step most difficult for him. All the same, since that speech, he has made at least one further independent gesture. He is departing, in fact, from the idea of Non-Intervention. (Not even in principle now does he seem to think it a good thing.) For he said the other day: "Many people still visualised the conditions that prevailed at the opening of the conflict when it was in the main a struggle between the Right and the extreme Left. But there had been a steady, indeed a remarkable evolution. As the struggle had proceeded it had become clear to those who had followed it closely that the Spanish Government had freed itself to an ever-increasing extent from extreme elements, either domestic or foreign. It has, in fact, become more and more national. If I am not mistaken, this fact is even being appreciated in Nationalist Spain."

But if Mr. Eden hesitates to take the plunge and strike out into the open, his hesitation is as nothing compared with that of the Trade Unionists on the other side. It is now openly said that a majority of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, that even the Labour Front Bench, would welcome the formation of a National Opposition. But, at Transport House, such ideas are firmly sat on by the Trade Union element—and as they pay the piper, they call the tune. Or so it is said!

And what a pity it all is. These purists who are so afraid of their policies becoming diluted through alliance with other elements seem to be blind to every other consideration. It is nothing to them, it seems, that the Government of this country is in the hands of men whose support in the constituencies is far more apparent than real. It is nothing to them that this Government, sensible of its increasing shakiness, is introducing methods of censorship—by abuse of the Official Secrets Act and worse still, because of the millions who go to the cinema, by its editing and cutting of news reels—introducing a censorship which is intolerable in a true democracy.

Besides let the purists consider this. Whether they believe in a new alignment or not, the voters do. This was sufficiently demonstrated the other day when they swept Mr. Vernon Bartlett into Parliament.

And the electoral position is this. At the last General Election one hundred and seven supporters of the National Government were elected on a minority vote. Are the purists going to make a present of these seats again?

More relevant to the present state of world affairs is this: Since the Munich settlement there have been six by-elections. And in these the Government has kept its lead by only just ninety-eight votes! (For the Government 146,615. Against 146,517.)

Whatever the attitude of the men and women who cling to their present alignments, it is quite plain that they are not reflecting opinion in the constituencies.

Westminster,  
December 1, 1938



## INDIAN ART WENT ABROAD

By O. C. GANGOLY

THERE were times stretching across history and pre-history, the records of which are now forgotten, and buried under the dust and debris which the march of milleniums has swept and heaped over them, when *India gave more than she received* from her neighbours, far and near. If our grave-diggers of History and the historians of our Art and Culture could recover from the ruthless hands of Time and the merciless vandalism of Man, if they could snatch a fraction of the rich and shining gems with which our ancestors had bejewelled their thought, all the colour and shape of the flowers with which they had tinted and embroidered their life, all the images of their prayers, all the painted pots and pans of their domestic life, all their Arts and Crafts, all the products of their hands and looms—which the caravans of commerce carried to distant continents, we could, indeed, realize how plentiful have been the gifts of Indians to the world.

Yet the testimony taken from the torn pages of Time by Marshall and Mackay, by Mazumdar and Merggi, by Vats and Banerjee, by Stein and Woolley, by Hunter and Heras,—have established beyond all reasonable doubt, that the ancient dwellers of the Indus Valley, about three thousand years before Christ had radiated their thoughts and culture to the distant centres in the valley of the Euphrates. The Seal-Amulets and potteries discovered in the pre-historic cities of ancient Mesopotamia and Persia, in the Sumerian sites of Tell Asmar and Kish, at Ur and Susa have come from the Valley of the Indus. Dr Mackay is emphatic in his assertion that the Tell Asmar seals are "certainly of Indian workmanship." With equal emphasis Dr Frankfort has asserted that the peculiar pottery with knobs of clay from the same site "is certainly the work of an Indus Valley Potter." The painted pottery dug up from Mohenjodaro and Harappa link up Beluchistan, Persia and India in one garland of flowers strung together from the products of a hoary Indian handicraft.

As we travel down the Stream of History, we meet with numerous proofs of the rich gifts of art and artistic crafts which India had sent

out to distant regions. The story of Chandragupta's gift of some Indian Sophists to Alexander the Great, may be apocryphal, but the story of an ancient Brahmin Philosopher's gift to Socrates of the essence of human diversities in divine unity is written in the solid records of Greek History.

On the obelisk of Shalmaneser III a Persian (Achaemenian) King, who lived about 860 years before Christ, there are representations of Indian apes, Indian elephants and Bactrian (Gandharan) camels. Asurbanipal another Persian King, who reigned about 668 years before Christ, was much impressed by the beauty of the "Sindhu cloths" which he called "Vegetable cloths" made of "Indian cotton" and he sent for Indian cotton plants, calling them "wool-bearing trees of India."

The *Babru Jataka*, one of the records of pre-Buddhist Indian legends of the fifth century before Christ, describes the voyages of Indian merchants carrying Indian Art-wares and performing Peacocks to the land of Babylon. And when Asoka, the Constantine of Indian Buddhism, sent missionaries to the western countries to preach the Rules of Righteousness, the doctrines of Buddhist Dharma to Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt they carried with them not only fine specimens of Yellow Robes from Indian looms and beautifully shaped 'Begging Bowls' (*pinda-pātra*) but also sundry other works of Indian craft. And after the sculptors of the studios of Mathura had formulated the first Image of the Lord Buddha to cater to the passionate devotion of Indian Worshippers "who gazed at His image in order to gaze at His doctrine" (*Yo man passati so dhammam passati*), the Indian Image-makers taught the Bactrian stone-masons how to conceive the Great Indian Yogi in the true canons of the 32 symbols and emblems (*dvatimsata Maha-purusa-laksanam*), how to place His image on the spread-out petals of His Lotus-throne in the exquisite balance of the spiritual poise of a *padmasana*. By and by, across the Hindukush and Pamir and the Tarim Basin, the Indian Buddhist missionaries carried with them little effigies of carved Buddhas and painted Bodhisattvas.

and founded little colonies of Buddhist thought in the distant cities of Turkestan, the relics of which with hundreds of carved and painted effigies have been dug up by Stein and Pelliot from the sands of Khotan and Kashgar. And if legends can be trusted to treasure elements of truth, in the early years of the Christian era, Ming-Ti the Chinese Emperor visualized a Golden Image of the Buddha in his dream and he sent for and brought missionary-priests from India and Images and all the paraphernalia of Buddhist worship.

Then followed an incessant stream of Chinese pilgrims who made year after year strenuous but pious pilgrimages to the Holy Land of Buddhism in search of the Canons of the Law and Images of the Lord. Indeed, when Houen-Tsang went back to China he took with him enormous cartloads of MSS., images and holy-relics carried on the back of 16 horses. The glories of the Buddhist frescoes on the walls of the caves of Ajanta and Bagh were copied not only on the walls of the Buddhist temples at Hadda and Bamyan in Afghanistan, but were carried across the deserts of Gobi to illuminate the cave-temples of Kucha, Turfan, Quizl, Dandan-Uliq and Miran on the western edge of the Chinese Empire. The sculptures of the Indian Buddhist caves were reproduced in a series of grottoes in the mountain chains at Tuan-Huang in the very heart of the Chinese Empire. The Images of the Gupta period were assiduously copied by the Sculptors of Wei Dynasty of North China. And when the torch of Buddhist Culture was carried from Korea to the island of Japan the frescoes of the old Temple at Horui reproduced and repeated the sensuous sweep, the beauty, the ecstasy of Indian Pictorial Art.

Nearer home, when in 630 A.D. the barbarous Tibetan King Sron-btsan-sgam-po, married and carried to his snow-capped capital a Nepalese Princess of the name of Vrukut Tara, the young bride brought to Tibet Indian Images of the Buddha and a host of other gods which gave a new inspiration to Tibetan Art, and the numerous monasteries of Tibet have ever since been lit up by the bright colours of the Indian silken banners painted with the gods and goddesses of the Indian Tantrik Pantheon and the Tibetan shrines have been loaded with thousands of images in gilt copper, borrowed from the rich galleries of Nepalese Art. And when in 1279 A.D. Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, founded a second era of Buddhism,—he invited from an artist of the name of A-ni-ko whom

he appointed as the Controller of his Imperial Studios. This Indian artist executed a large number of images and paintings for his Chinese patron. A Chinese artist of the name of Yi Yuan became his pupil and studied under him the art of making Images.

The records of Southern Culture have equal glories to relate of the radiation and dissemination of Indian aesthetic and spiritual culture, beyond the "Barriers of the Seas." To an adventurous Brahmin missionary of the Agastya Clan, Java owes her first Stone-Temple which was built after the model of an ancient Chalukyan shrine on the bank of the Tungabhadra. There is very little doubt that the group of Hindu Temples of the 7th century in Central Java were inspired and perhaps built by Pallava architects who excavated the monolithic shrines at the Seven Pagodas, south of Madras. Continuous streams of artists, priests and missionaries have crossed over to Java, to Siam, to Sumatra and to Borneo from ancient Bengal, and from Kalinga and the Coromondal Coast and carried the torch of Indian Art and Culture to those countries and built up a Greater India beyond the seas. Old Javanese records have preserved the memory of guilds of craftsmen from the Chola, Chera, and Pandya Kingdoms who settled in Java and helped to build up a full-fledged colony of Indian Thought and of Art.

It was an evil day for India when her leaders of thought chose to close the gates of her international communication and stemmed the tide of the emigration of Indian Culture beyond her geographical limits. And for many centuries that followed the Buddhist period, India had refused to carry the products of her art and culture as precious presents to distant regions. Yet through the thick bars and narrow crevices in the thick barriers which Mediaeval Brahminism had set up for a time, to preserve the integrity of Indian Culture,—the message and inspiration of Indian Art have now and then escaped to distant countries. This has principally happened during the era of Islamic Culture—when India again resumed her contact with the World outside. Havell has proved that amongst the hundreds of Hindus that Islamic invaders carried as captives across the Hindukush mountain, picturesquely called the "Destroyer of the Hindus", were numerous Hindu artists and craftsmen, who were employed to set up and decorate monuments in various centres of Islamic Culture, in Turkestan and in Persia. That the products of the Indian Artists had won admiring appreciation in Europe is

proved by the history of the Paisley Shawls copied from Indian originals. Indian Miniature Paintings of the Moghul school found their way to European studios through the agency of the Dutch merchants and excited the admiration of Rembrandt, the great Dutch master, who copied several Moghul Miniatures in order to assimilate their technique and power of characterization. And about the middle of the 18th century when Empress Maria Theresa planned and built her Schönbrunn Palace at Vienna, she decorated a whole room with 260 Indian Miniatures affixed on the walls, in rococo frames.

Indeed, Indian Art has gone abroad in more sense than one. Europe has always produced an enthusiastic band of connoisseurs and collectors of Exotic Art, who have sought beauty of shape and colour in non-European handicrafts and *Objets d' Art*. These connoisseurs have assiduously collected throughout the centuries, beautiful works of Indian Art and Crafts, statuary, miniatures, textiles and exquisite specimens of carved and inlaid furniture which have gradually found their way into the museums of Europe. In this way, the collections of the British Museum, the South Kensington Museum, the India Office in London, the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris and the State Museums of Berlin and of Russia have come into possession of remarkable masterpieces of Indian Art. And since Havell began to sing the praise of Indian Art, the American Museums have acquired distinguished specimens of Indian masterpieces in painting as well as in sculpture. And the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in the United States can now boast of the most representative and comprehensive

collections of Indian Paintings, Sculpture and Applied Art that have ever been brought together under one roof. Yet in another sense, Indian Art may be said to have gone abroad. The original character and quality of Indian Plastic and Pictorial Art as a novel form of aesthetic expression, and a new contribution to the Art of the World, has attracted enthusiastic and critical study by a group of trained European scholars who have taken up the scientific analysis of the beauty and quality of Indian Art. Indeed, scientific study of Indian Art may now be said to be the monopoly of this group of experts of whom special mention should be made of Professor Stryzowski of Vienna, Dr. Kamrisc of the Calcutta University, Dr. William Cohn of Berlin, Dr. Golloubew of Hanoi, Dr. Hermann Goetz of Leyden, Dr. Rena Grousset of Paris, Dr. Dimand of New York, Dr. Norman Brown of Philadelphia, Dr. Bachhofer of Chicago, and Dr. James Cousins of Travancore University. They have published valuable monographs on various phases of Indian Painting and Sculpture and have helped to place the study of Indian Art on a firm foundation, with scholarly accuracy and sincere sympathy, and have certainly helped to spread the name and fame of Indian Art in Europe and in America; in fact they have helped to place the Art of India on the Map of the World's Culture. The studies of these eminent scholars have demonstrated that the productions of Indian Fine Art, the finest flowers of Indian culture are original and valuable contributions to the total output of Man's Aesthetic Thought. For, Indian Art is not only a rich and a valuable inheritance of Indians alone but of the whole of humanity.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspaper, periodicals, school and college text books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.  
—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

### SRI RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY MEMORIAL VOLUMES.

I write this communication on what we call "Columbus Day." But I have in mind the recently received three volumes of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial. They remind me of Columbus! As he set out with three ships and one hundred men to penetrate westward over new routes of world importance, so we have before us these three volumes with their one hundred essays in demonstration of India's spiritual enterprise. For that matter, Columbus' chief concern was spiritual—he was "Christopher," the Christ-bearer to parts unknown. He sought new realms for Holy Church. These Indian volumes represent a spiritual quest, a missionary venture in their way. I have already publicly welcomed them in a presentation before a group of western scholars of things oriental. May I express, also through you and your valuable magazine something of my sincere appreciation of their appearance.

This is a work of great importance, even though it were a matter only of assembling so many conspicuous writers. But their individual themes are of great interest, ranging throughout so vast a realm of culture. And the educational institutions which speak through them are so numerous. Apparently a cross-section of contemporary Indian intellectual leadership is here expounding India's varied wealth of mind and heart throughout the ages. It is a grand achievement, and a notable contribution to our western understanding of Mother India, the source of many good things of ours in recent centuries. I dare not make extended comment, much as I should like to do so. Let me be brief, and mention two things only.

These volumes are realistic, whatever their variety of contents. The philosophical expositions seem aware of real life in a present world of work and hope. This is commonsense realism, also. India faces a real world of humanity which must contend still with inevitable problems of livelihood. The thinker, especially, must adapt his message of religious interpretation to men of flesh and blood. I catch a note every now and then of this sort of realism. And this manner of exposition will give the West a better opinion of the Indian scene. Included in this sort of realism is the message of love of all humanity and fellowship among the followers of many faiths. The values for "Comparative Religion" are numerous in these estimable books. And the attitude toward "Science" is arresting. Whatever criticisms find there are many possible) might be made of parts of these volumes and their theories, there is a candid recognition of the sciences, even natural science. The scientific expositions

merit our western consideration—and that not merely with reference to philosophy.

But there is a new type of Idealism, also, shown in these books. No less spiritual—indeed more so, if possible—than heretofore, but more actively spiritual now in an effort to keep newer developments, newer scientific theories, within the proper bounds of religion. India thus expresses herself once again in qualified tolerance of aspects and elements of the new days of the present. India may teach the West something of the permanent values of a religious view of the universe. These volumes will contribute this sort of lesson. Of course, there is a definite kind of materialism in India—the people work to earn their bread, they must "fill their stomachs" and reckon on the wage sufficient for that end. Developments in industry must come to care for increasing population and provide a higher plane of living. India must more than ever think of things material. But also probably has the essential mood whereby she will ultimately spiritualize her industry and the day's round. Let us hope so—It is not in growing like a tree . . . A man's life consists not in an abundance of things . . . etc., etc. At heart all peoples of the earth are committed to this view. If only we could all abide by it! We could turn our vigor, our creativity, our fellowship into serenity, into peaceful conquest of the earth for the proper sustenance of the race.

I congratulate the Committee under whose management these volumes were made and published. And I am glad so many had a share in the production. May increasing numbers of readers share the further benefits.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER,  
Yale University, U. S. A.

### INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN CERTAIN RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS, 1937. LEAGUE OF NATIONS, INFORMATION SECTION: Price 6s.

This volume gives an account of the movement from one country to another of the commodities dealt with.

It is more complete than those which preceded it. It contains provisional statistics for 1937 as well as revised and completed statistics for 1935 and 1936 relating to 33 commodities in place of the 35 dealt with in earlier volumes. These commodities include wheat, sugar, rubber, wood in various forms, hides, wool, cotton, silk, iron and steel, copper and motor spirit. Several improvements have been made on the earlier editions. The table for hides now distinguishes between wet and dry. The table for wood has been recast and now shows not only conifer but also hardwood, each of which is, as far as possible, subdivided into sawn and hewn. The number of importing countries covered by the various

tables has been increased to 123, as compared with 42 in the first volume. The statistics are thus practically worldwide, the 123 countries dealt representing 90 per cent of the total world trade, whereas the 42 countries covered in the first volume represented only 81 per cent.

The work is designed to meet the wishes expressed by business men and others, who pointed out that in many cases the import statistics given for a particular commodity by the importing country did not correspond with the statistics of the exporting country relating to the same transaction. In June 1934, the Committee of Statistical Experts of the League, set up by the Inter-national Convention of 1928 relating to Economic Statistics, took steps which were approved by the Council and agreed to by the Governments Parties to the 1928 Convention and led to the preparation of the present work, which shows the ultimate destination of exported goods.

## X.

**THE KING, THE CONSTITUTION, THE EMPIRE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS:** By A. Berriedale Kent. Published by the Oxford University Press, London, 1938. Pp. 194. Price 8s. 6d.

The book under review presents in convenient form a number of letters and essays published by the author during 1936-37 on topics of constitutional and political interest in journals like the *Scottishman*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Spectator*, *Morning Post*, and *Irish Independent*. The author is justly regarded as one of the greatest living authorities on constitutional law, and a new work therefore from his pen is bound to be welcomed by every student of present day constitutional problems.

The letters and essays reprinted in this volume deal with a variety of important subjects. Among others, the author has discussed in his usual incisive style the constitutional significance of the royal abdication and its effect on the unity of the Crown, attested by South African legislation and the Constitution of Eire, certain anomalies in the Regency Act and the recent Coronation Oath; Irish and South African Opposition to British Nationality and the demand of the Union for the rights of neutrality and secession, and for the transfer of the Native Territories; the recent growth of Canadian resentment of the appeal to the Privy Council, and the negotiations of the Imperial Conference. Mr Baldwin's contributions to the aggrandisement of the Prime Minister's powers at the cost of the King and the Commons alike have been discussed in a most convincing style, while the author's criticisms of the errors which hampered the inauguration of the New Reforms in India will prove highly interesting to readers in this country.

The letters relating to foreign affairs are of topical interest mainly, but as they were written with the detachment of an impartial critic, they will still appeal alike to the student of current affairs and the professional politician. The author has discussed Britain's abandonment of Ethiopia; Dominion resistance to any effort to strengthen the League; Britain's refusal to accord Germany a place in the sun; the doctrines of non-intervention and belligerency in regard to the Spanish Civil War; the Italian bid for mastery of the Mediterranean; and the consolidation of the Egyptian alliance by Haile Selassie's disclaimer of Sovereignty over the Sudan which Lord Kitchener's conquest secured for Queen Victoria.

Of the letters on the affairs of Britain, those that discuss the Royal abdication and the consequent aggrandisement of the Prime Minister's powers will doubtless appear to be most instructive and of outstanding merit. As regards the King's right to veto whomsoever he chooses, the author's considered opinion is that the

King before taking his final decision should take his Prime Minister, as the essential link between him and his people, into his confidence, and acquaint himself on the attitude of the people to his proposed marriage. The author has, however, convincingly demonstrated how Mr. Baldwin unduly increased the importance of the Prime Minister by deliberately transferring to his office control of the discretionary power of the Crown, and by consistently minimizing the authority of the King in foreign and domestic affairs.

The author's outspoken comments on the Indian Constitution would surely receive special attention in India. For instance, the federal system provided by the Act of 1935 will, according to him, lead to the creation of a permanent Conservative and even reactionary Federal Government. This is exactly what the Congress leaders have always apprehended. The author is bold enough to suggest that no State should be admitted to federation, unless it is willing to adopt the principle of responsible government and of democracy. Again, he has freely upheld the right of the Congress to repudiate the imposition on India of what he aptly calls "a bastard federalism planned in hostility to democracy." All this will serve to show that the author has not allowed any imperialist considerations to blind his sane and imperial judgment.

The section devoted to foreign affairs deals with highly controversial subjects. The author's review of Britain's foreign policy, and his frank opinion with respect to Germany's colonial claims, and the Arab Rights in Palestine written more than a year ago are such as should deserve close attention even at the present day.

The volume altogether makes most interesting and informing reading, and like the author's previous collections of letters on Imperial Relations, Indian Reform, Constitutional and International Law, and Current Imperial and International Problems bears the impress of deep knowledge and unflinching honesty. We cordially commend this book to all those who are interested in the political and constitutional problems facing the British Empire today.



## BENGALI

**SHISU-KHADYA :** By Dr. B. B. Pal. Published by the Prabasi Press, Calcutta. 1938. Pp 102 Price Re. 1/-.

This little book written in Bengali offers valuable information regarding infant feeding. The author has lucidly explained all the modern conception of infant feeding, particularly about breast-feeding. Nobody will deny that no substitute is available for breast milk and he rightly emphasises the great importance of breast-feeding until the ninth month and condemns the practice of weaning too early, often injudiciously practiced by the laity. He has also explained the significance of supplementary feeds at the sixth month. Breast-feeding to be of maximum benefit must also be done methodically and the weaning undertaken at the proper age between six and nine months. A few contra indications to breast-feeding are also stated. We would however like to have the artificial feeding and method of weaning more thoroughly discussed because many a mother falls easily into this serious pitfall. Many will disagree with the author's view that anaemia and rickets are caused by the lack of proteins in the dietary. This is a serious mistake which we hope will be corrected in the next edition.

In seven short chapters the author has placed every thing that is important in infant feeding and we have no doubt that it will be of great help to mothers to whom the book is dedicated.

K. C. CHAUDHURI

## HINDI

**RAMACHARITAMANASA** By Tulidas. Edited by Ramnaresh Tripathi and published by the Hindi Mandir, Prayag. Price Rs 5.

This is the latest critical edition of Tulidas's immortal work. It contains a critically edited text, a commentary and a lengthy introduction in which the editor has discussed various matters dealing with Tulidas and his works, specially the *Ramacharitamanasa*. The work shows painstaking and original researches and critical insight.

One may have his doubts as to the utility of a new edition of this work. There are already a large number of editions in existence and some of them are good. But perhaps great works like the *Ramacharitamanasa* will always find new admirers and new commentaries will make their appearance. Has there been any end of Shakespeare's commentators? Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi thinks that he has excellent reasons for bringing out the present edition. He says he has approached his task from a stand point somewhat different from that of the usual run; he has tried to interpret Tulidas primarily as a poet. Tulidas was not only a great bhakta but also a great poet; and his commentator would do well to prefer poetical interpretation to the usual interpretation based on traditionally moral and religious ideas. The present commentary is based on this canon of criticism but I am not sure how far the interpretations of the present writer will be acceptable to the Hindi scholars, they will certainly evoke a good deal of criticism, but there can be no doubt that such attempts will always be welcome.

ANANTHATH BASU

**ABHINAVA SANGITANJALI:** Author and Publisher Sreeram Pandit Omkarnath Goursanker Thakur, Sole Agent Vora & Co. Publishers Limited, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Pp. 8+107. Price Re. 1-4.

The book contains thirty one classical Hindi songs and their musical notations. Nine different Ragas and

Raginis, their characteristics, Tala, Matra, Tana, etc., have been lucidly explained. The Alankaras in different Laya and Matra have been discussed separately. In a few places, however, it is noticed that, in spite of his efforts, the author has failed to give a clear idea of a particular Raga or Ragini dealt with in the book. The musical notations also appear difficult for beginners, for whom the book is primarily meant.

S. D.

**OMAR KHAYYAM KI RUBAIYAN.** By Raghunath Lal Gupta, I.C.S. Pub. Astabistan, Allahabad, Cloth bound Pp 72 Re 1.

To the already numerous translations of Omar Khayyam's Rubais Mr Gupta has added another also based on Fitzgerald's version. Mr Gupta has however 'done unto Fitzgerald as Fitzgerald did unto Omar'. This, perhaps is the chief justification of the book. The translation is quite smooth, facile and readable and the spirit of the original faithfully rendered. That it is not a 'translation' but an adaptation does not detract from the merit of the book.

The introduction could have been less superficial.

S. H. V.

## MARATHI

**SARDESAI SVARAKA GRANTHA** Edited by Sri. pad Damodar Tikekar. Pub. for Sardesai Memorial Committee by A. B. Dholie, Samartha Sadan, Gurgaum, Bombay 4 Pp 201 Price four rupees

This neatly got up volume is interesting not only because it is a memorial to a great Indian scholar but because it provides a revealing picture of the systematic researches being conducted by the Maratha historian today.

The volume comprises twelve articles by scholars of repute. Prof. Pissurlekar writes on the relations between the Marathas and the Goanese, Sirdar M. V. Kibe on Taiya Joga's correspondence relating to the battle of Mahapur, Justice Shinde deals with the army under Mahadira rule. Mr N. K. Behre makes an interesting comparison between the cunning Maratha, the proud Rajput and the devout Sikh and fixes their characteristic features. Prof. Aitkar establishes that Hinduism believed in and practised procreancy till the 11th century when the Brahmans became opposed to it. Prof. Mirasi and Mr. Kulkarni have edited the Ramtek inscription with critical notes. M. V. Gujar writes on the Rajput-Maharaja War. The volume closes with a biography of Rai Baladur G. S. Sardesai to whom the volume is dedicated.

The collection could have been improved if the panel of writers had been chosen from a wider area; but of course that does not reflect in any way on the meritorious work done by those that have contributed.

V.

## GUJARATI-ENGLISH

**TARAPOREVALA'S UP TO DATE GUJARATI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** Compiled by Principal S. S. Oza, M.A. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort Bombay. Rs 2-8.

The 47 letters of the Gujarati alphabet have been treated in the beginning, the Gujarati word in each case being followed by its explanation both in English and Gujarati. Then follow, in alphabetical order, a number of proverbs with their English translation. The compiler

P. R. SEN

**GUJARATI**

Printed at the ... bound. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 1-8 (1937).

Thirteen short stories which one would like to read, because of their good plot and characterization. Mr. Bhatt writes with vigor and perspicacity and therefore can present realistic pictures. He is sure to improve with experience.

K. M. J.<sup>4</sup>

## BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIANISATION OF SERVICES. Published by J. K. Mehta, M.A., Secretary, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay. 1938.

## MAHATMA HANSRAJ

The Maker of the Modern Punjab

By PROF S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

"Those who die for their country are called martyrs, but those who live for their country are greater martyrs," said Sir Gakul Chand Narang in supporting the resolution of condolence moved in the Punjab Assembly on the death of Mahatma Hansraj. Every little detail of the long life of the departed leader bears ample testimony to this observation. Steeped in Vedic lore, he set before himself the vigorous ideal of the Vedic citizen, who looked upon humanity with love and this world as a place for self-realization through service to mankind. In achieving this glorious end, as a practical-minded Punjabi, he took up the most unromantic and dreary work, namely, that of a teacher. He was not carried away by the vague romantic longings which brought on frustration in the lives of many of our English-educated countrymen in the last century. He did not allow himself to be seduced from the programme of his life by any sparkling illusions. Thus while his friends emerged into the limelight by taking up politics, he preferred to plod in darkness and obscurity. For looking at the benighted condition of his countrymen, he came to realize that the greatest service that he could render to his country was by imparting knowledge and thus emancipating the mind of man.

Lala Hansraj was born in a poor Khatri family on April 19, 1864. He lost his father at the age of ten and accompanied his elder brother Mulkraj, who came to Lahore in search of a job. There he was admitted to the American Mission School, from which he passed the Entrance Examination in 1880. Thereupon he joined the Government College and met Lala Lajpat Rai as his class-mate.

The Arya Samaj was founded in Lahore in 1877 and young Hansraj fell under its influence even when he was a schoolboy. Lala Saindas, the first president of the Samaj, had a magnetic personality and attracted the two friends by his character. The result was that they not only accepted the message of the Samaj but became its active workers even before they had left their college. Hansraj was entrusted with the editing of *The Regenerator of Aryavarta*, a weekly organ of the Lahore

Arya Samaj. He graduated in 1885 and prepared himself for the whole-hearted service of the cause which he had embraced.

The opportunity was not long in coming. Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, died in 1883, and his followers decided



Mahatma Hansraj

to perpetuate his memory by the establishment of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College with the object of encouraging the study of Hindu literature including Classical Sanskrit and the Vedas. This was to be supplemented by the study of English and Science. The idea was well received and a fund of Rs. 32,000 was collected by the end of the year

1885. But the Arya Samajists could not venture upon the ambitious scheme with such a small sum. Their enthusiasm was about to ebb out and a sense of despondency was seizing their souls. At this juncture young Hansraj stepped in and revived their drooping spirits by his determination to work without any remuneration for the promotion of the cause which was so dear to their heart. As one of the first batch of Punjabi graduates, he had before him immense possibilities of preferment in Government service. But encouraged by his elder brother, who took upon himself his responsibilities, he sacrificed all the ambitions of wealth and position which must have filled his young soul. One cannot but shudder at the cheerless prospect that now stared him in the face. There was neither the glamour of the founder of a religious sect, nor the prospect of publicity which a political leader leaps into. His noble example inspired others and in the anniversary of the Arya Samaj in November, 1885, the members began to vie with one another in self-sacrifice. On the first of June, 1886, the school department of the proposed institution was set up with Lala Hansraj as honorary headmaster. The institution was a great success from the very beginning. By the end of the first year, there were about 500 students on the rolls. Two years later, the F. A. classes were started and by 1894, the B. A. classes came into existence. The college has now been taking a considerable share in the post-graduate work of the University. The college grew from strength to strength, but its history has not been smooth. The Gurukul section of the Arya Samajists were hostile to the scheme of education imparted at the institution, and over this question there was a split in the Samaj. Lala Hansraj and his party were so convinced of the wisdom of their action, that they did not yield. Fearing that the Government would interfere in its affairs, the institution never asked for any aid from them. The enormous expenditure for its maintenance has all along been met by the sacrifice of its teachers and the generous contributions of its promoters. Apart from the Gurukul opposition, the college had to face yet another great crisis during the Non-co-operation days when between the Nationalist demand to disaffiliate it from the University and the terrorization of the Martial Law authorities, it was well nigh wrecked. Lala Hansraj had then retired from the Principalship, but his was the hand that was still guiding its destiny. His inspiration strengthened the wavering ranks of his co-

religionists, many of whom were anxious to hearken to the appeal of the Congress to reduce it to a "national college," and his tact enabled them to weather the storm which threatened it from the side of the Government. For a time his was the most despised name in the Punjab. Abuses were daily showered upon his head for not lining up with the Congress cause. But this was not all. Much against his wishes he had to take up a cause which eventually dealt a heavy blow to the solidarity of the Congress and weakened it for time being. This was the Suddhi and Hindu Sangathan movement. Of that anon.

The success of the Lahore D. A.-V. College emboldened the members of the Arya Samaj elsewhere to embark upon other schemes of their educational service, which they came to regard as the most important part of their mission in the Punjab. Another college was started at Jullunder and yet another at Hoshiarpur, till there was scarcely a town in the Punjab where there was neither a school nor a college managed by the D. A.-V. authorities. The Samaj maintains at present 250 educational institutions, big and small, in the province, and imparts education to 60,000 students at an annual cost of Rs 20,00,000 a year. Besides the Arts schools and colleges for men and women, it runs an Ayurvedic college, a College of Divinity, a magnificent research institute for Vedic studies, an Industrial Institution, and a training class in the mufassal. This vast edifice has been built by the self-abnegation of a community which was inspired by the lofty example of Mahatma Hansraj and led by him for about half a century.

It is no wonder that he should be honoured by his countrymen by the epithet of Mahatma and that he should be regarded by his fellow-Punjabis as the maker of the modern Punjab. Before the rise of the Arya Samaj, Hinduism through vicissitudes of history had reached the bottom of degeneracy in this province which saw the birth of the Vedas. The Hindu acknowledged the ancient culture of this country indeed, but had no idea as to what it was. The land had been Islamized so greatly that he ridiculed, and outside the Arya Samaj still does, the Sanskrit language and culture. He is not even now ashamed of misspelling the most ordinary Sanskrit names and words. The Hindu epics which have sustained our people from time immemorial and which are well known even to the lowest of the low, are as strange even to the Brahmins as to the Europeans. To such a land Mahatma Hansraj

and his followers brought the message of our glorious past by enforcing the study of Hindu literature, classical Sanskrit and the Vedas and replacing Urdu by Hindi. Thus in a quarter of a century the character of a people was fundamentally changed. Their outlook on things was influenced by the new taste that they had acquired for the age-old scriptures of this country. Their mind now turned to Hurdwar, Prayag, and Kasi for inspiration rather than to Bagdad, Damascus and Istanbul.

Thousands of students who go out of the D. A. V. schools and colleges carry along with them the lofty principles which the Mahatma lived for. Many of his pupils have been filling eminent positions in all departments of life in the Punjab. His simplicity and austerity have been objects of emulation by his countrymen. He had long ago indeed withdrawn himself from the actual work of teaching. But his place was taken up by a devoted band of workers, who in apostolic succession as it were, bore aloft the torch that he had kindled and propagated to generations the message that he had communicated to them.

As a student of history, Mahatma Hansraj knew that the principal cause of India's downfall had always been lack of organization. He therefore set himself to the task of placing the whole structure that he had raised with his hands on a sound basis of management. For this purpose an order of Life members was created. A Life member has to dedicate himself to the life of a teacher in one of the institutions run by the Arya Samaj. Most of the life members get Rs 150 as their monthly allowance with free quarters and free life insurance policies. There are a few who take bare living wage. Mahatma Hansraj was such a constitutionalist that throughout his Principalship, he implicitly obeyed the orders of the President of the Managing Committee though some of them were harsh. He was a man of very economical habits. But one day his chaprasi brought him a pencil worth two annas. The President wrote a note that though he was a high Government official he never spent more than two pice on it. The Honorary Principal of the college instead of resenting it, expressed his regret and never again gave him another occasion for rebuke. This spirit of obedience and discipline which he imposed upon himself, he inculcated upon the Life Members. Five generations of Life Members have already served or been serving the various institutions of the Samaj. Some of them have, by their

devotion, piety and the spirit of sacrifice, taken a place in their community and country only second to that of their leader.

But it was not merely as an educationist that all the time of Mahatma Hansraj was taken up. Since his retirement, he gave a considerable part of his time to various forms of social service. In this way he was gradually drawn into a very controversial sort of work. In July 1921, the Moplas of Malabar rose in rebellion against the Government, desecrated temples, looted Hindu houses and forcibly converted a large number of Hindus to Islam. When the Hindus were afraid of taking them back to their own fold, Mahatma Hansraj felt that it would be betraying his religion if he remained idle in this matter. A fund was started for helping the distressed and Mahatma Hansraj's mother was the first to make a donation to it. The question of reconversion was taken up in right earnest. The Mohammedans and the Congress both discountenanced this step, the former as a move hostile to their religion, and the latter as an element disturbing Hindu-Mo-lem relations. This attempt at reconversion gradually led to the foundation of the All-India Suddhi movement of which Swami Shraddhanand was the president and Mahatma Hansraj the Vice-president. After the resignation of the Swamiji, he had to succeed him as the President. The Suddhi movement unfortunately led to a large number of communal riots and murder of Hindu leaders. The sad spectacle of Hindu helplessness and the distasteful challenge of the bigoted section of the Muslim community during the riots opened to Mahatma Hansraj and Hindu leaders the necessity of starting a movement for Hindu solidarity under the name of Hindu Sangathan. In February 1923, he, therefore, drew up a programme by which he sought among other things to replace the modern conception of hereditary caste by the ideal one of *guna* and *karma*, to abolish the sub-castes, to uplift the untouchables, and unify the Hindus by bringing them back to the Vedic religion. For his lead in such works, he naturally was suspected by the Congress circles as setting up a rival organization to weaken the hold of the Congress on the Hindus with the result that he made the whole Congress press his enemy. The campaign of vilification which was carried on by the latter in consequence could only be expelled by his greatness. He faced it all with his usual detachment, a quality which once he had exhibited in an unstinted measure when attacked by his fellow-believers on the College

question. If Haustaj has been honoured by his respectful countrymen as Mahatma, it was not only because he was a very magnanimous person with his heart bleeding for the weak and the down-trodden, but because his was a single-hearted devotion to a cause he believed to be beneficial to his country and for which he steadfastly worked all his life. In silent and unostentatious service to our motherland, he has not many rivals and none so successful. In the midst of the drudgeries and struggles of life, he was never despondent. No cloud seemed ever to have darkened the genial sunshine of his soul. Like a Rishi, he had risen above all attachments of life, and nothing troubled the serenity of his mind. He seemed to have drunk

from the never-failing fountain of joy and strength. His unwavering faith in God was a perennial source of inspiration to him and sustained him in the midst of all his trials and tribulations. In the manifold duties of his life, there was not a single day when he did not sit before God in silent meditation and did not seek his voice.

His death has been a stunning blow to the Arya Samaj. It is doubtful if his place can ever be filled. The country, and particularly all liberal movements of social and religious reform, have suffered a great loss, and education, a champion, the like of whom it would not be easy to find. It is inconceivable what the Punjab would have been without him.

## AN ORIENTALIST OF DHAR

By G. C. SUGANDHI, M.A.

THE literary world suffered an irreparable loss on the 3rd September, 1938 when the "grand old man" of Dhar, Rajya Ratna Pandit Kashu Nath Krishna Lele slowly passed away in his bed at the ripe old age of 88. Mr. Lele hailed from the famous Lele family of the Konkan. During the time of the Peshwas the forefathers of late Mr. Lele came down the hills and settled first at Malhan and then at Poona but in the beginning of the 19th century his father and uncle migrated to Dhar along with Bhau Sahib Pawar Malhankar to enjoy the generous patronage of the Pawar rulers.

Mr. Lele was born on the 15th August, 1850 at Dhar but he had the misfortune of losing his mother at a very early age and this bereavement told upon the health of the boy who therefore never enjoyed the blessings of robust and sound health. Up to the age of 16 Mr. Lele received his education in some private and State schools but in the year 1866 A.D. he was sent to Indore for Secondary Education in English. He prosecuted his studies so diligently that he passed the Matriculation Examination in 1870 and under the advice of the famous learned Superintendent of Education, Mr. Vinayak Janardan Kirtane, he got himself admitted into the Deccan College of Poona. The Dhar Darbar also extended their patronage to Mr. Lele by giving him a

liberal scholarship but for reasons of health he had to leave Poona in 1876 without appearing at his B.A. degree examination.

On his return from Poona, he was appointed Head Master of the Anand High School, Dhar, where he proved himself an able educationist by most successfully carrying on the work of the institution. In 1887 for some political reasons he had to leave Dhar and join the Holkar State Service. But soon after he left for Dewas where he was appointed Superintendent of Education.

He made the Dewas institution a model High School in Central India and won great fame. In 1900 Mr. Lele got a golden opportunity of being appointed as a guardian tutor to His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Udayi Rao Pawar Saheb Bahadur at the Daly College, Indore. Soon after he was once again appointed as the Superintendent of Education and Head Master of Anand High School, Dhar, where he introduced many healthy and much-needed reforms in the said department. His was the pioneer effort to start the teaching of music, drawing, and carpentry and to add to this he had organised a beautiful museum. Mr. Lele being a great lover of history and archaeology co-operated with Capt. and Mrs. Barnes the then Political Agent in C. I. in writing a book on Dhar and Mandu. In 1902 Lord

Curzon paid a visit to Dhar, the place of great antiquity and he was so much struck by the archaeological collections of Mr. Lele and his work that he put in a word with the Political Agent to help him in every way possible.

It was the happiest moment in the life of Mr. Lele to unearth three famous inscriptions—



Raja Ratna Pandit Kashi Nath Krishna Lele

of Arjunarmadeo in the Sarvati Mandir (Sharda Sadan Vhoj Shala),\* now known as Kamal Maula mosque. The story of the finds is indeed very interesting as narrated by the scholar in his own words. The Kamal Maula Mosque was then in a dilapidated condition, recalling its past traditions of the shrine of learning. "One day", he said, "I thrust my hand into a hole behind the broken Kaba. Inside it I felt that something was engraved and I suspected the existence of some inscription. Mrs. Barnes on hearing this from me rushed to the scene and ordered me to try at it. To my surprise I discovered the Natika on two big slabs of stone, one having two Prakrit Koorne Shrotras of the time of Raja Bhoj of Dhar, and

the other a two-act play of the time of Arjunarmadeo (150 years later)." These throw a light on the research history of the brave Parmars of Dhar and specially their illustrious predecessor, Raja Bhoj.

In the year 1908 in collaboration with Capt. Luard he contributed an important article to the Dhar State Gazetteer under the title of the Parmars of Dhar and Malwa. This article won for him the praise of scholars.

From 1905 to 1914 A.D. Mr. Lele was unfortunately out of employment but he took advantage of the newly established Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona, by becoming a member and thus applied himself assiduously to making research in the field of history. In 1914 he was called back by the late Maharaja Sir Udayi Rao who entrusted to him the work of writing the history of the ruling family of Dhar. Thus he remained in charge of the History Department till the end of his life.

We owe 23 books and papers to Mr. Lele's facile pen :

1. Summary of the Dramatic Inscription Found in the Bhoj Shala (1903)
2. A note on the two Grammatical Serpentine Sanskrit Inscriptions on the two pillars at the Bhoj Shala
3. Parmars of Dhar and Malwa (1908)
4. A Chalukya, Parmar Inscription lately found at Udaipur (1913)
5. Malwacha Itihasache Sindhavlok, 1917
6. Vir Bhanudasa 1921
7. Maharastriya Sanskruticha Hindustanvar Parinam (1922)
8. Kaldas ani Vikramaditya yancha kal nirnaya (1922)
9. A short note on the Devi Image of Dhar Samvat, 1138, i.e. 1081 A.D. (1923)
10. A brief note on the Sanskrit Inscription found at Manda being a fragment of a hymn to Vishnu by Bulhan Minister of King Vindya Varmadeo of Dhar, 1100 to 1180 (1929)
11. Fragment of an inscribed Hymn of Saraswati found at Manda (1926).
12. Shreemant Maharaj Sayaji Rao Gaikwad yavaril Jubilee Stotra (1926).
13. Marathi Samarajyant Pawaranchi Vajibastah, Dharcheya Pawaranchi kampiri (1926). ("The Pawars' contribution to the Marathi Empire")
14. Itihasacharya Tapswi Rajwade yaj baddal char shabda (1927). (Marathi)
15. Udayirao Pawar yancha sambandhi kahi patre, 1927. (Marathi).
16. Banavat Patra vyavhar (1928). (Some Forged Documents).
17. Meadavagad kharidi khalehya oravar swadheen shala kav ? (1928).
18. Marathyanche Malawyanil Rajkaran (1930).
19. Parmar kulmani Bhoi Devache raijya mahatva (1930 A.D.). (The Polity of Bhoj).
20. Jagache Itihasatil additva vibhutti Parmar kulavantas Kavirai Smrta Bhoj Deo (1931). (Bhoja's place in World History).
21. Mala Itihas Sanshodhan chi godi kashi lagli (1931).

22. Dhar yethen Nirman Jhalala "sawar Prakash" nav-  
ancha aik manjyavan grantha.
23. Marathi Samant, ai pawaranche vaishistha Dhar-  
chya Pawaranche Mahatya totha darja, 1934.

These works of his appealed to the leading Indian historians of great repute. The late K. K. Rajwade of Poona, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha, late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Mr. Sardesai, Sardar Phalke and Sardar Kibr did not fail to pay their tribute to this scholar. It also gives great pleasure to note that he was not unknown in western countries also. He had among his friends such eminent orientalisists as Dr. F. Kielhorn of Göttingen; De Stall Holstein and Franklin Edgerton (Yale, U.S.A.). These scholars were in close touch with him which can be seen from their letters addressed to him from time to time. It will be very interesting to learn that Mr. Lele had the honour of being a pupil of Dr. Kielhorn when he was a student of the Deccan College, Poona.

A glimpse into his private life, I think would not be out of place here. Mr. Lele was married at an early age and was blessed with two issues, a son and a daughter. He gave his son Vishyanath Pant and his daughter the full advantage of liberal education and when the former took his B.A. degree, he was appointed Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Dhar State, for some time. In 1905 with Mr. Lele his son also left Dhar and joined the Holkar State Service as Head Master of the Bhanpura School. But in 1906 he suddenly fell ill and died. It gave a rude shock to Mr. Lele but he had many such misfortunes in store. His only daughter who was married at Poona breathed her last followed by the death in quick succession of his grandson and his daughter-in-law, his last solace. Under such tragic circumstances Mr. Lele's spiritual development and his literary bent of mind

engaged him in an occupation which immortalised his fame.

Mr. Lele had in late Mr. Shivaram Kashinath Oak a great pupil friend. He was formerly an accountant in the P. W. D. of Dhar State, but at Mr. Lele's request he was transferred as his assistant in 1924. Here he helped him in his research work and other literary activities.

The Maharajas of the Indian States also did him great honour. Among them are H. H. the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gackwar of Baroda, Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar, (ex-Maharaja of Indore) and Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Chandra Bai Holkar, the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao Puar of Dewas Senior and the late Maharaja Malhar Rao Puar of Dewas. The late Maharaja Sir Udayi Rao Puar of Dhar honoured him with the title of "Rajya Ratna". In 1927 Mr. Lele was presented with an address by the All-India Maharashtra Sahitya Sabha, Indore. In 1936 the Sharda Seva Sangh of Mandleshwar (Holkar State) passed unanimously a resolution praising his great services to history and praying for his long life.

Mr. Lele spent all his saintly life in the pursuit of truth. He was full of youthful enthusiasm till the end of his life. He thought he must do real service to his motherland—a mission of his life. He was proud of the oriental culture and learning. In private life his door was open both to his friend and foe. "The young aspiring generation is my asset," he often remarked. Students young and old adored him as their ideal Guru. When he breathed his last, his bier was taken out by "his men" reminding one of the famous lines from Browning's *The Grammarian's Funeral*.

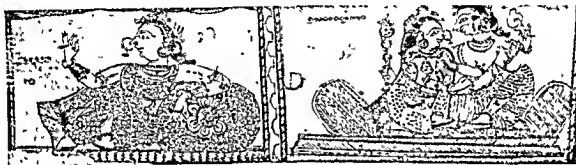
(The writer acknowledges with gratitude some of the facts taken from the biographical sketch of Mr. Lele by Mr. R. R. Shastri appearing in the *Vana Magazine* of Indore.)



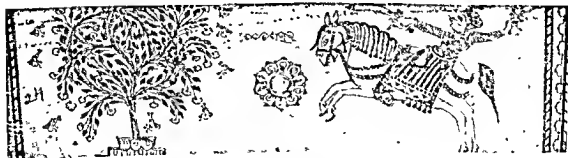




Child Krishna appears as Vishnu



Lakshmi and Narayana



Kalki, the last Avatar



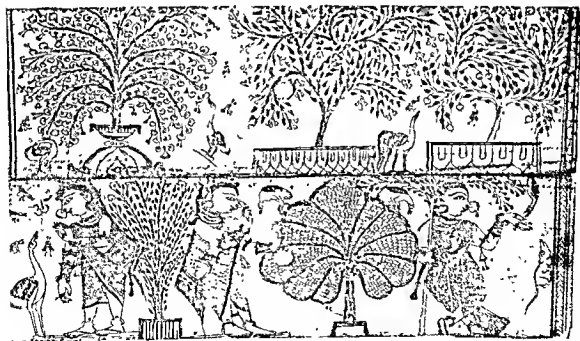
Bliriga Ram Balabhadra and Jagannath  
Krishna with his flute and his herd



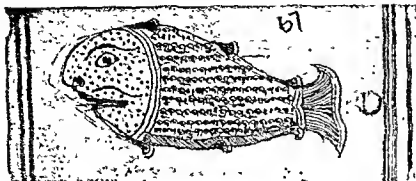
The call of the flute



Under the Kadamba tree      Radha and the Gopis



Brindaban



The first Avatar as fish-god



The three Avatars  
Baraha the boar-god, Narsimha the lion-man and  
Bamana the dwarf-god



Indra, the Lord of Heaven, worships Krishna in Brindaban

in conclusion, namely how the drawings have struck some of the greatest artists of modern Bengal. Both Abanindranath and Nandalal Bose have spoken in very high terms about the manuscript; while Jamini Roy, who has experimented more extensively in conventional styles of painting than any of his contemporaries, has passed a remark which is worthy of reproduction. When he was shown the illustrations and had gone over them for a long while, he said, "This bears a close resemblance to the style current in Bengal. But the drawings in the manuscript are so great, that, I believe, if an artist wanted to graduate, he must go to Orissa for his college-career, for Bengal can only offer him a school-course in comparison." Is not this a remarkable tribute from one who is competent to speak on the matter?

Fortunately, there seems to be a likelihood that the whole series of illustrations in the manuscript may be reproduced in book-form within a short time. Some patrons of art in Orissa seem to be anxious to have this treasure published, so that it might be preserved and made known to the world.



## EARLY CHRISTIAN ART IN ITALY

By DR. P. N. ROY, M.A., D.Litt

THE beginnings of the Christian art in Italy are to be found in the frescoes of the subterranean sepulchres and the sarcophagi. The date of this art is put between the first and the fourth century A.D.

There are subterranean sepulchres in other parts of Italy, but those of Rome are the most famous and important for the study of the beginnings of this art. For miles around this

cut these subterranean rooms and passages for the purpose of meeting together in secret and carrying out their prayers and religious discussions. The existence of a Greek chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla, of a church in the catacomb of St. Ermete and a baptistery in the catacomb of Pontiano lends a semblance of truth to this view.

But considering the fact that the catacombs are large in number (65 in all) and often long-winding, a great amount of earth must have been excavated in making them, and how did it become possible for the Christians to remove this great heap of earth or conceal it from the vigilance of the anti-Christian emperors? It seems, therefore, more likely that these subterranean vaults and passages were made with the knowledge and sanction of the then Roman regime and enjoyed the full legal protection which was extended to tombs of all kinds by the Romans due to their respectful sentiment towards the dead. Their formation also militates against the view that they were used for esoteric purposes, because, with the exception



The entrance to the Catacomb of Domitilla

eternal city extend these Christian tombs (their aggregate length is said to be 350 miles), known as catacombs, dug out in the bosom of the earth, and no visitor's itinerary in that city can be said to be complete, who has not spent a few hours in the darkness of its subterranean alleys.

The etymology of the word "catacomb" is uncertain and nothing definite can be said as to how this word came to designate the subterranean Christian sepulchres of the early centuries. The cemetery of St. Sebastian on the Via Appia in Rome was once called *Coemeterium ad Catacumbas* and as this cemetery was the most frequented and venerated one in the middle ages, the word perhaps came to be applied to all the subterranean tombs of the saints.

There are different views about the origin of these underground sepulchres. Many think that in the imperial days of Rome, when the early Christians were persecuted by the Roman emperors, the followers of the new faith dug



Fresco in the Catacomb of Domitilla :  
Cupid and Psyche

of the chapel, the church and the baptistery mentioned before, there is very little space inside them to accommodate a large gathering.

The conclusion from these facts seems inevitable that they were excavated solely for the purpose of burying the dead. But as burial, as opposed to burning, of the dead was illegal within the circuit of the walls of Servius Tullius, the Christians established their cemeteries outside it.

Some of the cemeteries are however of private origin. Many Christian Roman patricians made gifts of their lands for use as

by the people. It is only since the accidental discovery of a part of the catacomb of Priscilla in 1578 that there has been a renewed interest in these subterranean sepulchres.

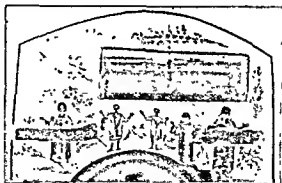
I still remember the sensation which I felt as, one fine September afternoon, I entered in the company of a few other persons the catacomb of St Sebastian on the Via Appia, the road by which Horace left Rome for Brundisium and St Paul approached Rome from Puteoli. A few thin candles were lighted and we were led down by an attending priest through dark steps into the subterranean vaults. There are several flights of steps and at the end of each flight there is a passage on both sides of which dead bodies were once interred in rectangular caves dug out in the walls. These caves are called *loculi*. Now and then, on either side of the passage we come across small rooms called *cubicles*, square in shape and with decorated walls. Some of the *cubicles* have their walls covered with marble and some also contain pillars. The tombstones of the *loculi* have various inscriptions engraved on their surface, e.g., *anima dulcis*, *in des vivas*, *deposuit in pace*, *dulcis in bono*. There are also diverse drawings of symbolical significance



Cubicule of St. Cecilia in Callisto's Catacomb

burial grounds for their co-religionists. Even to this day some of these catacombs are known by the name of the original owners of the land in which they are situated, e.g., the catacombs of Priscilla, Pretestato and Domitilla.

Of the many catacombs that exist all around Rome, mention may here be made of the catacombs of Ponziano, Generosa and St Felice on Via Portuense, the catacomb of St Valentino on Via Flaminia, that of Priscilla on Via Salaria, that of St. Agnes on Via Nomentana, and those of Pretestato, St Sebastian and Callisto on Via Appia. The one mentioned last is the largest of them all. The fortunes of the catacombs have been various. In the early centuries, before the custom of burial in the churchyard became established, all Christians in Rome were buried in the catacombs. Even after the establishment of this custom, many devout Christians desired to be buried there by the side of the martyrs. But in the fifth century, after the sack of Rome by Alaric, the catacombs began to lose their attraction as burial places, and when in the eighth century, at the time of the invasions of the Lombards, the relics of many of the saints were removed to the different churches of Rome, the catacombs were practically forgotten



The dead praying in Paradise—Symbolic garden in the Catacomb of Callisto

incised on them, such as the ship (church), fish (Christ), flocks of lambs (apostles or Christians) the peacock (immortality), the hart at the brook (the longing for holiness).

The paintings on the walls of the Roman catacombs are of the decorative type. They have been executed on a white or very clear background. Occasionally there are paintings in red or orange colour of the type seen at Pompei. The typical motives of these paintings are those found in the art of the classical age,

e.g., graceful vine tendrils, laurel branches, roses, flowers. There are also pastoral scenes of the gathering of flowers and olives and of reapers engaged in work. Paintings based on classical mythological themes also meet our eyes, e.g., Orpheus taming the animals with the music of his lyre; Cupid and Psyche. The catacomb of Domitilla is most celebrated in this respect. In one of its vaults we find a delicate vine-creeper with bunches of grapes and leaves.



The praying figure of a woman:  
a Catacomb painting

Not far from this fresco there is the picture of a little winged genie. In another fresco of the same catacomb Cupid is pouring flowers into a basket and Psyche with outspread wings is approaching him with a basket full of flowers.

Apart from these classical motives, there are also motives taken from the Bible: Noah and his arc, Moses striking a rock and bringing out water, Daniel surrounded by lions, the palsied man cured of his disease and carrying a bed on his shoulders.

But all these pictures have been drawn in a very negligent manner and with rapid strokes of the brush. There is a remarkable absence of details and fine workmanship. The manner of painting seen in the catacombs may be compared to that of the modern impressionist

school. Critics have tried to explain the reasons for this negligent manner. Some say that in the insufficient light within the catacombs it was not possible for the artist to display any skill in details and in the contrasting arrangement of light and shade and colours. There may be some truth in this view. But others point to a similar style of painting in other Roman frescoes of the time and conclude that this style was then a prevalent one, having had its origin in Hellenistic Egypt and thence spreading to Italy.

The constant repetition of the motives taken from the Bible is striking. According to the art-historian Woltmann this was due to their agreeable character and fitness for decorative



Madonna and the child

purposes. A better suggestion is that the motives have been constantly repeated in order to deeply impress the mind of the onlooker with some definite ideas and emotions. In fact, the symbolic character of many of the biblical paintings is apparent. The picture of the good shepherd in which the shepherd is carrying a little lamb on his shoulders is a symbolic representation of the saved soul. (The motive is derived from Christ's parable of the good shepherd but is influenced by the classical statues of Hermes carrying a lamb on his shoulders). The Eucharistic pictures probably suggest the feast which the saved soul will enjoy after death or they may be

reminiscent of the last supper of Christ. The garden picture in the catacomb of Callisto, with the figures of the five faithful in the middle praying with uplifted hands, is perhaps meant to convey the ideas of the bliss and beauty of Heaven.

Figures in a pose of prayer are quite frequent in the catacomb paintings. It is very natural that it should be so, for the Christians have always laid great stress on the beauty and necessity of prayer for the upliftment of the soul, and where could it be more usefully stressed than in these houses of the dead where everything suggests the vanity of the world and where the soul instinctively longs for serenity and peace? The praying figure that is seen in Callisto's Catacombs is highly expressive of the elevated condition of the soul. There is also a similar figure of a woman in the catacomb of Massimino, but what is noticeable in it is the expression, not of sweet serenity, but of fear.

There are few paintings only of Christ in the frescoes of the catacombs of the first four centuries. But in the paintings depicting the miracles and in those of the apostles, the figure of the Saviour appears quite frequently. As no historical portrait of Christ was known, the artists created an ideal type of a beardless youthful Saviour, resembling the gods of the Greek and Roman sculpture. The bearded type is indicative of a later evolution. Of the figures of the apostles, those of Paul and Peter alone are met with before the fourth century. But they look more like the philosophers of the ancient times and their dress is the Roman tunic and sandals on the feet. The Madonnas look like Roman matrons. The usual pose is that of prayer with uplifted hands, as is seen in a fresco in Ostrian catacomb. In this painting, the figure of Madonna with raised hands is put between two monograms of Christ, with the Bambino suspended in front. This particular pose is seen later in many paintings of the middle ages. There is another exquisite painting in Priscilla's catacomb of Madonna

seated with the child on her lap. Beside her stands a man, perhaps the prophet Isaiah pointing at the nativity sign.

Such are the main themes of the catacomb paintings. Careful observers will notice that



Madonnas praying. Ostrian Catacomb

while the manner and many motives are predominantly classical, there are remarkable omissions of some of the most important episodes of the Bible. For example, the Passion of Christ and the Crucifixion are unrepresented. Perhaps the early Christians, in their fight against Paganism, desired more to emphasise the happier and hopeful aspects of their religion than its tragic side. So the recurrence of the themes of Christ the Good Shepherd, Christ the miracle-worker and of convivial scenes.

As regards chronology, so far as is known, biblical pictures are rare in the first century, the few that are found being limited to the depiction of Noah's arc, Daniel surrounded by lions and the Good Shepherd. In the second century they are more numerous. We have the pictures of Isaac, Jonah, Susanna and Lazarus, as also of the nativity sign, the adoration of the Magi, and the Last Supper. In the third century Christ appears in the midst of the apostles. As regards the nimbus or the halo around the head of Christ, it appears for the first time in the fourth century.





## INCOME-TAX IN INDIA

By DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEE M.A., D.Sc., M.L.A., Barrister-at-Law

DURING the rule of the East India Company, certain direct taxes on trades and professions existed in different parts of the country. But almost all these had been abolished before the transfer of the administration to the Crown. The extreme financial embarrassment caused by the Sepoy Mutiny, however, compelled the Government of India to re-impose direct taxation. The first measure of such taxation placed before the legislature was a Bill to impose a licence-tax. This bill contained many defects and was opposed not only by the public but also by the officers of Government including Sir Barnes Peacock, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Vice-President of the General Legislative Council. The Bill, therefore, was not proceeded with for the time being. In the meantime, Mr. James Wilson, who had been sent out to India with the object of placing the finances of the country on a sound footing, thought that the objects underlying the Licence-tax Bill could be best achieved if they were dealt with in two separate Bills, namely, an Income-tax Bill and a Licence-tax Bill. He, therefore, introduced two measures of taxation in 1860 which were supplementary to each other, and their burden was expected to fall on different classes of the population.

In the Income-Tax Bill there were two rates, namely a 2 per cent rate, falling on incomes ranging from Rs 200 to Rs 500, and a 4 per cent rate on incomes above Rs 500. Of the latter, 3 per cent was to be collected for the Imperial Treasury and 1 per cent for local purposes. The different categories on which the income-tax was levied, were: (i) lands and houses, (ii) trades and professions, (iii) public funds, and (iv) salaries. When the Bill was under discussion a claim for exemption was put forward, on behalf of the land-holders, specially those under the permanent settlement. The Finance Member considered this claim to be groundless, and he placed before the Council, a letter from Maharaja Mahtab of Burdwan expressing the opinion that the tax was an equitable one. The Bill met with a hostile reception at the hands of the public and petitions were made from various quarters urging its withdrawal. It was, however, passed by the Council without modification.

This measure was enacted for a period of five years, and it lapsed in 1865. In 1867 the financial difficulties of the Government of India compelled it to impose a licence tax, which was continued in the following year in the form of a certificate tax. In 1869, this certificate tax was converted into an Income-tax. This tax was applied to all classes alike, without any distinction. It was levied at the rate of 1 per cent on all incomes and profits from Rs. 500 per annum and upwards. The rate of tax was enhanced to 2 per cent during the second half of the financial year 1869-70. In 1870, it was raised to six pies in the Rupee, or about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Individual assessments were now introduced. The yield of the tax was not as much as it had been expected. The tax was very unpopular. The general view held even by officers of Government was that the rate was too high and that limit of exemption too low. In 1871-72 the opinions of Provincial Governments and of many high officers were invited on the nature of the Income-tax, when the general view was expressed in opposition to the tax. During the year 1871 the rate of assessment was lowered to 2 pies in the Rupee and the minimum income liable to assessment was raised to Rs 750. In the following year the taxable minimum was raised to Rs 1,000. In 1873, the Government of India took into account the opinion of the Europeans as well as the Indians, both official and non-official, and after reviewing the financial position of the country, came to the conclusion that the continuance of the tax was unnecessary and inexpedient. The Income-Tax Act was allowed to expire.

Five years later direct taxation was again levied, this time in the form of licence taxes. These taxes lasted for nine years. In 1886, the Government of India was faced with a very difficult financial situation and an Income-Tax Bill was again introduced. This measure was built upon the foundation of licence tax. Incomes of Rs 500 a year or less were exempted. Incomes between Rs 500 and Rs. 2,000 were taxed at 4 pies in the Rupee, while those above Rs 2,000 were taxed at 5 pies. The principle of graduation was thus recognized. Incomes derived from land were excluded from the operation of

the Bill. On this occasion the income-tax was placed on a permanent footing.

In 1903 the taxable minimum of the income-tax was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. No changes of any importance took place in the Income-tax law till the year 1916. In that year the financial distress caused by the European War compelled the Government to impose additional taxation.

One of the measures adopted to cope with the difficulty was an increase in the rate of Income-tax. Incomes from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 9,999 were taxed at six pies in the Rupee, incomes from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 24,999 and upwards at one anna in the Rupee. A definite, though not full, effect was thus given to the principle of graduation.

In 1917, the Indian Income-Tax Act of 1886 was amended, with the object of improving the machinery so as to avoid the leakage which was taking place. On this occasion the ordinary income-tax was supplemented by a Super-tax, on the largest incomes. People having incomes in excess of Rs. 50,000 per annum, were called upon to pay a Super-tax, in addition to the ordinary income-tax. The rates fixed were as follows: in respect of (i) the first Rs. 50,000 of taxable income,—one anna in the Rupee; (ii) the next Rs. 50,000 of taxable income,—one-and-a-half anna in the Rupee, (iii) the next Rs. 50,000 of taxable income,—two annas in the Rupee, (iv) the next Rs. 50,000 of taxable income,—two-and-a-half annas in the Rupee; and (v) all taxable incomes over two lakhs of Rupees,—three annas in the Rupee.

In 1918 the Government of India introduced a Bill, to consolidate and amend the law relating to income-tax. One of the provisions of this Bill was that, in determining the rate at which the income-tax was to be levied, the aggregate of an assessee's taxable income from all sources, including agricultural income, should be taken into consideration. This proposal led to considerable opposition in the Legislative Council. An amendment moved by one of the non-official members with a view to excluding agricultural income from the computation of the rate of tax, was carried, some of the high officers of the Government including the Commander-in-Chief voting in favour of the amendment.

In 1919, the minimum of taxable income was raised from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 with the object of giving some relief to people having small fixed incomes, who had been hard hit by the enormous rise of the cost of living. In the same year an Excess Profits Duty Bill was

passed which applied, with certain exceptions, to business enterprises in India earning profits exceeding Rs. 30,000 during the year. This duty was levied only for one year.

In 1920, the Government of India introduced a Super-tax Amendment Bill. The main purpose of this Bill was to substitute a Super-tax at a flat-rate of one anna on the income of Companies for the then existing rates which ranged from one anna to three annas on individual profits. In other words, a new form of Super-tax similar to the 'Corporation Tax' levied in other countries, was to be substituted for a portion of the Super-tax. The Super-tax on individuals, unregistered firms, and Hindu undivided joint families was continued as before.

In 1921 the Government of India decided upon a further increase in the rates of income-tax and Super-tax. With regard to the former the rates on the smaller incomes were left undisturbed but the rates on the upper grades were so increased as to work to a maximum of 16 pies instead of 12 pies. At the same time the rates on the higher grades of income liable to Super-tax were so raised as to work upto a maximum of 4 annas in the Rupee on any excess over three-and-a-half lakhs.

In 1922 the Government decided to make a further call over the payers of income-tax and Super-tax. No alterations were made in the rate of tax payable by persons whose income was Rs. 30,000 or less a year, but the rate on incomes between Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 40,000 was raised to from 14 to 15 pies, and that on incomes above Rs. 40,000 from 16 to 18 pies. At the same time the higher rates of the Super-tax were regarded, working upto the highest rate of 6 annas as against the then existing highest rate of 4 annas. The combined maximum of the two taxes was thus fixed at five-and-a-half annas.

It was in the course of the year 1922 that the law relating to taxes on income was consolidated and placed on a more satisfactory basis. The increasing rate of taxation led to a demand for more accurate assessment, and complete revision of the previous Acts as found necessary. The provisions of Act XI of 1922 were largely based on the recommendations of the All-India Income-tax Committee which had been appointed in 1921 to consider questions relating to taxation of income. The principal changes introduced by this Act were as follows: (i) The income of the previous year was made the basis of assessment and the adjustment system was abolished. (ii) It was made clear

that the tax would be chargeable not necessarily on 'income' calculated on actual receipts and expenditure, but on the 'income', profits, or gains as set out and defined in the Act. It was also made clear that no uniform method of accounting was prescribed for all tax-payers, and that every tax-payer might, as far as possible, adopt such form and system of accounting as was best suited for his purposes. (iii) The distinction between 'taxable income' and 'total income' which had been adopted in 1918, was abandoned and the Act provided that the 'total income' of an assessee should determine his liability to the tax as well as the rate at which the tax should be assessed. (iv) No account was to be taken of any income derived from a Hindu undivided family by an individual member of the family in determining the rate, at which that individual member should pay income tax on his separate income. (v) The Act provided that a loss under one head of income might be charged against profits under another. (vi) In cases in which there had been a change in the proprietorship of a business, it was provided that the liability for payment of the tax based on the incomes of the preceding year should attach to this business itself. (vii) The organisation of the department was completely changed. The Act prescribed that the head of the income-tax department in a province should be known as the Commissioner of Income-tax, and the assessing authority as the Income-tax officer. A Board of Inland Revenue was created which was to be the highest authority in regard to Income-tax, and to which the Government of India was empowered to delegate its authority under the Act. The appointment of the departmental staff was transferred from the hands of the Provincial Governments to those of the Central Government. (viii) The Act made it obligatory on the Commissioner of Income-tax to refer a case to the High Court on the application of an assessee. (ix) The provisions relating to the disclosure of particulars regarding income-tax assessments were made more stringent. (x) The Act made it obligatory on all employers, including private employers, to collect income-tax at the time of payment of salaries. (xi) Wide powers were given to assisting officers in regard to returns, documents, etc. (xii) The procedure relating to refunds was simplified. (xiii) The Act provided for relief from double taxation.

It should be noted here that neither the Act itself nor its Schedules contained any provisions relating to the rates of taxation which

were left to be determined by the annual Finance Act. The Income-tax Act, 1922, nearly regulated the basis, the methods and the machinery of assessment, and was thus a purely administrative measure. The passing of this Act was followed by the creation of an expert staff for the department.

The different aspects of the question of taxation of income were considered at considerable length by the Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1921-25. Their investigation disclosed certain defects in the system. Some of the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee relating to taxation of income have been accepted by the Government and embodied in succeeding Acts. Several legislative measures have been enacted to amend the law relating to Income-tax since Act XI of 1922 was passed. The most important of these measures are the following: (i) Act IV of 1924 which substitutes the Control Board of Revenue for the Board of Inland Revenue; (ii) Act XI of 1924 which provides for (a) the withdrawal of exemption in respect of Provident Insurance Societies and (b) the taxation of associations of individuals other than firms, companies, and the Hindu undivided families; (iii) Act XVI of 1925 which provides for the taxation of sterling overseas pay received in the United Kingdom; (iv) Act III of 1926 which determines the liability of the Governments of British Dominions to taxation in India in respect of trading operations; (v) Act XXIV of 1926 which provides for the levy of Super-tax at the source on dividends paid to non-residents and allows appeals to the Privy Council; and (vi) Act III of 1928 which contains miscellaneous amendments. Another Bill was passed in 1929 to bring together a number of minor amendments relating mostly to matters of administration.

In 1930 an increase of one pie in the Rupee was made in the rates of (i) income-tax on incomes of Rs. 15,000 and upwards, and (ii) Super-tax with the exception of Companies' Super-tax.

By the supplementary and extending Finance Act of September 1931 the exemption limit of the Income-tax was reduced from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000 and a tax of 4 pies in the Rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was levied. Further a surcharge of 12½ per cent was imposed on all rates of income-tax and Super-tax. In 1935 the surcharge on income-tax and super-tax was reduced by one-third and relief was given to the payers of income-tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and

some relief while the burden was likely to be somewhat greater on the richer assesseses.

The report of the Select Committee was placed before the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 10th November, 1938 and the considerations of the Report was taken up on the 16th. The Select Committee had removed a few of the provisions to which exception had been taken both in the Legislative Assembly and outside, the most important of these being the provision relating to the lumping together of the incomes of husbands and wives. But many of the members thought that quite a large number of objectionable features still existed in the Bill. Special emphasis was laid on two of the clauses of the Bill. The first was clause 4 which sought to substitute an accrual basis for the taxation of the foreign incomes of residents in India, and also provided a discrimination between domiciled residents and non-domiciled residents. The second was clause 53 which contained the provision relating to double taxation relief which was almost unanimously regarded as inequitable and unjustifiable,—a provision the effect of which was to cause a loss to the Indian treasury to the extent of over a crore of rupees every year. The crisis came to a head immediately the discussion of the clause started. As soon as the deletion of clause 4 was moved, the leaders of the different parties, namely, the Congress Party, the Congress Nationalist Party, the Moslem League Party and the European group, all stood up one after another to support the amendment. It seemed that the Bill was as good as dead, for the Finance Member had threatened several times to withdraw the Bill if clause 4 was omitted or "mangled". But the Finance member made a last minute offer of a compromise and suggested a conference between himself and the leaders of the various parties. This offer was accepted and a compromise proposal was adopted by the Govern-

ment, the Congress party and the Moslem League party. This was ultimately accepted by the Assembly. The subsequent passage of the Bill was comparatively easy. The Congress Nationalist party, however, did not accept the compromise and fought a gallant fight at every stage of the progress of the Bill through the House. As for clause 53, the Governor-General refused his sanction to the moving of any amendments for deleting it.

The compromise proposals on clause 4 was to the effect that the accrual basis should be retained but an exemption is made in respect of accrued income to the extent of Rs. 4,500 which is to be taxed only if brought into British India. The discrimination between domiciled residents and non-domiciled residents is replaced by a distinction between those who are "resident" and those who are "ordinarily resident". A provision added to clause 49 is intended to give some relief to those Indian traders who cannot bring their foreign incomes into British India on account of exchange restrictions, and the new clause 49D seeks to give Indian traders partial relief from double taxation in countries with which there is no agreement to provide such a relief.

The pressure exerted by the non-official members of the Assembly helped to improve the Bill to some extent. Apart from changes in minor directions, the most noteworthy of these improvements was the provision for the establishment of an Appellate Tribunal for appeals from the decisions of Appellate Assistant Income-tax Commissioners. This Tribunal will consist of not more than ten persons and will comprise an equal number of judicial and accountant members with a judicial member as President. The powers of the Tribunal will be exercised by Benches. Another improvement is the deletion of the clause relating to the entry of houses by income-tax officers.



forms and the Church actively helped in the work of *butcherling innocent young lives*. To Jesus the worth of a single soul is greater than the gaining of the whole world, and yet the Church induced thousands to sacrifice their lives merely for a few millionaires obtaining or maintaining territory for purposes of commercial exploitation. Jesus said "Love your enemies" Bishop and others preached: "Die killing your enemies and you will go straight to Heaven." This is how the Church (barring one or two noble exceptions) allied itself with power and wealth and did not scruple to nail Jesus, the Prince of Peace, to the cross.

He discusses the attitude taken up by the Church towards the freedom movement in India :

Nearer home, what part did the Church play in India when a non-Christian people struggling to be free used the method of Jesus, the method of non-violence, against a Christian power which kept them in bondage? To say the least, it kept severely aloof on the plea that the Church was a non-political organization and missionaries were pledged not to interfere in politics. But can the Church honestly restrict its adherence to the teachings of Jesus to a conveniently limited sphere and say, "Thus far and no farther"? Is it not too much like following Jesus only so long as doing so does not come into conflict with imperialism? If so, the ultimate authority the Church recognises is not Jesus but imperialistic power, not God but mammon and, as Jesus pointed out, one cannot serve both.

Even if the Church in India took the position that though it sympathized with the desire of the nation to be free, still it could not support unconstitutional methods what is one to say of the grim silence which it preserved over violent repression of a non-violent people? It does not require a Christian to say that violence perpetrated on one who refuses to resort to violence is sheer brutality. Common humanity will cry out against such barbarism, and yet the Church as an organized body did not raise a finger to protest. Jesus might have been amongst those who bared their heads to receive the blows from the police, while the Church merely looked on and passed by on the other side. Instead of the Church teaching non-Christians the method of non-violence, the non-Christians proved themselves by far the truer followers of Jesus.

### Unification of Maharashtra

The National Congress has declared its resolve to establish Provinces on the linguistic basis as far as British India is concerned. Dealing with the question of the unification of the Maharashtra Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe observes in *Truanti* :

The boundaries of the Maharashtra in the Bombay Province are well defined and the country within them is compact. Similar is the case with regard to the Maharashtra included in the Central Provinces (including Berar) and both these portions are contiguous. The Indian States falling within the boundaries of the Maharashtra in the Bombay Province may form a sub-Federation under the hegemony of Kolhapur.

The proposal, in short, is that the Maharashtra districts of the Bombay Province, Berar, and the Maharashtra districts of the present Central Provinces should form one province. To compensate the Central Provinces for its loss of territory, all the districts of the United Provinces west of the Jumna may be given over to akoshal (Hindi C.P.). It will have its capital at

Jubbulpore, which will be more centrally situated for the new territories than Nagpur is for the present territories. There will remain some Maharashtra area in the old and new districts to be given over to Mahakoshal; they will have to accept their position of minorities. Even now they are not contiguous to Maharashtra territories and their position will in no way be adversely affected, unless it be said with regard to the Maharahitians in the Hindi speaking districts of the present Central Provinces that the presence of their compatriots almost in a majority in the United Maharashtra is a safeguard to them. But after all, nationalities in India cannot be antagonistic.

In the New Maharashtra there will be two Universities, one to be newly established at Poona and the other to be at Nagpur. As regards the capital, like the United Provinces, or as is the case at present in the Bombay Province, there will be two capitals, certain offices and functions being held at Poona and others at Nagpur; or these may be seasonal capitals, the Government going to Nagpur in the cold season.

### The World in Conflict

Rev. A. J. Saunders considers the World in Conflict, not in a physical sense, but rather in the conflict of ideas and ideologies. Dealing with the philosophy of communism, he writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Marx is in the direct line of succession from Socrates and Plato of the ancients and Hegel of the moderns. The central idea in his theory is what is called the philosophy of dialectical materialism. Hegel's dialectic is an attempt to state the process of thought considered as an onward movement of growth and development; it is a logical instrument for studying the process of development. How does change take place? How does social life proceed? What are the means of progress? These were the questions which engaged Hegel; he worked in the realm of ideas. Karl Marx accepted much of Hegel's theory, but he was more practical. Marx was not an idealist, he was a stern realist. Hegel viewed the process of life from the realm of ideas, Marx from the starting point of sociology and economics. Marx's whole philosophy was coloured by his theory—The economic interpretation of history. Note this difference :

'Man is what he eats'—Marx.

'Man is what he thinks'—Hegel.

1. All organic processes are dialectic
2. Reality is an organic process
3. Reality is idea.

Marx accepted the first two, but he changed the third to read :

Reality is material well-being.

Communist philosophy is based upon economic sufficiency or a dialectic materialism, and an economic determinism.

The outstanding example of the philosophy of Karl Marx on a national scale is the Russian experiment in Communism. The aim of Communism is the rule of the proletariat, not subjection to a dictator. Consequently, Russia is not yet truly Communist, it is rather State Socialism under the direction of a Dictator and a small body of Supermen. But Russia is a pioneer in social control on a national scale, and although we may not agree with some things being done in Soviet Russia we must not allow our eyes to be blinded to the good things that are coming out of their significant experiment. I mention only two or three which no doubt have impressed you in your reading: the removal of the hatred and

to remove from our society wholesale traditional prejudices and destructive attitudes. In the context of our remedy of cultural pluralism this omission must be made good.

There must also be organised a definite plan of cultural adjustment and harmonisation of the various communities.

The writer suggests the following few measures in the nature of a plan of action:

(1) A national inventory of the cultural and social values of the various racial and religious minorities ought to be prepared jointly by scholars of the majority and minority groups.

(2) There should be organised a National Committee of Harmonisation and Adjustment, whose purpose would be to define the various culture traits of the different minorities and to decide which ones of these traits fit into the patterns of the national life so that the minority need not surrender them and which ones produce dangerous maladjustment.

(3) An advertising campaign on a national scale, emphasising and putting forward the best that is offered by minority groups, should materially help to achieve harmony and adaptation of cultures.

(4) Irreparable damage has been done by many things written in text books of scholars and colleges as well as by inexcusable omissions. A National Committee, working through local committees should be able to secure the proper presentation of the cultures and social values of racial and religious minorities.

(5) About all appeals to the conscience of the nation would make a growingly large number of men and women, who believe in the broadest extension of goodwill and national greatness, interested in the task of bringing about cultural and social adjustment between the various communal groups.

### The Philosophy of Sir Mahomed Iqbal

In spite of his communal activities during the closing few years of his life, Iqbal's title to be called a poet of Humanity can, Prof. Sundar Das believes, be easily established. Observes the Professor in *The Indian Review*:

Iqbal makes his reader realise that in the final analysis there is no difference between joy and rectitude of conduct; Reality and values are not unrelated. In a higher synthesis, conflict between man and nature is lost. A spiritually restless soul is man's greatest asset. Happiness is an accident of good life and a quality of heroic behaviour.

This is a message of great spiritual significance to the weaker individuals and declining races of the world, scrupulously declared with a unique poetic and mystic power, and the pages of his books are ringing with a passionate devotion for, and a remarkable faith in, a simple living God. He never leaves you depressed and dejected. It was Schopenhauer, who once preached the defeat of pessimism through art. It is here that we conquest that religion is a challenge addressed to a valiant soul. One reading of 'Bang-i-Darra' will stir your whole soul. One reading will leave its reader with the impression of a being and will leave its reader with the impression of a mind of extraordinary power animated with flames of urgency and vitality, and of a soul surging with emotions like a river overflowing its margins. Though a true son and interpreter of Islam, his spiritual ancestry can easily be traced to Bergson and Nietzsche.

### Leo Tolstoy

*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* reproduces an article on Leo Tolstoy by M. Brovin from the *Moscow News*. It contains Lenin's appraisal of Tolstoy. The following is an extract from the article:

A special place in Tolstoy's works is occupied by these writings in which he sought to point out the way to attainment of truth and human justice. How to live? Were the sufferings of the people inevitable?

Tortured by doubts, Tolstoy sought in vain for light.

The revolutionary action of the peasantry and the working class prepared for an armed struggle with tsarism. The vast mass of the peasantry, which had yet not awakened to the need for revolution, as Lenin correctly pointed out, "wept and prayed, rationalized and dreamed, wrote petitions and sent deputations."

The ideologist of this latter social group was Tolstoy with his concept of asceticism, the simple life, the suppression of all desire, the repudiation of everything "earthly," non-resistance to evil, and inner self-perfection.

"Tolstoy is great," wrote Lenin, "as one who gave expression to the ideas and sentiments which had formed among the millions of the Russian peasants by the time of the bourgeois revolution in Russia." At the same time, however, he was pitiful and helpless when he sought to preach what, as Lenin said, was "one of the most despicable things on earth, namely, religion," which sought to "substitute for priests in government service, priests by moral conviction," and thereby cultivate the "most refined and hence the most repulsive of the priesthood."

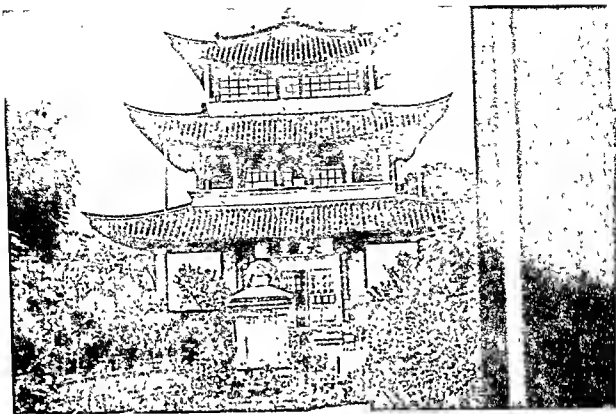
Lenin's wrath was particularly strong against those of the Russian intellectuals who called themselves followers of Tolstoy but who presented a most disgusting spectacle of worn-out, hysterical snivellers who publicly beat themselves on the breast, crying: "I am vile, I am base, but I am morally perfecting myself; I no longer eat meat and sustain myself solely on rice cutlets."

While paying tribute to the artistic genius of the author of *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina* and *Resurrection*, and recognizing the indisputably subjective nobility of Tolstoy as a man who fought all his life for the happiness of the people, Lenin and the Bolsheviks never made a fetish of him.

Tolstoy's theories of reconciliation and non-resistance are alien to the working people. For the working people of the whole world and for the Soviet people, the charm and power of the author lies not in his philosophy but in his magnificent writings, which gave such splendid expression to life and which teach men to respect labour and to be humanists.

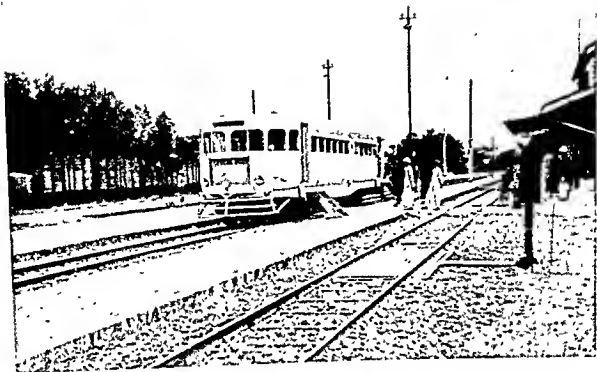
"In order to make his great writings really accessible to all, it is necessary to fight and fight again against such a social system which condemned millions and scores of millions to darkness, ignorance, hard labour and poverty, a socialist upheaval is necessary," is what Lenin wrote about Tolstoy.

The workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, accomplished the socialist upheaval, and all of the priceless legacy of the writer has become accessible to the people. Never has he had so many millions of readers as in the Soviet Union today. Scores of editions of his works have been published by the Soviet Government, but even the 17 million copies



Yunnan-Fu A Temple





Yunnan Fu The terminus of the Railway from French Indo China





# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Germany and Russia

It is well known that there are striking similarities between National Socialism and Communism. "The Party" in Russia has the same political monopoly, writes Calvin B. Hoover in the *New York Times Magazine*, that is enjoyed by "the Party" in Germany. In both Germany and Russia the Party and the State have no separate identities. The Party-State exercises unlimited sovereignty over every phase of human activity.

In the economic realm, National Socialism and the Soviet System are contrasted on the ground that the Nazi system is capitalistic and protects private property whereas the Soviet Russia does not recognise private property.

There can be no doubt that here is a basic difference. Yet the contrast between the attitudes of the two States toward property is not so complete as first appears. National Socialists did not have to take away stock certificates from stockholders in order to obtain control of industrial corporations. All that was necessary was that the government dominate the election of the boards of directors.

Again, it is claimed that in Russia the workers run the factories for the workers, and in Germany the capitalists run the factories for the capitalists.

It is true that in Soviet Russia a far higher proportion of the managers of factories are former workmen than in Germany, and that in Germany the administrative personnel in control of industrial enterprises is still largely the same as before Hitler became Chancellor.

Now this is extremely important to each of the individual managers both in Germany and in Russia. It does not make much difference to the workers themselves, however. In neither country do the workers, as such, control industry. It has many times required the most extreme exercise of the police power of the State, including the death sentence, to teach the Russian worker that the management—even though appointed, not elected—has authority which must be respected. The Nazis have the advantage in that they do not have to teach this to the workers all over again.

The cultural differences which exist between the Nazi and Soviet systems are due not only to difference in the class origin but also to racial differences as well. The Nazi yearning towards a more primitive kind of society—the idealisation of the peasant in contrast with the Soviet fetish of urbanisation and industrialisation—is no doubt due to difference in class origin. The far greater glorification of the warrior by the Nazis is probably founded in the culture of the race. Nevertheless, cultural similarities override differences in both race and class origin.

The culture of both systems is essentially one of force, violence and conflict. For the pacifist in either society there is unlimited contempt. For a long time Communists distinguished between class war and nationalistic war. To participate in class warfare was virtuous, while to participate in "imperialistic war" was sin. The necessity for alliances with capitalist countries and the attempt to develop Soviet patriotism as a protection against National Socialist Germany have blurred this distinction measurably.

A burning hatred of Communists, Social Democrats, Catholics, Monarchists and purged Nazis in Germany compares with a similar hatred for former landlords, capitalists, Mensheviks and Trotskyists in Russia.

Another outstanding similarity in culture is the absence of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of thought and of conscience.

## National Socialism A Religion

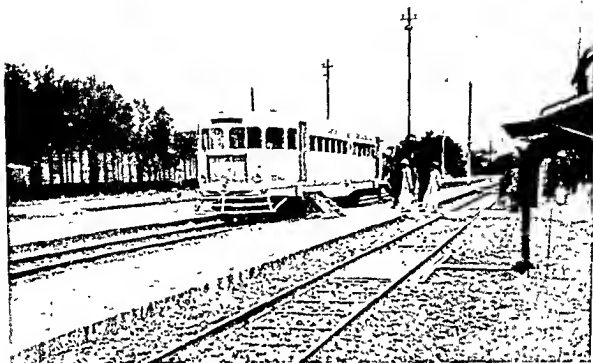
If Communism be an ideology, observes A. I. S. in *The Catholic World*, National Socialism is a religion, a dangerous and terrible religion which expresses itself in the fanaticism with which it persecutes all who will not conform to its tenets.

Communism has introduced an anti-God campaign, but National Socialism has introduced the worship of a god who has nothing in common with the God of the Christians. "God, and Hitler His prophet," is much the same cry as "Allah, and Mohammed his prophet," and like Mohammedanism the new religion is to be promulgated by the sword. Woe to those in public office who do not conform. In Austria those who had desired and who had worked for the *Anschluss*, but who remained Catholic, were the first to suffer; and among the officials of the previous government those were singled out for special cruelty, who were known to be practicing Catholics.

Why, if it were merely a question of race, were not only Jewish professors banished from the universities; those who were known to be actively Catholic were banished also. The dissolution of the Innsbruck faculty of theology (one of the most famous in Europe) is another proof of the religious nature of the movement.

Why if National Socialism be not a religious movement is the practice of the Christian religion made impossible for the young, who are compelled to drill and occupy themselves with military exercises during the whole forenoon of Sunday, and why is the drill of military recruits begun with the formula, "Those who wish to leave the Church step forward," and anathemas heaped at those who do not step forward? Not only is the practice of religion made impossible for the young but they are inveigled into attending parades of Christian worship.

Baldur von Schirach, the youth leader of the Third Reich at a youth festival in Hesse-Nassau spoke as fol-



Yunnan Fu The terminus of the Railway from French Indo China



lows: "The youth here is neither Catholic nor Protestant, it is simply German, a people soldered together by faith in a leader, and the sacred earth of the fatherland. We are here because God has ordained it. This we feel to be the truth. God has not said go into the Confessional Churches and fight against Hitler, no, God has ordained what we feel to be the truth: Hold together and fight for Adolf Hitler. This is God's will."

At a youth festival held in Thuringen, in one of the speeches or sermons, the following phrases occurred: "We seek prophets whom we can regard as models of faith and heroic struggle . . . Adolf Hitler overcame in his own soul the demon of class hatred . . . his way during fifteen years was the way of the cross . . . thus we can experience the cross not as a matter of history but as it has been revealed in Adolf Hitler. Who cannot believe in Adolf Hitler cannot believe in God. In following him we show our faith in the unknown and yet known God."

### Decline of German Literature

According to an article in the *Forum*, Johannesburg, (reproduced in the *Parade* in an abridged form) German literature has greatly deteriorated during the Hitler regime, which has not produced one notable writer so far.

It is a well known fact that the bulk of literary production in every modern country is made up by novels. Republican Germany, in particular, had cultivated the novel and especially the social novel. Names like Ina Seidel, or Hans Grimm, or Guido Kolbenbeyer, or Frank Thues— to mention a few at random, with no view to the order of their literary merit—were known far beyond the German borders. To-day their hearers are silent.

There were, before Hitler's advent to power, some avowed Nazis who wrote fine, readable social novels. What has become of all that talent? The most eminent woman writer Germany has ever possessed, Ricarda Sluch, a pure "Aryan," had openly to protest at the shame brought upon the true Germany by her new rulers and has ever since been waiting in voluntary silence for the hour of liberation—one of the few heroic figures in Nazi Germany who have had the courage of their conviction.

For an outsider the sinister significance of this silence may be difficult to grasp. It is nothing but miserable and naked fear that is at the back of it. Present-day Germany is governed by so many rival classes that are envious of each other, that no writer dare take a stand on any social question whatever. The splendid system of retrospective punishment introduced by the Nazi regime adds to their fears.

Under these circumstances, the only prose that appears from time to time revolves upon subjects like comradeship, "blood and soil," and "race-consciousness," unless it is in the category of Byzantine eulogies of Fuehrers and sub-Fuehrers, so-called "biographies."

Is it any wonder that, under these circumstances, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, one of the few better-class journals of olden days that have survived in Nazi Germany, comments "that precious little in the way of good new literature has been produced up to now, and that one turns with joy to the great prose writers of the nineteenth century—writers who possessed the quality of being sincere and really poetic?"

The best-sellers in Germany are translations of successful foreign novels. At present, both Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* and Dr. Crownin's *The*

*Citadel* are the favourites of the German reading public—a striking contrast to the world-wide anonymity of the neo-German prose.

### Europe's Tragic Hero

It was seriously suggested that the Nobel Peace Prize should go this year to Neville Chamberlain, or to all the four heroes of the Munich Betrayal, for saving the world from catastrophe. But as A. L. Easterman puts it in the *Daily Herald*, "If any single man gave peace to Europe, it was not Neville Chamberlain, it was not the flamboyant Censer of Fascist Rome, it was not the raucous, thundering Fuehrer of Nazi Germany . . . To Edouard Benes the crown of glory should be given, for he and he alone saved the continent of Europe from overwhelming catastrophe."

One single word from him, one false move, one hasty act, one moment of anger at the taunts of his enemy or at the betrayal by his friends, and Europe would have been a shame.

Benes did not utter that word, nor did he return insult for insult or pour scorn on deserting allies. In these three dread weeks following Hitler's first tornado of violence and abuse and threats to march against Czechoslovakia, the Czech people rose to heights of patriotic fervor unparalleled, in my view, in the world's history.

They prepared to meet the challenge of an invader immeasurably more powerful with a spirit of sacrifice that no nation, great or small, has equaled.

Not once but a hundred times I heard in the streets of Prague the words, "We know we shall perish, but better to die than to yield to force and humiliation"—spoken without arrogance, without emotion, with a pride that was terrifying in its calm grimness. Men and women and children, the sort of people you and I meet every day, spoke like that.

And as the days wore on, each blacker with menace for the Czech people than the other, the real for war in the defense of their liberty and independence rose to the height of a great crusade. But Benes held in check that fervor for death before dishonour. When the news spread through Prague that erstwhile friends had forced Benes to yield to Hitler, the people, for the first time broke through the barrier of pent-up emotion and steeled discipline that had held them calm.

Densely packed masses of men, women and children, in their scores of thousands, marching all through the night almost transfixed with emotion—not hysteria, but agony, sheer agony, allied with a fierce resolve to fight. And there were tears, not of weakness but of hauled strength and now uncontrollable passion.

But Benes remained calm in his tragedy and isolation. He braved the wrath of his impassioned, disappointed people by himself, issuing a call for order, quiet and dignity in the honour of grief and disaster. Again, there were no taunts against either menacing foe or false friend, no shouts of defiance which would have sent an enraged populace to the battlefield.

When told by an intransigent and despairing colleague that Czechoslovakia, deserted by paper allies, would fight Germany single-handed, Benes, far-sighted and brave as always, pointed out that his country might begin the fight alone, but nothing could stop the embroilment of all the

nations of Europe and that millions of men would perish in the maelstrom of blood.

In that spirit and with that determination, Edouard Benes had to surrender the land of his fathers and plunge the patriots of Czechoslovakia into sorrow and mourning. He was given no choice.

### Oriental Studies and Prehistoric Pottery

Leroy Waterman in his presidential address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, (published in the *Journal of the Society*) lays emphasis upon the larger significance of Oriental studies. With special reference to prehistoric pottery and its relation to Oriental studies he makes the following remarks:

At the outset Oriental studies could be likened to *isolated points of light in a vast obscurity*. They may more properly be described today as a connected fabric gradually unfolding the patterns of man's measured experience on the time loom, apparently turning biologic time backward and never more swiftly than in the immediate past.

One of the most fascinating factors in this process is the pottery time shuttle. Of all the worn out and cast off equipment of early man's life, discarded pottery is apparently the most worthless and useless, yet as is well known, when all other data and available clues fail, the fowly potsherd furnishes the surest and most unfailing source of time sequence and cultural spread. And as if to make doubly sure that far off future ages should not be able to lose sight of this indispensable guide the makers of the marvelous polychrome pottery, of the fourth millennium B.C., spread its warm colors across the world from the Syrian coast to the Indus valley, and within a decade the realization of this fact has changed the whole time perspective of the near and middle East. More particularly, with its help has the last season's work at Tepe Gawra, under joint auspices of the American Schools and the University Museum of this city, and led by Dr. E. A. Speiser, clarified the chronology to the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., and with the aid of monochrome wares beneath, pointed the way well into the fifth. But what is even more striking and significant are the accompanying remains of the acropolis in stratum XIII, with its intricate and highly artistic religious architecture, viz., its red, white, and purple temples, which were apparently even more richly spread with color within than without, thus showing the same artistic feeling for color exhibited in the pottery and revealing a higher cultural development, commensurate with the evidence from the pottery, but wholly unsuspected hitherto. However little uniform or unified that culture may have been, when compared with the uniformity of the pottery (a thing which only vastly more investigation will be able to show), the range of higher development as thus far illustrated lifts the culture of these people to a new and surprisingly high level.

Within the current year further studies and syntheses dealing with the Ghazian pottery have definitely carried back the culture of Palestine to the fourth millennium B.C., with other evidence suggesting possible connections with Halaftan culture of the fifth millennium. In that far off age so enormously separated from us, we can nevertheless see how far removed its life was from the truly primitive. There is here one of the major remaining gaps, which it will be the task of archaeology to span. In fact the

"catwalk" for that bridge may lie almost ready made at the base of Tepe Gawra. When that task is accomplished, the historic time sounding apparatus will probe no farther, but even then we shall be far from the human beginnings in one of the best known areas of the Oriental field, viz., Palestine, for it has also proved to be a rare treasure house of archaic man and the crossroads of his wanderings, forcefully set forth by a distinguished scholar of the prehistoric field as "The gateway of Prehistoric human migrations."

### Women in a Man's World

The following extract is made from a review in *The Christian Register* of Virginia Woolf's latest book, "Three Guineas".

Through the facts which she is able to gather facts which explain why women's colleges in England are so impoverished and why professional women of high standing do well if they make 250 pounds a year—she demonstrates that this public world is still almost exclusively a man's world. No woman can perform the priestly office in its state Church—and Mrs. Woolf in her text and in her notes gives us some very interesting exhibits here. No women are in the higher income brackets of the Civil Service, although ex-Premier Baldwin admits that they are as competent and as trustworthy as men. Only after long and grueling fights, wasteful of whole lives, that otherwise might have produced creative work, have English women won the ballot, and some measure of legal right in connection with property—for as we all know married women were at one time unable to own property. Even now the woman is not admitted to complete citizenship for, if she marries a foreigner, she loses her citizenship.

### Russian Youth Searching For The Unknown God

The following extract is reproduced from *World Christianity*:

Outside the Party organization and the Communist Youth associations, young Russians who are searching for unknown truth are forming themselves into such enquiry groups as the "Circle of Young Thinkers" the "Circle of Enquirers" and the "Academy of Cosmic Research." Without books, without guidance, these clubs of young enquirers are pathetically searching, but sooner or later they meet with the implacable Soviet authorities and are driven underground. Umberto Caramore, writing in the Italian Catholic monthly *Vita e Pensiero* says concerning this spiritual crisis of the youth in Russia, that its most regrettable feature is the increasing number of suicides, chiefly among girls.

### The Triumph of the Shah

In a paper contributed to the Asia, W. Lyndon Clough notes the far-reaching reforms introduced in Iran by the Shah.

A strong drive has been made to unify the language:

There is an academy which at regular intervals publishes a list of words that are to be expunged—invaders

for the most part from Arabs, Turkey or Russia—and prints the pure Iranian equivalent. The difficult Persian script is at a premium. Telegrams for example, written in Roman script cost far more to send than those in Persian; letters tend to be more quickly delivered if the addresses are not in Roman; and official documents for the use of foreigners have to be filled out in Persian, though a duplicate in French is provided to help the *Feringi*.

Indications point to the fact that the government is going to treat the religious problem as a Gordian knot and cut it; most probably the solution will be as in Germany and Russia:

Many of the strongholds of Mohammedanism have been weakened, the two most obvious being the priests and the veil. Up till ten years ago the mullahs controlled religion and most of the civil machinery: the state was completely priest-ridden. But today the long, flowing robes and turban that denote the priest are a rare sight—there are said to be only seven in the whole of Isfahan. Moreover, the activities of those who are permitted by the state to exist have been strictly curtailed and politics is very much forbidden ground. The question of the veil and the turban, indeed of costume in general, was a very important one to the Muslim world, with its dictum that a man must not uncover his head but, when he prays, should touch the ground with his forehead. The priests,

especially in Meshed, the holiest city of Iran, put up a vigorous struggle for the retention of the turban, but the government was very firm, realizing that in this detail of "hat versus turban" the whole question of state-versus-priest-control was crystallized. The priests in Meshed were imprisoned, and in 1931 the reform became general.

This victory encouraged the government to attack feminine attire. Here, of course, it was helped by a strong feeling for emancipation among the young womanhood of the country, and the whole reform passed off comparatively quietly.

These reforms in dress, language and religion have produced astonishing results, particularly in the family life.

Monogamy is now in theory obligatory, and in practice the cost of living has risen so high that a man may prefer a car or a radio to the luxury of a second wife. The absurdly easy divorce of the old regime, and the pernicious sanction of the old code which permitted a man to marry a new fancy on a short term contract, are disappearing since the judicial functions exercised by the mullahs have passed to civil tribunals, which are more sympathetic toward the principle of equal rights for women and men.

The effect of the reforms on the life of the nation in general is no less astonishing. Men have gained a new self respect.

## CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL BOARD'S ADDRESS TO SRIJUT RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

To  
Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A.,  
Editor,  
*The Modern Review*

Sir,

We the members of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore beg to offer you a most warm and cordial welcome on your visit to our city.

Our city cannot boast of hoary historical associations. Its development and growth dates comparatively recent times. But Bithur, a village in this district, only a few miles from the city, is associated with the name of Maharshi Valmiki, who flourished in the Ramayan period of Indian history. Jajmau, another village on the outskirts of the city, is associated with the Mshabharat period. In this way we might lay claim to our association with India's ancient and glorious past, when we enjoyed the blessings of Swaraj.

Cawnpore has, however, developed as an industrial centre for manufacture of textile, woollen and leather goods. It is also the chief distribution centre for grain, oil seeds and other commodities. Commerce and industry are the main stay of the town and to them is traceable our present growth and development.

Our city is also an educational centre and we have seven Arts and Science colleges and one each for Commerce, Technology and Agriculture, besides about a dozen High Schools. We have introduced Primary and Compulsory Education for boys and girls and maintain 140

schools, wherein approximately thirty thousand boys and girls receive education.

In respect of other civic amenities, the Board is doing its best to find all modern facilities for the citizens and has provided a good system of water supply, lighting, roads, drainage and institutions for medical relief.

Your interest in cultural and national uplift of the country is well known. Your untiring zeal, dauntless courage, a rare gift of pen and tongue and your abiding contributions to the thought of the world will always be a beacon-light not only to the present generation but also to generations yet to be born. There is hardly a sphere of national life, religious, social, educational or political, in which you have not played a conspicuous part. Your strenuous efforts and able editing has obtained international recognition for *The Modern Review*.

We thank you for paying us a visit and agreeing to preside over the Centenary Celebrations of Bramhananda Keshav Chandra Sen in our city.

We pray that you may be long spared to serve the motherland.

We beg to remain

Sir,

Your well-wishers,

The Chairman and the Members  
of the Cawnpore Municipal Board

Cawnpore,  
The 18th December, 1930.

## STRONGER THAN DUTY

By P. K. SEN GUPTA

FULTON threw down his clubs on the velvety lawn and sank into a cane chair. Dash it all, he felt like kicking himself for losing to a fellow like Dutty. Why, only the day before he had made three bogeys and a hole in one and . . . . The inevitable club boy in immaculate white stood by the rattan table.

"A stengah whisky soda," he said off-hand, lazily watching the parabolic flight of a ball from the fifth tee.

"By Jove! some hit! Two hundred and fifty yards, if anything," he muttered, sitting up.

Two players loomed up at the corner of the club house—a woman in blue shorts and canvas shoes and a man in khaki shorts and open-necked singlet. He knew the man—Jacques of the Anglo Nestles Co.; played good golf and rugger for the State. He couldn't place the woman at all, though her face seemed vaguely familiar. Fulton prided himself on knowing most ladies in town. Didn't know this one though—a new-comer perhaps.

Jacques and his companion sat down a couple of tables away from Fulton, the woman with her back towards him. Jacques, with a "how is your game, old chap!" to Fulton, ordered similar drinks. "Awful!", Fulton muttered looking at the nape of her neck, curved, and muscular as a torso. He didn't know what they were talking about but he felt that they were discussing him. Fulton finished his drink, signed his chit and was about to move away when he felt a thunderous clap on his shoulder and heard a loud ringing voice "Hey! You can't get away without giving me a drink, what?". "Hello! Davy! where on earth did you spring from? Take a pew, will you?" Fulton ordered fresh drinks and offered his cigarette case to Davy. They were discussing the forthcoming inter-club golf competition when Jacques rose with his fair companion and walked off towards the car stand. The couple passed within a few yards of their table and the woman looked full at them. Davy stood up and bowed stiffly. She gave him the merest nod and was about to say something but she abruptly closed her mouth firmly and for a second Fulton glimpsed a shade of nagging fear

in her eyes. The next moment she gave a jerky laugh and was gone. "Good Heavens! What is she doing here?" asked Davy, following her with his eyes.

"Know her?"

"Can't say I do," said Fulton vaguely interested.

"Alice Barclay!"

"What! Surely not the Alice Barcl . . ."

"None other, my boy!" said Davy giving vent to a hollow laugh.

So this was poor Alice Barclay! Fulton remembered the whole story. A ghastly affair! One of those alarming incidents that one often hears in the East—a native servant murdering his master for some apparently insignificant grouse. Jim Barclay was shot through the temple by his native "boy", Ali. Of course, in this case, there was a tremendous hue and cry, for Barclay was one of the "burra Sahibs."

"Poor fellow, Jim", said Fulton shaking his head sympathetically, "A . . . d good sort he was. What did Ali get?"

"Fifteen years!", said Davy gloomily.

"Serve the scoundrel right", snapped Fulton.

"Well—I don't know. I rather feel sorry for Ali," said Davy looking into the depths of his "stengah".

"What!" said Fulton indignantly. "Surely the beggar deserved his sentence. It was a prima facie case and besides there was the circumstantial evidence. I believe there was a sort of confession, too, wasn't there?"

"I am afraid you know very little of the real facts of this case", remarked Davy quietly.

"Of course, that is all I heard from fellows at the Club. I was home on leave when this . . . er, this unfortunate affair took place."

It was getting dark and the club house was nearly deserted. The Malay caddies squatted on the lawn and whistled softly *non-de-scrip!* Malay "Kronchongs". The Club boy paced up and down the club verandah and the infernal mosquitoes were behaving abominably. The distant hills lay enclosed in a canopy of gorgeous hues—orange, blue and indigo—a magic panorama thrown out by the last rays of a setting tropical sun.

fact that she was to receive \$24,000/- from the Insurance Company after her husband's demise. He further quoted several instances of Ali's devotions to and sacrifices for his master and ended with an eloquent appeal for mercy. During the whole proceedings the accused didn't speak a word and refused to answer any questions."

"His Lordship," the Chief Justice, then directed the Assessors to use an uncertain measure. They retired for ten minutes and returned the verdict of 'Culpable homicide not amounting to murder'. The accused was thereupon sentenced to 15 years R. I."

"But what about the story of the poison and all that?"

"Yes, I am coming to that. What I told you now is what the public knows. What I am about to relate now are the facts of the case known only to me and a couple of other people. The whole diabolical plot was well thought out by Alice long before the event took place. From the very first she decided to fasten the crime on Ali and so prepared to create a motive. (I personally think that she made a 'faux pas' there). To this end she got Barclay, very much against his will, to serve Ali with a notice of dismissal on the grounds that he was treating her with scarce attention and great disrespect. You see, Fulton, the fact was that Ali couldn't treat her otherwise knowing all about Alice and her treatment of Barclay. In fact, he hated her for making his Tuan so unhappy. Alice thought that Ali's dismissal coupled with the "violent quarrel"—an invention of hers—would supply a strong motive. The next move was quite easy. She could, without suspicion, remove some poison from Barclay's locked cupboard and administer it in the "night cap" which Ali always served his Tuan before he went to bed. So when Barclay would be discovered dead the next morning—poisoned with a Sakai poison—why, it could easily be proved that Ali was the one guilty of this heinous offence. What she didn't know, however, was that this particular poison left no trace that could be detected by a European doctor. And had Ali not intervened, for reasons which will be obvious later, Barclay's death would have been certified "due to sudden heart failure" and there the matter would have ended. But Fate delights in twisting man's life into a tangle."

"Ali, as usual, took the drink—already poisoned by Alice—to Barclay's room at about 10-30 on that fatal night and was about to retire when his Tuan made him return after half an

hour to make certain arrangements for the next day's trip to the Ulu.<sup>3</sup> So, when Ali came into Barclay's room at about 11 p.m., he stood rooted to the ground horrified at the sight which met his eyes. There was Barclay, half thrown out of his bed, his whole frame agitated by violent convulsions, his blood-shot eyes staring out of their sockets and his hair on end. For a few seconds Ali remained immobile, bereft of the uses of his limbs. Then suddenly he understood—understood that his master had been poisoned—understood that he was past human aid. A mental picture arose in front of his eyes—a jungle clearing, a group of Tuans and himself standing round a form on the ground, twisting and convulsing most horribly just like his Tuan now—the death of Botley! Ali sprang forward and caught hold of Barclay's flailing arms but the victim only grew more violent. Ali was unable to help or alleviate. Then quite as suddenly the violence of the attack seemed to be passing. His limbs relaxed but a heavy sweating broke out and he breathed heavily. Ali dropped down on his knees and buried his head in his hands besides the bed. Barclay touched his head and muttered some unintelligible words. Ali looked up and saw Barclay's eyes resting on a photo on the dressing table. Ali fetched it and put it in Barclay's hands. He held it in his trembling fingers and drew it close and then, all at once burst into tears."

"Tuan—oh! Tuan—what is it—what can I do?" broke out Ali, his face twitching. Barclay spoke in gasps

"Ali—I loved—two persons—you—like my son and—Alice—my wife—but she has—poisoned me!"

"He fell back exhausted. 'Ali', he said almost in a whisper—'Ali—save my wife—save her—I love—her—still.'"

"Ali turned away his face and held his master's hands in his own. A strangled cry from the bed startled him. A fresh attack, seized the unfortunate Barclay. The convulsions now were terribly violent in nature. Ali seized a decanter and tried to administer some brandy but not a drop could he push through those clenched teeth. Another fit seized him and almost threw him out of the bed. His body curved like a bow and then suddenly flopped down. The unfortunate man lay groaning and foaming at his mouth. Again the body arched itself in that extraordinary manner. Then suddenly something snapped in

3. Ulu=Mafassil.

Ali's brain. He ran swiftly to the chest of drawers in the corner, drew out an army revolver and shot Barclay through the temple. Poor Barclay died immediately—relieved eternally of those inhuman agonies. Ali, in his remorse and bewilderment turned the gun on himself to put an end to his life. But he only received a flesh wound in his right shoulder and fell down unconscious. When he opened his eyes again, he found himself in a Police Ambulance, handcuffed."

Both men remained silent for a few minutes. Davy was visibly affected by the narration of the tale.

"Then why didn't Ali bring all this out in the trial?" said Fulton breaking silence.

"Because," said Davy somewhat brusquely, "because Ali vowed to respect Barclay's last wishes—to save his wife."

"Oh! Damn!", burst out Fulton somewhat relieving his pent up feelings. "But how on earth did you know all this—I mean, the inside story?"

"Ali told me the whole story in hospital. You see, next to Barclay, Ali loved and respected me. I knew him ever since he was a little motherless kid."

"But as a Police Officer yourself, shouldn't you have brought out all this in the trial?" queried Fulton in a reproving tone.

"No! Blast you! I didn't learn the story as a Police Officer—I received it in confidence as a friend. Besides, what could I do? Look at the futility of the case."

"Futility?"

"Yes! Consider the case as it was re-

presented. Overwhelming evidence against the accused, Ali's silence throughout the entire trial which many interpreted as a mute confession of guilt. What effect would my story have on a couple of unimaginative and starchy assessors, already prejudiced, consciously or unconsciously, by the lurid and bloodthirsty comments in the local press. Perhaps, I shouldn't mention it, but the atmosphere in Court was ugly during the whole trial. The Judge down to the 'mata—mata' was out for Ali's blood. Fancy!—a native killing a white man in cold blood! Fortunately for them they had enough evidence to hang him, only a clever lawyer saved Ali from the hangman's rope. Besides, this poison leaves no trace. An autopsy would perhaps have revealed nothing to the doctor's eye."

"Yet, you might have tried, you know", said Fulton scathingly.

"Yes, I suppose, I should have tried, but it would have been futile. And, pray, what would have become of me—me, a "orang puteh" butting in to save a native and put the halter round a white woman's neck? No, my boy, had I done that, you and the rest of the crowd all over the States would have treated me as a pariah—nay, worse—a leper!"

"Oh! you d—d coward!", almost shouted Fulton and walked off in the night.

"Perhaps I am—perhaps I am", muttered Davy to himself, sinking on the wet lawn.

[All characters in this story are fictitious and no reflection is made on any living person.]

4. Orang puteh=White man.



## WORLD AFFAIRS

By GOPAL HALDAR

As the year draws to an end, the world realizes that 1938 will remain a landmark in the march of its events and affairs. Human history still records the mighty achievements of its heroes, in the laboratories and libraries, in the newly discovered field of air and the yet undiscovered regions of life and nature; frontiers of science recede further and further and horizon of human knowledge widens in ever-increasing quickness in proportion as the tempo of human activity is intensified in accelerated pace. Certainly, humanity has been on the move. But human society has not moved to the same tune and in the same direction. It is being lashed round and round the old, broken paths and cannot free itself to advance to newer destination. In consequence, the mind of man, in spite of its new conquests, finds itself enmeshed in the old social relations; its very triumphs are turned into its defeats as society denies science its freedom, and exploits its victories to entrench the old and decaying order still further against the new forces that science would unleash. It is here that the year of grace 1938 would register itself as a definite defeat of the spirit of man in as much as it marks a definite reaction from the path of progress. What was implicit in the years that preceded was made explicit now, doubts removed, fond illusions shattered, and the true character of the dark and deceptive 'democracies' unmasked. It is in this respect that the year marks a turning point in the living history of our times.

### A RETROSPECT

The record of events would reveal the way the world has travelled and the real significance of the position at which people are now arrived. Two major wars in two continents ominously rang in—or bombarded in—our year. Besides, in Palestine materials were being piled up for a minor rebellion. Japan celebrated the New Year in Shanghai and Nankin, and pushed on along the railways and rivers. Spain was in the grip of the 'civil war' in which Italian volunteers and German war experts were trying their skill against a smaller, but

as expert, band of Soviet specialists in war. Europe was witnessing only 'the shape of things to come' and efforts were devoted to a localization of it under any cover—in the name of 'non-intervention' in the civil war, and preserving or building a peace front. The League of Nations of course was yet there, and 'collective security' still the policy avowed by the great League powers, Britain and France. But outside the League, Germany and Italy were growing in strength. Their superiority in arms made them feared by all; and the 'haves' of the world recognised the necessity of satisfying the 'have-nots,' specially as they were as strong as themselves in the imperialist art of killing and cunning. So, the year opened with two wars, any of which could start the holocaust; with the League waiting to die; with the Fascist powers already out for expansionist adventures; the 'democratic' powers of France, Czechoslovakia and Soviet in alliance, and Britain close to them, and these democratic Governments trying to rehabilitate themselves by rearming while Fascist powers, much more heavily armed, were united in an anti-Comintern crusade on the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis.

### ECONOMIC POSITION

Economically, it had emerged out of the slump to a great extent only to be threatened by 'recession' in America. The nature of it and the causes formed the subject-matter of enquiry by specialists; but a minor slump became apparent also in Britain soon enough. France, of course, in vain argued and wrestled with the Franc. Social legislation of the Front Populaire was repudiated by the upper sections by exportation of capital abroad. Italy could hardly meet her obligations at home after the imperialist adventure and investments in Abyssinia. Germany, with Herr Schacht retired, was trying the system of barter for international trade, and guns for butter for home consumption. Japanese public debt soared higher and higher as the war in the Chinese continent dried up everything poured into it. Even the amount of business and total production that was found to exist at the time in the world was considered in reality to be unsound; for, it was swelled by the re-

armament programmes of the different countries and had thus no essential healthy basis economically.

### THE RECORD

Thus stood the world at the hour. It was already in a strained condition with the war barbarities and the uncertainties of the political situation. The events were gathering forces and momentum and then it swept along carrying nations with them. Only the milestones can be pointed out. First came the Hitler purge which Nazified the German army. Then came the invitation to the Austrian Chancellor to meet the German Fuehrer at Berchtesgaden, and there started the Nazification of Austria, finally completed by the forced occupation of the country by the German army in May 13 to prevent the plebiscite that Schusnigg had called for. In Britain meanwhile the silent and secret drama of Cabinet differences over the question of the relation of Britain with the Fascist Italy reached its culmination, and first open admission, in the resignation of Mr. Anthony Eden. It was the beginning of the last chapter of the British retreat from the League policy and signified the inauguration of the Chamberlain policy of 'appeasement and armament.' Appeasement for the 'have-nots,' in this case, Mussolini, to ensure a safe Empire route through the Mediterranean, a removal of the Fascist threat, thereby, from the Spanish Mediterranean waters, of the threat to Malta, to the Suez and Egyptian coasts, and a cessation of the anti-British broadcasts in Arabic that complicated matters for Britain in Palestine and the Near East in general. Rearmament programme was inaugurated, it was rushed through and armaments sought to be produced in hot haste; industry was to be remodelled for the purpose and Great Britain began to spend a million pound daily to reach her due stature in war and pull her weight in peace. Lord Halifax came to the Foreign Office and the era of Fascist negotiation initiated. He was rightly the man who could betray a 'democracy' to Fascism, without meaning it. Events testified this more than ever. Slowly the British Parliament receded to the background and more and more decisions began to be taken behind it. It began to shade off into a registering body approving of decisions already taken by a single person, the Premier. In effect it was an imitation of the *Fuehrer-prinzip* and in Britain a process of Fascism crept in. In due course came the Anglo-Italian Agreement, hailed as 'a contribu-

tion to the cause of general peace and security.' Signed on the 16th April it could not take effect for the simple reason that the evacuation of Italian Volunteers from the Spanish territories could not be permitted by Il Duce; because the Republicans seemed at the hour to threaten Franco with defeat in the Ebro section. Kept in cold storage it only recently, in last November, was at length considered applicable by the parties. In the League Council Lord Halifax had not, however, delayed to move for the recognition of the Abyssinian conquest by Italy and thus remove the last scruple for the same that might lurk in British mind. The League admission sanctified the thing and proved also Britain's adherence to the 'League-policy.'

But all this was overshadowed by the Czecho-Slovakian drama that began now. Munich finally rung down the curtain on the brilliant peace of "play-acting" by Britain—beginning with the Chamberlain declaration to stand by the League guarantee on behalf of Czecho-Slovakia, the *demarches*, the Runciman mission of mediation, the solemn warning to hne up along with France, the feverish flights in September, the digging of the trenches, etc., in the London Parks, and the last moment invitation to Munich and return in triumph as the saviour of European peace. It is really the turning point in European politics of the times. The so-called democratic front was shattered.

### AFTER MUNICH

But the events did not take exactly the turn desired for by Britain and France. Germany resents the rearmament programme of Great Britain, demands the return of her Colonies, which Britain is not yet ready to disgorge; wants the British press and public men like Churchill to cease criticising the Nazi regime, foams at the expression of indignation by the Britisher at the anti-Jewish barbarities and considers the Anglo-American trade pact to be an attack on Germany, especially as Roosevelt withdrew his representative from Germany to mark American disapproval of Jew-baiting. So, British and German friendship does not grow satisfactorily. The Anglo-Italian agreement is cemented and Anglo-French alliance made stronger. The visit of Chamberlain to Paris resulted in complete agreement between the two. In France, Munich has meant an end of the Front Populaire. Even the shadow of the Front disappeared as the Finance Minister M. Reynaud passed his drastic decrees for a sound finance. It has meant a reversal of the

forty-hour week, won for the French labour by the Blum ministry; it has meant all sacrifice for the worker for 'La Patrie' while the rentier are left in comparative ease to enjoy and re-invest the profits of the capital which it exported without scruple outside his country during all the months. The result was an one-day strike by the workers, combated with semi-martial law decrees by M. Daladier, who authorised all such strikers to be refused work on the morrow. This certainly is calculated to bring labour on its knees and destroy the power of the Socialists and Communists of France. It thus clears the road to Nazi understanding. So, Herr von Ribbentrop appears in Paris and signs a Franco-German Agreement.

It states that the respective Governments agreed that "Firstly, the French and German Governments fully share the conviction that peaceful and good neighbourly relations between France and Germany constitute one of the essential elements of consolidation of the situation in Europe. Both governments will therefore do all in their power to assure the development of such relations between their two countries; secondly, no question of a territorial nature remains to be settled and they solemnly recognize as definite the frontier between their countries as at present traced as definite; thirdly, the two governments are resolved subject to their special relations with third powers to remain in contact on all questions of interest to the two countries and consult each other in a case where subsequent evolution of these questions involves the risk of leading to international difficulties. Trusting in this the representatives of the two governments have signed the present declaration which enters into force immediately."

Following Franco-German discussions M. Bonnet and Herr von Ribbentrop met German and French Pressmen. Herr von Ribbentrop said that the declaration expressed the conviction that there existed between them no opposition of a vital nature to justify serious conflict. The economic interests of both countries were complementary. German art and spiritual life in Germany owed to France valuable inspirations; similarly Germany often enriched French art. He was convinced that the declaration would serve to put aside the historic prejudices and delicate in their neighbourly relations expressed therein and would be unanimously approved not only by leaders but also by the peoples of their states.

M. Bonnet said that the declaration opened the way to collaboration which must be facilitated by the conviction that there existed between the two countries no difference of a nature to call in question the peaceful basis of their relations. He did not doubt that the declaration would bring to the general appeasement a contribution of which future would confirm full value.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

Spain no longer is the concern of France, the Pyrenees are closed against the Republicans for arms traffic, and, it is understood, at the hint from Chamberlain, the way is being closed for food supply of the famished people of the Spanish Government territories. There is therefore no barrier between the two

Latin people, France and Italy, to be united in a fraternal bond. But at the conclusion of a speech from Count Ciano, the Italian Council hall resounded with cries of 'Tunis, Nice, and Corsica.' "The natural aspiration of the Italian people," to quote the phrase of Ciano, it is evident, lies that way. Tunis, Suez and Djibuti are the objectives of Italian aspiration according to Signor Gayda, and the treaty and settlement made regarding Tunis in 1935 with France, when Italy was under the operation of the League sanctions and relied much on the good offices of France, was to be considered no longer binding. So, a new phase of Fascist aggression à la Hitler, is to begin against France, though that country itself is sliding into Fascism.

### GROSSDEUTSCHLAND

But, more than Italy, Germany is the concern of the world. The vision of *Mittleuropa* is now within German grasp and a Grossdeutschland is being born. It has meant, after Munich, a Nazification of the Czech and Slovak autonomous areas, an attempt at establishing Nazi influences through the Iron Guards in Rumania, which King Carol for the time being has suppressed, a general extension of the German trade on the barter system, in the Danubian countries and Balkan States a threat to the capture of Memel and Danzig in the North; an attempt at checkmating the Hungarian-Polish desire to have a common frontier which is frustrated by the creation out of Czecho-Slovak Ruthenia the new province, significantly called, Carpatho-Ukraine. So is Poland disappointed, and, even threatened, as the Nazis are about to engineer and harness the Ukrainian autonomy movement for their long foreshadowed *Drang nach Osten*—to Rumanian coal fields and the Soviet Ukrainian regions. An autonomous Ukraine will be a sufficient cry to raise and Berlin has already started a Ukrainian Department. Ukrainian unity will result in dismemberment of Poland and clipping of the wings of that Antichrist, Soviet Russia. Misfortune, therefore, makes Poland and Soviet ready bedfellows in that they are about to revive their pact respecting the frontiers of each other. And this is, probably the only bit of friendship that Soviet Russia can claim today in Europe.

### SOVIET ISOLATED

Munich which forced the so-called democratic countries to declare their hands, at last has effected a complete isolation of the Soviet. The year has seen Soviet come of age, after a 'liquidation' of some eminent Old Guards like

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Bucharin and Radek, and suppression of the Commander of the Far Eastern Army, General Bluecher. It effected the alliance between the China, in death grapple with Japan, and Soviet, waiting for the same. The frontier affair in Siberia threatened to ripen into a terrible war; but was made up soon to the credit of Soviet power. Yet, a measuring of strength in that region appears to be inevitable. How Soviet would stand it—alone and isolated, surrounded by the Fascist forces, daily growing stronger and stronger,—that must be the anxiety of all who considers it, Soviet Russia, still to be a new light to humanity.

The Far East and later, Palestine in the Near East, saw perhaps the worst phases of barbarities on men and women. Of course the Chinese resistance has been determined and bitter but the Japanese are no less fanatically inspired, their arms incomparably more superior, and their advantages are bound to grow more and more as the European complications leave them undisturbed to pursue their economic policy in Far East. China has lost all but the remote provinces and her will to resist. Japan is in occupation of the economic resources of China, and, as she has repudiated virtually the Open Door policy without challenge, the

resources will be at Japanese command to rebuild any subservient Chinese regime under the capitalist-imperialist banner of the 'Rising Sun.' Yet, China is by no means defeated—loss of economic life does not necessarily mean the political death to a people which is not so organized and specialised as an economic organism. The removal of the Chinese Central Government into the interior, meanwhile, has meant an orientation in the life of these people—new education, new idea of sanitation, new industries and the host of changes that these mean, are raising a people out of medievalism into a keen, active, militant modern life. Significant similarly are bound to be the recruitment and inclusion into military life, discipline, and the constant marches and adventures,—the new experiences in general, of the peasants of the Yangtse valley who are in large numbers joining the Kuomintang flag. Even when peace is established—and even though China be defeated—a different Chinese people is bound to emerge.

## THE LESSON

The events speak for themselves and serve as pointer-readings for the course that human affairs are about to take. Probably some of

the lessons are mere truism. For example, that civilization is too thin a veneer, as some philosophers regret on the survey of the present day affairs, on the essentially brute nature of man. What else should be the reaction of men who have seen the Nazi neurosis as exemplified in the anti-Jewish barbarities or the Japanese perversion that drowns its rage in abominable sexual horrors and sadism? These speculations apart, the year clearly defined the position of the democracies *vis à vis* Fascism. As against a totalitarian state a democracy is generally at a great disadvantage. This is but a political truism. But the bardest and cruelest fact of all is the new truth that Chamberlain and Daladier are helping to establish: *There are no true democracies.* In the inescapable stress of the times it is becoming daily clear that the interests of the ruling classes are more sacred than all principles, than even the interest of humanity or human history. Mr. Chamberlain would refuse to fight Fascism lest the Soviet is benefited by the reverses of its enemies, though they are the enemies of democracies too. He realises that Fascism is the guarantee against the popular demands for equality and justice, a bulwark against the surging tide that is rising to sweep away Mr. Chamberlain and their respectable gentlemen, depending on dividends for their respectability. He can not even refuse the Fascist powers the very prizes that will go to strengthen them and enable them to rise as potential rivals to British Empire. So long as they can be supplied with sops to stop their mouth, like Manchukuo, Abyssinia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Mr. Chamberlain knows, they are his best friends, pursuing to protect the present social system and to ensure the rule of the moneyed class. This appeasement can go on not for all time of course—but for a fairly long time—at the cost of others, smaller and weaker powers and nations. Between Fascism and Imperialism—and some of the Empires are supposed to be the defenders of democracies!—there is a close 'spiritual' kinship, and the year clearly at last has handed these on the same side. This slow unmasking of the role of the Parliamentary politicians, of the betrayal of democratic principles by the democratic states—is the year's work.

#### THE PROSPECT

The coming events of the year we are entering have thus already cast their shadows

before us. Dark as these are, some of them are bound to deepen as time rolls on. Thus, in spite of the present stalemate the Fascist conspiracy will award the victory to Franco that he has been vainly trying for. China will still fight and still be beaten, but would not yield. The American Continent will more and more try to keep off from the contact, and political contagion, of the old world. Memel and Danzig will be in all probability included in Germany, and the same tactics that were witnessed in the case of Czecho-Slovakia would be now played in Tunis, as Madam Tabouis points out, until France is made to agree to an 'honourable settlement' there. But the real problem and the real clash possibly will come when Hitler will set his hand to the creation of the autonomous State of Ukrania. This may be delayed for some time yet until Japan is out of the Chinese tangle to fulfil the expected anti-Comintern role in the Far East. But when that hour comes, the hour of decision for many men in many countries would arrive as well. And the day may not be as far-off as we think.

We should remember the world war has already begun though we might deceive ourselves that our politicians are trying to localize it or attempting to preserve peace. It is a peace that is war. For, war is really raging around us.

"All these facts go to show that the second imperialist war has, in fact, already begun. It has begun surreptitiously, without war being declared. States and peoples have somehow imperceptibly crept into the orbit of the second imperialist war.

"War has been begun in different parts of the globe by three aggressive States—the Fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan. War is being waged over a tremendous expanse from Gibraltar to Shanghai. War has already succeeded in drawing over five hundred million people into its orbit.

"In the last analysis it is being waged against the capitalist interest of Britain, France, the U. S. A., since its objects is to secure the repatriation of the world and spheres of influence of the advantage of the aggressive countries and at the expense of these so-called democratic States.

"The distinctive feature of the second imperialist war is, for the time being, that it is being waged and developed by the aggressive power, while the other powers, the 'democratic' powers against whom in fact the war is directed, pretend that the war is no concern of theirs, wash their hands of it, back out of it, land their own peaceableness, rail at the Fascist aggressors and . . . step by step yield their own positions to the aggressors, at the same time asserting that they are preparing to resist."

December 23, 1938

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## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

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Dr. Mrs. Jaminabai M. Desai

B.S., F.C.P.S. (Bombay) was a specialist in Women's and Children diseases and a prominent

and popular member of the Bombay Medical circle. She was connected for more than a decade with the leading Women's hospital in Bombay, the Cama & Albless Hospitals and was the Hon. Joint Secretary of the Bombay Obstetric Society. She died on November last. In her memory, a Charitable Dispensary for Women and Children was opened at French Bridge, Chowpatty, Bombay.

SEEMATI RAJESHWARI VASUDEY of Lahore College for Women was awarded Lady Danc Gold Medal for toping the list of female candidates with Sanskrit as second language, in the last B.A. degree examination of the Punjab University.

Miss EVA GHOSE, daughter of Mr. P. C. Ghose, retired sub-Judge, Nagpur, who took her Degree this year has been awarded the King Edward Memorial Scholarship for post-graduate studies in politics. She is the first lady candidate to take up Political Science for M.A. in the Nagpur University.



Seth Govin Das, M.L.A.  
Chairman elect of the Reception Committee of  
the 52nd session of the Indian National Congress  
to be held at Tripuri in Mahakoshal



GIRLHOOD

After a portrait by Sukumar Desai

Prakash Press

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Literacy Day in United Provinces*

On the 15th of January last Literacy Day was observed all over the United Provinces. Thousands of meetings were held all over the province and hundreds of thousands, from the Governor and the Prime Minister downwards, took the oath either to teach one person to read and write or, in the alternative, to pay Rs. 2 to make one person literate, that being the cost of doing so. Imposing processions paraded towns and villages in many districts. In Allahabad, the capital of the province, a big adult school was held on the main thoroughfare of the city, in which 400 highly placed persons gave first lessons to 1500 illiterate adults. About 50,000 persons assembled to witness this novel huge school.

It was a great day.

Whether a man be a worker in the sphere of religion, social welfare, education, politics, economic improvement, or advancement in art or any other department of culture, he can do his work most effectively if those among whom he works are literate; and individually also literacy gives every person the most effective means of self-improvement. Hence, without literacy no nation can make as much progress as it would otherwise be able to do. We have held this opinion and expressed it in speech and writing how often and during how many decades cannot be definitely said.

In pre-British India, and even during the

earlier period of the East India Company's rule in this country, literacy was more widespread than now. One of the gravest charges which can be brought against British rule in India is that it has not taken any adequate steps to make the Indian people literate but, on the contrary, has sometimes opposed the introduction of universal elementary education.

Now that provincial autonomy of a sort has been introduced, the cabinets in the Congress majority provinces are making determined efforts to make up leeway. Their efforts deserve success. They are entitled to the wholehearted co-operation of every true son and daughter of India. It is to be hoped that the example of the United Provinces will be emulated in the other provinces.

Rai Sahab Sri Narayan Chaturvedi, education expansion officer, U. P., had secured messages from the Governor, the Premier and other Ministers and some officials and non-officials and published them in the form of a beautiful illustrated booklet. These messages were read at the public meetings held on Literacy Day. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's message runs:

I am glad that the United Provinces Government is undertaking a campaign to fight adult illiteracy. It is important that we should make full provision for the education of our growing people. But it is equally important that the adults should also be won over in this campaign to liquidate illiteracy. All our progress, political, social and economic, ultimately depends on the level of real education reached by the masses of our people.

If illiteracy is not removed, our people remain blind men groping in the dark, swept hither and thither by waves of sentiment and often exploited by others. Every reform will founder on this rock of illiteracy. Therefore, I hope there will be the fullest co-operation between the Government, the Congress organisation and, indeed, all people whatever their political views might be, in this campaign against illiteracy. This is a common platform in which all must join.

### *Both Swaraj and Education Have Been Waiting*

Some persons connected with the Congress movement use the funny slogan, "Education can wait, but Swaraj cannot wait." They are patriotic but perhaps started the slogan without due thought. Neither education nor swaraj can wait. *Sau-rāj* (self-rule) cannot truly deserve the name unless the people are really self-ruling. To rule oneself requires much education. Of course it is a truism that literacy in itself is not education. But it is also true that nation-wide education is not possible without literacy.

Swaraj has waited till now from the beginning of British rule in India, because the British imperialists who have ruled India have made universal popular education wait in their own interests. The Congress Ministers who have decided not to make education wait any longer have thereby also ensured the advent of Swaraj. Now that education is not made to wait, Swaraj also will not have to wait.

### *Method In Mendacity*

Shakespeare has said :

"Though this be madness, yet there's method in it."  
Similarly, Beaumont and Fletcher have said :

"There is a method in man's wickedness,  
It grows up by degrees."

Some Mussalman leaders keep on repeating that Congress governments have been guilty of gross injustice to and atrocious oppression of Mussalmans living in the provinces ruled by them, without being able to substantiate any charge against the latter. Whether the repetition of such false charges is a symptom of madness or a proof of wickedness, if either, we are unable to say. But there seems to be method in this mendacity. On account of these charges several Congress governments have felt obliged to publish long explanatory statements containing statistics proving mathematically that in their provinces Mussalmans hold a far larger number of appointments

in the public services than either their merits or their numbers can justly entitle them to and that far larger sums are spent for their education than they can claim on the ground of their numbers or their educational backwardness. What the mendacious among Muhammadan leaders seem to want is that their co-religionists should have still greater partiality shown to them or that, in any case, the existing partiality to them and injustice to the Hindus may be kept up. The repetition of false charges is meant to keep the Congress provincial cabinets up to the mark in partiality to Muhammadans.

This is the method in the mendacity of these leaders.

### *Nervous Vigilance of Economic Imperialists*

Sir Thomas Ainscough, Senior British Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, has published a review of the United Kingdom trade with India in 1937-38, covering the period up to September 30, 1938. Though our Congress President has taken only the initial steps in national industrial planning and though planned industrialization can begin only sometime after the plans are ready, all which means considerable delay, the ever vigilant British economic imperialists have already sounded the tocsin of alarm. This vigilance ought to be a lesson to us as to how to safeguard our own national interests.

Sir Thomas Ainscough writes in the course of his report :

"While Indian public men, both politicians and industrialists, favoured this extension of domestic production, no doubt was being expressed as to how such a policy could be carried out simultaneously with the maintenance of considerable excess of export of agricultural produce on which the whole economic system of India is based."

"The policy of maximum industrialism, if followed in lengths contemplated by the present Congress authorities and provincial governments, must inevitably lead firstly, to serious clash of interest with the agricultural element, which constitutes nearly 70 per cent. of the population; secondly, to a crisis in India's finances as the Government of India rely upon Customs receipts for some 60 per cent. of the revenue and lastly, to a collapse of the financial and economic fabric of the Government of India, which is dependent upon the excess balance of exports in order to meet India's financial commitments in London and maintain the exchange."

"During the past ten years scores of new industrial enterprises have been inaugurated in India, displacing the imports largely obtained from the United Kingdom and providing Customs revenue for the Government of India."

But has that brought about or brought nearer "a collapse of the financial and economic fabric of the Government of India"?

The report adds:

"The contraction of the Indian market as an outlet for overseas manufactured goods on account of the rapidly mounting domestic production, is an issue which must be squarely faced by the United Kingdom manufacturers and exporters. During the past two years, India has lost pride of place as the greatest market of the world for United Kingdom goods and now ranks as third, having been surpassed by South Africa and Australia."

For a country to be the best field of exploitation for Britishers is "pride of place" indeed!

Both Australia and South Africa contain far smaller populations than India. The reason why they can buy more British goods than India is not that they are less industrialized than India but that they are more industrialized than India and therefore richer.

The United States of America is as great an agricultural as it is an industrial country. And its revenues and the standard of living of its people are higher than those of India and her people. How has such a state of things been brought about?

The progress of industrialization in India has benefited her agriculture and agriculturists also. Our industrialists now purchase more of India's sugar-cane, cotton and jute, and will consume more of them and of oil seeds, and food crops too, as industrialization makes greater progress. As new industries are started, there will be a demand for new raw materials, much of them to be raised by our peasants. In the process both industrial and agricultural labour will have higher incomes. With their incomes and standards of living thus rising, their purchasing power and habit will increase. The richer a country is the more goods it can buy from foreign countries. It is undoubted that with India's industrialization she will continue to purchase British and other foreign goods, though of descriptions different from those purchased now.

As for the apprehended fall in the Customs revenue, that will be made good partly by the rise in the revenue from the income-tax paid by the industrialists, partly from larger land revenue owing to expansion and progress of agriculture and partly from the Customs duties on new kinds of goods (including machinery) imported from abroad.

## Travancore State Congress Ultimatum to Government

The decision to resort to direct action again if certain conditions were not satisfied within six weeks' time was taken by the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress, which concluded its four-day session on January 20 after reviewing the political situation in the State and adopting a number of resolutions. The Committee passed a resolution that

"the Government has not merely not given the slightest indication of their intentions regarding responsible government, but have followed a systematic policy of doing everything they can for suppressing and destroying the State Congress organisation. A special effort is being made by the Government to destroy the State Congress volunteer organisation by arrests of organisers and captains of volunteers."

"The conduct of Government during the last few months is evident from the fact that about 300 workers and volunteers are today in various lock-ups attached to police stations under conditions of indescribable difficulties without even being brought to trial for weeks together."

"In face of this situation the Working Committee make it clear that there can be no doubt that the Committee have to take all necessary measures for starting direct action in a suitable and effective form within the shortest possible time. When direct action is resolved it will cover—

- (1) "Picketing of liquor, tobacco shops and depots;
- (2) "Disobedience of salt and forest laws;
- (3) "Non-payment of market dues, tolls and even land revenue;

(4) "Reading, circulation and sale of prohibited newspapers."

"The Working Committee find it impossible to allow more than six weeks from today before it commences direct action and will fully employ the interval in strengthening its organization and consolidating all forces."

"Having stated the position as above, the Committee are deeply anxious to avoid giving the impression that they are anxious to plunge the country into suffering and sacrifice without themselves suggesting a way out. The Committee, therefore, place the following proposals before the Government and the country in order that an otherwise inevitable crisis may be averted."

### PROPOSALS

(1) "Immediate steps for the establishment of responsible government;

(2) "Complete amnesty to all convicted and political prisoners, including the removal of disabilities consequent on the conviction;

(3) "Repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Regulations."

(4) "Recognition of the State Congress for purpose of negotiation and settlement;

(5) "Restoration of newspaper licences that have been cancelled and the removal of ban on newspapers;

(6) "Restoration of properties confiscated and fines realised;

(7) "An immediate enquiry into the firings and also other police and labour excesses;

(8) "Withdrawal of prosecutions consequent on labour strikes;

(9) "Withdrawal of prosecution against students and removal of all disabilities imposed on them."

"The Committee add that the State Congress is pledged to non-violence and unless people fully maintain the pledge

in spirit and in letter, the Committee would be unable to take the tremendous risks they have decided to take for achieving responsible government as early as possible in the face of every opposition from the Government."

By another resolution the Committee state that they are driven to believe that the present agitation

"by certain persons to reopen the question of the voting system is an attempt to destroy a considerable measure of communal unity built up by the State Congress" and that all the resources of the State Congress will be fully used to resist the present dangerous attempt at piecemeal alterations. The Committee add that the people demand that the only immediate change should be a complete scrapping of the present entire constitution in favour of immediate full responsible government based on adult franchise.—*Associated Press*.

### *Nagpur Vice-Chancellor Addresses Hyderabad Students on "Bande Mataram"*

Addressing on *Bande Mataram* the students of Hyderabad who have come to seek admission in the Nagpur University, Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-chancellor, paid a tribute to the executive council of the University on the 16th January for the step it has rightly taken in admitting the students to the University. It could not be conceived, said Mr. Kedar, that the song meant any offence to any community or implied any annoyance to those who followed other creeds.

From personal experience he could say that during the last 20 years people of all shades of opinion and following other creeds had shown respect for the song. It was only for the last two years or so that objection had been taken to the singing of *Bande Mataram* on the ground that it encouraged idolatrous beliefs. Mr. Kedar asserted that he had read the song carefully and could emphatically declare that it did nothing of the kind. Assuming that it did, continued Mr. Kedar, there was no reason why people professing other faiths and creeds should not respect such beliefs. Even the Governors of Provinces, emphasised Mr. Kedar, had shown such respect and he remembered distinctly the instance of Sir Hyde Gowan, the late Governor of the Central Provinces, who stood up with the audience when the song was sung. Showing respect to others' sentiments was not the same thing as sharing them.

Continuing, Mr. Kedar said that

the problem before the University was that if the singing of the song was not an offence in this Province, should it be treated as an offence for the students expelled by another University. This University had no room for politics or religion of any persuasions. It considered only the academic issue, namely, whether the conduct which was laudable in the case of the students of this University should be held to be offensive in the case of students from another University. The Nagpur University had considered the case of these students from the academic standpoint, free from any political or communal considerations. One thing which appealed to the University was the genuineness of the desire of the students to acquire knowledge and prosecute their studies. The students did not join the Satyagraha Movement in Hyderabad but chose to knock at the door of the Nagpur University for knowledge. The Uni-

versity could not refuse admission to them consistently with the purpose for which it existed.

Concluding,

he appealed to the students to be not only worthy products of the *alma mater* of their new choice but worthy citizens of their own state with tolerance for all and hatred for none.

### ADMISSION OF 472 STUDENTS

Four hundred and seventy-two students from Hyderabad have so far come to Nagpur and the question of their admission in the several Colleges of the Province is under consideration. It is understood that the Provincial Government has expressed its full sympathy and extended its co-operation to the Vice-Chancellor in dealing with the admission of these students. The Executive Council of the University has appointed a Committee to examine the courses of study of the Hyderabad students and it is likely they will be examined in their own courses this year in August or September next.

### *Government Indifference to Industrial Commission Recommendations*

Professor Dr. J. C. Ghosh, president of the last session of the Indian Science Congress at Lahore in January last, dwelt in his presidential address in some detail on researches on money crops, which have received generous assistance from public funds in accordance with the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission. He did so, he said, "with a view to bringing out in bolder relief the cold indifference with which the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission have been received by the Central Government."

"Much was expected of the policy laid down by the Government of India in 1915, under the stress of the War, that India would consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government could afford to enable her to take her proper place in the world as a manufacturing country. But these lessons of the War were soon forgotten, and all that has been achieved is the setting up of an Industrial Research Bureau, controlling, with the aid of an Advisory Committee, a small research laboratory attached to the Test House at Alipore. The report of this Bureau for 1937-38 is a miserable document compared with the corresponding report of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. I should not be misunderstood. I have no complaint against the personnel, but only against the step-motherly treatment meted out to industrial research in the country."

Britain requires raw materials from our agriculturists and there is no rivalry between British and Indian agriculture. Hence the British Government need not be unfriendly, but may be friendly, within certain limits, to agricultural research in this country. But Britain does not want manufactured goods from India. On the contrary, she must export such goods to our country. How then can her Government be anything but step-motherly to industrial research in India?

published elsewhere in this number, has been connected with it from its foundation. In its earlier years he was its principal worker. It is in fact also almost entirely with the pecuniary help of Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst that the work of Sriniketan has been carried on year after year. Formerly their annual contribution amounted to twenty thousand dollars. Recently it has had to be reduced to sixteen thousand dollars (about forty-four thousand rupees) per annum owing to trade depression.

Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst's appreciation of the work done by the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-bharati does not end with their pecuniary contribution to it. We understand that at Devonshire in England near their residence the same kind of work is carried on as at Sriniketan. And they extend their help to similar work in China.

It is very remarkable that foreigners have understood and appreciated the ideal of Visva-bharati—and that in a very substantial manner.

### "Bengalees in Bihar"

Our contemporary of *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, of which the Editors (Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. S. Natarajan) do not belong to either Bengal or Bihar, has more than once pronounced itself emphatically against the manner in which Bengalis have been discriminated against in the province of Bihar. Its latest pronouncement on the subject, extracted below, is contained in its issue of the 21st January last.

"Bengalees in Bihar :—The Congress Working Committee has at long last reached a decision on the grievances of the Bengalees domiciled in Bihar. The Committee has condemned the requirement of domicile certificates, which it could not possibly have approved. Otherwise, the resolution of the Working Committee, while paying a theoretical homage to the idea of Indian unity, has left open the door to administrative discrimination which may be exercised in a way which would nullify the effect of the abolition of domicile certificates. Mr. P. R. Das, the leader of the domiciled Bengalees, qualifies his acceptance of the Working Committee's decision by adding that it should be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. In the natural course, the great majority of posts in the public services always and everywhere goes to natives of a province by birth or domicile. The only issue before the Committee was, whether the Government of Bihar which at present is of the Congress party, should continue the distinction made by previous party, should continue natives of Bihar who speak Bihar, Governments between natives of Bihar who speak Bengalee, and those of them who speak Bengalee. There was only one answer which the Committee could have given without flagrant violation of the principle of Indian unity and it is the one which it has given. Not content with this, it has included a general pronouncement on the question of the right of provincial Governments to discriminate in the favour of their own and against other provincials. This part of the resolution of the Committee, strange to say,

falls far short of the emphatic and forthright declaration of the Government of India Act."

### The Question of Bengalis in the Province of Bihar

At the sittings of the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli in January last the committee arrived at some conclusions on the question of Bengalis in the province of Bihar. They are nine in number. It is necessary to notice them in detail, particularly because the committee holds that "These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial administrations in these matters herein dealt with"—the matters being the right to appointment in the public services, the right to carry on trade or business, and the right to obtain education—all very important rights. The first conclusion runs as follows :

(1) While the Committee are of the opinion that the rich variety of Indian culture and diversity of life in various parts of the country should be preserved and cherished, the idea of common nationality and common background of our cultural and historical inheritance must always be encouraged, so that India should become a free and strong nation built upon unity of purpose and aim. Therefore, the Committee wish to discourage all separatist tendencies and narrow provincialism. Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that in regard to services and like matters the people of the provinces have certain claims which cannot be overlooked.

We appreciate the zeal of the Committee for a united India, though the last sentence in the extract given above partly neutralizes the effect of the sentences preceding it.

The second conclusion is :

(2) In regard to services, the Committee are of opinion that there should be no bar preventing employment of any Indian living in any part of the country from seeking employment in any other part, but certain considerations must govern such employment apart from the essential condition of efficiency, which is of particular importance in the higher services and in the selection of specialists and experts. These considerations are : (a) A fair representation of the various communities in the province; (b) encouragement as far as possible of the backward classes and groups so that they might develop and play their full part in the national life; (c) preferential treatment to the people of the Province. It is desirable that this preferential treatment should be governed by certain rules and regulations framed by provincial governments in order to prevent individual officers from applying different standards. Further it is desirable that similar rules should be applicable in all the provinces.

Here again the first part of the first sentence is materially modified by what follows.

The much condemned Communal "Award" also has been justified by its defenders on the ground of its securing a "fair representation of the various communities" and "encouragement of the backward classes and groups."

Congress has theoretically neither accepted nor rejected the so-called "Award", which has divided the people of India only for purposes of representation in and election to the legislative bodies. The Congress Working Committee has now, however, extended the 'principle' of the Communal Decision to the public services, or in any case has recognized it in the case of the public services.

What is the meaning of the word "communities"? In the Communal Decision, the communities are Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, etc. The Congress Working Committee has formulated its conclusions with reference to the so-called Bengali-Bihari question. It ought, therefore, to make it quite clear whether in its opinion the different linguistic groups in a province are different communities. As it has said that some of the conclusions are of general application, and has concluded its resolution by laying down that "These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial administrations in these matters herein dealt with," it is the bounden duty of the Committee to decide, for example—

Whether in the Province of Bihar the Hindi-speaking, the Maithili-speaking, and the Bengali-speaking groups are different communities,

Whether in Madras the Tamil-speaking, Telugu-speaking, Malayalam-speaking and Kanarese-speaking groups are different communities,

Whether in Bombay the Marathi-speaking, Gujarati-speaking and Kanarese-speaking groups are different communities.

If the Committee's answer be in the affirmative, it ought to formally communicate it to the Congress cabinets in eight provinces, for its resolution on the so-called Bengali-Bihari question is practically an Instrument of Instructions to these Ministries on certain important branches of public administration. Will there be sub-communities, like Tamil-speaking Hindus, Muslims and Christians, Gujarati-speaking Jains, Parsis, Christians, Muslims, etc., with jobs in the public services and places in educational institutions separately reserved for each sub-community "in fair proportion," for the realization of the "ideal of common nationality"?

It may or may not be superfluous to add here that lakhs of Bengalis are as much citizens of the Province of Bihar as the different linguistic groups mentioned above are of Madras and Bombay. Last year we pointed out in our April and May issues that the province of Bihar includes Bihar proper and

some areas of which the principal inhabitants are Bengalis, these areas being therefore parts of Bengal proper, as they were before 1912. Hence it is not Bihari-speaking persons alone who are the permanent inhabitants of the province of Bihar, but hundreds of thousands of Bengali-speaking persons also are. In Bihar proper also there are Bengalis who settled in Bihar before the commencement of British rule—many even four centuries ago. There are other Bengali settlers in Bihar proper who or whose ancestors migrated to Bihar proper later and became its permanent inhabitants.

In our opinion, everywhere appointments should be made on the ground of superior merit, and encouragement to backward classes and groups should generally take the form of special educational facilities. This would make for the progress of the entire population, including the backward classes.

In the opinion of the Committee it is desirable that preferential treatment to the people of a province should be governed by certain rules and that the rules in the different provinces should be similar. How is this similarity or identity to be secured? We suggest that the committee draw up the rules and send the draft to the different Congress Ministries for opinion.

The third conclusion is quoted below.

(3) In regard to Bihar no distinction should be made between Biharis properly so-called and the Bengali-speaking residents of the province, born or domiciled there. The term should in fact include both these classes and in the matter of service as well as other matters identical treatment should be given to both. It is permissible to give certain preference in services to these residents of the province over people from other provinces.

The fourth and fifth conclusions are:

(4) The practice of issuing certificates of domiciles should be abolished. Applicants for services should state that they are residents of or domiciled in the province. In all appropriate cases Government will have the right to satisfy itself about the correctness of the statement before making an appointment.

(5) Domiciles should be proved by evidence which implies that the applicant has made the province his home. In deciding that he has done so, the length of residence, the possession of a house or other property and other relevant matters should be taken into consideration and the conclusions arrived at on the totality of the evidence available. However, birth in the province or ten years' continuous residence should be accepted as sufficient proof of domicile.

Though the practice of issuing certificates of domicile has been recommended to be abolished, it has been laid down that "domiciles should be proved by evidence which implies that the applicant has made the province his

home." In consequence applicants for services may be asked to furnish all those particulars which applicants for domicile certificates were required to supply. Should that be the case, the abolition of domicile certificate would not make any substantial difference.

As "in all appropriate cases Government will have the right to satisfy itself about the correctness of the statement (that applicants are residents of or domiciled in the province) before making an appointment," Government should make the necessary inquiry expeditiously. In some cases, when some applicants applied for a job and also for the domicile certificate required for getting the job, the appointment of some favoured candidate was made long before the inquiry relating to the application for the domicile certificate had concluded.

Nothing can be fairer than a rule that birth in a province should be accepted as a sufficient proof of domicile. As for the period of continuous residence which should be accepted as sufficient proof of domicile, we think ten years is too long a period. Five would be quite sufficient and more reasonable, the "expectation of life" in India being about 23 years! The word "continuous" should be reasonably interpreted. *Temporary* absence from the province on business or for purposes of travel or recruitment of health and the like, should not be considered a breach of continuity.

The sixth conclusion is necessary, commendable and unexceptionable.

(6) All persons holding appointments under Government should be treated alike and promotions must be based on seniority coupled with efficiency.

The next conclusion relates to carrying on trade or business in any province.

(7) There should be no prohibition against any one carrying on trade or business in the province. It is desirable that firms and factories carrying on business in the province should develop local contacts by giving appointments, wherever possible, to residents of the province, but suggestions made by provincial Governments to firms and factories in the matter of appointments may be misunderstood and, therefore, should be avoided.

No provincial authority has any legal power to prohibit any Indian from carrying on trade or business in any province. Therefore, the first sentence quoted above lays down a superfluous rule. What is wanted is that provincial or local authorities should not adopt any direct or indirect discriminatory policy against particular linguistic or other groups or classes. The seventh conclusion is silent on the point.

All intelligent firms and factories who

understand their own interests naturally develop local contacts. Therefore no advice in the matter was necessary, though of course the advice given is innocuous.

The eighth conclusion relates to accommodation in educational institutions.

(8) When accommodation is limited in educational institutions, places may be reserved for different communities in the province; but reservation should be in a fair proportion, preference in such educational institutions may be given to people of the province.

Here, as in a previous "conclusion," the word 'communities' requires to be explained. And it is necessary to clarify the meaning of 'fair proportion.' A particular linguistic group may be small in number but may be noted for its enthusiasm for education and the large proportion of its students who go in for or are willing to go in for high, higher and the highest education. To reserve places in educational institutions for such groups merely in proportion to their numerical strength would not be fair.

So far as 'the people of the province' are concerned (which expression presumably includes "Biharis properly so called and Bengali-speaking residents of the province, born or domiciled there", as well as other residents, speaking other languages, similarly born or domiciled there), admission to educational institutions maintained from public funds should be in order of merit. As regards primary schools, their number should be sufficient for giving facilities for education to all children of the prescribed age in the province.

In private educational institutions, those who maintain them should have freedom to regulate admissions. No hard and fast rule can be laid down for them.

We now come to the last conclusion.

(9) In Bihar in areas where Bengali is the spoken language the medium of instruction in primary schools should be Bengali, but in such areas provision should also be made for instruction in Hindustani in the primary schools for those whose mother-tongue is Hindustani, if there is a reasonable number of students speaking Hindustani. Similarly, in Hindustani speaking areas education in primary schools should be given in Hindustani, but if there is a reasonable number of Bengali-speaking students, they should be taught in Bengali. In secondary schools education should be given through the medium of the language of the province, but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language where there is a demand for it on the part of the residents of any district where this other language is spoken.

The rule laid down with regard to primary schools is what it ought to be. In our opinion the rule with regard to secondary schools also should be exactly the same. Take the case of Purulia, for example. It is the chief town of the predominantly Bengali-speaking district of

Manbhum. It should not be necessary for the residents of the Manbhum district to demand education in its secondary schools through the medium of Bengali for it to be provided in Purulia. Just as in primary schools there, so in secondary schools also, the medium of instruction should be Bengali as a matter of course, the Hindi medium being also provided for Hindi-speaking students.

It is laid down that "in secondary schools education should be given through the medium of the language of the province." But the province of Bihar is not a unilingual but a multi-lingual province. Therefore, no language spoken in it can be called the language of the province, just as in Assam, Bombay, C. P., Madras, the Panjab, etc., no language can be called the language of any of those provinces. Moreover, in Indian Universities, including the Patna University, our vernaculars are going to be the media of instruction and examination. Therefore, not only in Manbhum but in some districts of Bihar proper also where the Bengali-speaking population is large enough, there should be schools providing education through the medium of Bengali as a matter of course, and certainly through Hindi also.

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee which we have been discussing at such length is, we repeat, to be like an Instrument of Instructions in all provinces, for the last sentence of it runs :

These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial administrations in these matters herein dealt with.

Such being the case, the language of the resolution should be quite clear throughout and as unambiguous as the language of legal documents is sought to be made. So we think the last clause of the last sentence of the ninth conclusion, which is rather vague, should be worded in some such manner as the following :

"... but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language in any district where there is a demand for it on the part of those residents of it who speak this other language, provided there is a sufficient or prescribed minimum number of students forthcoming who speak this other language."

It is in no controversial spirit that we have written. We hope our suggestions will be

\* So far as Bihar is concerned, "the language of the province" will be readily understood to mean the language spoken by the vast majority of its inhabitants. But as the committee's conclusions are meant to be of general application, and as, for example, neither Marathi nor Gujarati and neither Telugu nor Tamil can be called the language of the Province of Bombay or Madras, some comment has been necessary.

considered acceptable by the Congress Working Committee and, after necessary modifications,

"the above conclusions will be accepted and acted upon by all the parties concerned in Bihar and the regrettable controversy in that province will cease."

### *All "Young People's Right to Education to the Full Limits of Their Capacity"*

In very many civilized countries, though not in India, the right of all children to elementary education has been recognised in practice. The Congress Working Committee in its resolution on the Bengali-Bihari question may not have explicitly recognised this right but may be presumed to have done so. As regards higher educational institutions, the resolution (*vide* 'conclusion' 8) merely prescribes reservation of places for different communities "in a fair proportion." It should have held up the ideal of gradually so increasing accommodation in higher educational institutions, not only in Bihar but in all other provinces (for the resolution is meant for all provinces), as in the long run to enable all young people, willing to do so, to receive education to the full limit of their capacity.

Soviet Russia recognises "The right to education of all children and young people to the full limits of their capacity and irrespective of the social position of their parents." (*From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, page 276.) What has been the result of this recognition?

"Molotov in a speech in May 1938 at a conference of professors and organizers of the Soviet higher educational institutions (universities, etc.) claimed that there were more students in such institutions in the U.S.S.R. than in those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan taken together."

"Here is a quite normal item of information in the Soviet Press of December 23, 1937, e.g., that 'among the workers of the Klov factory (Leningrad) there has been an increase in subscribers for 1938, not only for daily papers and political journals, but also for scientific and literary and art journals. The workers also subscribe to German and French journals.'—*From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, page 218

Think of our factory workers—those whom we call coolies and *mazdoors*—subscribing for dailies and political, scientific, literary and art journals, including German and French journals!

### *Soviet Russia Encourages All Its Languages and Literatures*

In India in every province there is some one language which is used by a larger number



of persons than any of the other languages spoken there. There is also the endeavour that is being made to have a common language for the whole country. There is a tendency observable in some areas to create circumstances less favourable for the continued existence and the growth of the language and literature of minorities. The right policy to be adopted with regard to our languages and literatures is that which is followed in Soviet Russia with regard to the languages and literatures of that vast region. Clear indications of this policy will be found in the following extracts from the recently published book *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution* by W. P. Coates and Zelda K. Coates :

"Side by side with the stamping out of illiteracy, many nationalities have been helped to evolve a written language for the first time; in other cases, alphabets which were extremely difficult and complicated have been modernized and thus made accessible to the masses. There has been an enormous expansion in the Press and book publications. In 1913 throughout the Russian Empire there were 775 newspapers in the Russian language and 84 in various other languages, with a total circulation (Russian and other languages) of 2,729,000. In 1936 there were 6,285 newspapers published in the Russian language with a circulation of 27,516,000 and 2,865 newspapers in 69 different tongues of the minorities with a circulation of 10,455,000. When it is recalled that over 50 per cent of the inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. are Great Russians and many of the other nationalities can also read and speak Russian, it cannot but be admitted that the relative number and circulation of journals in the U.S.S.R. is very fair.

"Book publication shows a similar picture; in 1913, 23,805 different books were published in Russian in the Tsarist Empire, with a total circulation of 80,218,000 and 2,369 books in languages other than Russian with a circulation of 6,521,000. In 1936 the number of books published in Russian was 31,652 with a total circulation of 438,220,000, whilst 11,696 books with a total circulation of 132,851,000 were published in 110 different native tongues." (Thick type and italics ours.—Ed., M.R.). Page 249.

These extracts show that, far from the languages and literatures of the minorities being discouraged and sought to be stamped out, there have been greater development and expansion in them than in the Russian language and literature proper. The authors of *From Tsardom to Stalin Constitution* are, therefore, entitled to assert :

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if capitalist exploitation of class by class and nation by nation were eliminated." (Italics ours.—Ed., M.R.). Pages 262-263.

## A Mistake Corrected

In a book entitled "A Review of the History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sangathan Movement," it is stated on page 373 : "Babu Ramananda Chatterjee formerly belonged to the Brāhma Samaj." That is not the full truth. He not only formerly belonged but still belongs to the Brāhma Samaj and desires to die a Brāhma. Ever since he joined the Brāhma Samaj more than fifty years ago, he has never ceased to belong to it for a single day.

## Gandhiji on Santiniketan and Dr. Kagawa on Gandhiji

The following passages are taken from the article on "Dr. Kagawa's visit" in *Harjan* for January 21, 1939 :

Dr. Kagawa swears by the method of non violence. "To me that is the Way, that is life. It is man's way, the other is Satan's way," he said. If that was the thing, it was no use hurrying through in the American way. Even for a detailed discussion of his co-operative programme he might have stayed longer with the leading men in India. But Gandhiji appealed to him on a different ground "How can you leave India without seeing Santiniketan?" he asked.

Dr. Kagawa : But I have read the Poet's poems, and I love them.

Gandhiji : But you have to love the Poet. Dr. Kagawa : If I can repeat the *Gurajati* every day, I can see the Poet every day and do I not love him? May be he is greater than his poems.

Gandhiji : Sometimes the reverse is the truth, but in the case of the Poet he is infinitely greater than his great poems . . . I wonder who your advisers are I wish you had appointed me your adviser in this matter !

"No," said Dr. Kagawa, laughing, "you are a good guide for life."

Dr. Kagawa asked what other books Gandhiji read every day. Gandhiji mentioned the Ramayana in which he said there was supposed to be enough blood and thunder, but not for me. Dr. Kagawa said he too loved it for the story of Sita—the ideal of Chastity. "But there are other fine things also in that unique poem," said Gandhiji. "I have not read the original, which is great. But the Hindi rendering done by a great devotee is the scripture for the masses of India. In the North India Tulsī Ramayana has been the inspiration of many a home for four centuries."

Dr. Kagawa discussed Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and Gandhiji expressed his predilection for the former, and for his direct and marvellously logical way. But Gandhiji reverted again to his itinerary and expressed his great regret that Rev. Hodge who had been in charge of it had, out of his partiality for him (Gandhiji) included Bardoli, but not Santiniketan ! "You are going to Calcutta and not to Santiniketan? It is a great pity. You say you are going to Gosaba. Well, Gosaba is Gosaba, but Santiniketan is India."

It is a matter for satisfaction that Mahatma Gandhi does not now think of Santiniketan as a place where a poet lives who writes only or mainly of birds singing in the morning, as he appears to have done about two decades ago.

stages of economic development. In its early stages, there were wholesale cruelty and hardship in some industries. These have disappeared, though Labour has not yet got all that it wants and should get. Regarding the early stages of economic development under capitalism we read in Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *The Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin*, page 13 :

"The discovery of the laws of motion of capitalist society was the specific work of Marx in applying the methods of dialectical materialism to the existing stage of social development. He was able to show that capitalism in its early stages, despite wholesale cruelty and hardship, was nevertheless a progressive force, driving through competition to continual development of the productive forces, enlargement of the scale of production, concentration of capital and increasing of the numbers of the proletariat."

### *Communism and Private Property in Russia*

Where the people are poverty-stricken, the appeal of communism cannot but be irresistible. Hence it was natural that Lenin Day drew big audiences. In many places they must have been told that in Russia all property is held in common, that private property has disappeared and that all workers, whatever the nature of their work, receive equal wages. Theoretically that description of Russia ought to be correct. But the facts are somewhat different.

*From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution* says that Articles 4 and 5 of the Stalin Constitution state that

"the economic basis of the U. S. S. R. is socialist and the means of production are owned and controlled socially, socialist ownership is either in the form of State ownership (public property) or in the form of co-operative and Kolkhoz (collective farm) ownership, and subsequent articles proceed to define the various classes of socialist property—land, natural resources, means of production, transport, etc., etc.

"At the same time, side by side with the dominant socialist economy, the law permits small private farms and handicraft enterprises in which no hired labour is employed. Moreover, every household within a Kolkhoz (collective farm) has for its own use, in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel, a plot of land, a house, livestock, and minor agricultural implements.

"The private property of citizens resulting from their earnings or savings, their dwellings and household goods, as well as all property for private use, is protected by law. In other words, private property continues to exist, but no one will be permitted to use it for exploiting other people's labour power." Pp 273-274

As regards the equality or inequality of the earnings of different kinds of workers, take the following paragraph from the same book:

"It is, of course, perfectly true that writers, artists, musicians, and generally intellectual workers earn, as a rule, more than manual workers (although in many cases 'stakhanovites' of field and factory are now earning as

much as, if not more than, any intellectual worker). The Soviet authorities are naturally anxious that its intelligentsia should have the best conditions to produce the best possible work, and also to attract talent to undertake such work. Until the productive forces have developed to such an extent as to make it possible for all to live an equally comfortable and well-to-do life (varying of course with the tastes and desires of the individual) there must be a differentiation in the remuneration of intellectual and physical labour. So long as there is an insufficiency of skilled labour and the old individualist psychology has not yet been supplanted by the new higher *Socialist psychology, skilled workers and experts must be paid better than unskilled*," and the higher the skill or the more efficient and educated the expert, the greater the output, the better the pay. The aim, of course, is to do away with any difference in pay between intellectual and manual labour.

Whatever the ideal or aim of the Bolsheviks may be, they have not been able to make Russia communistic in more than twenty years, though they have possessed absolute power and have used most drastic and, in many cases, sanguinary methods.

### *The Civil War in Spain*

The fall of Barcelona and the triumphant entry of General Franco into that city is a great blow to the Spanish Republican Government. But nothing daunted, the latter are preparing to continue the fight.

May they succeed.

If the two parties in Spain had been left to fight without any help from outside, which is implied in the word Non-intervention, there is no question that General Franco would have been defeated decisively long ago. But whilst the latter has all along received substantial help from Italy and Germany, the Spanish Republican Government has not received any such help.

The so-called "Non-intervention" has been as great a handicap and positive hindrance in the case of Republican Spain as it was in the case of Ethiopia.

### *Sino-Japanese War*

That Japan has been feeling the strain of the war is evident from the change of the Cabinet there.

China's resolve to fight till liberty is won continues unshaken.

### *China Unconquerable*

Miss Agnes Smedley, our valued contributor in China, has contributed an article to the

\*Will it ever be just and equitable to pay equal wages to experts and skilled and unskilled workers?—Editor, M. R.

*Manchester Guardian* and expressed her opinion therein that China is unconquerable.

"Millions of Chinese soldiers have been magnificently moulded in this war of national liberation. Such consciousness, such resistance on such a scale and over such a vast area is unprecedented in Chinese or, perhaps, in world history. It cannot be destroyed or even temporarily laid to rest by military occupation or by domestic or international intrigue."

### *Chinese Universities on the March*

Professor Franz Michael writes in the January number of the *Asia* magazine of New York :

"Much has been said and written about the fact that the Chinese students did not as a rule go to the front and take part in the physical defense of their country. Some of our (Chinese) students volunteered for various war services, but the majority remained with the University. To western minds this attitude seems incomprehensible, but the Chinese point of view is clear: in this vast country (China) with its hundreds of millions of people, the tradition of spiritual leadership, the moral front, must not be allowed to be destroyed. It was this idea which brought about in China the unique phenomenon of Universities carrying on with their work "as usual" under bombardment and marching from place to place, covering distances of hundreds of miles."

This enables the students not only to carry on their work and keep up China's culture but also to bring the light of modern science to the interior of China and to reform, reconstruct and revive rural China.

One of the Bulletins recently received from the China Information Committee states that it is the principle of the Chinese National Government that, whether war goes on or not, Chinese culture must be preserved. Accordingly, some time after the beginning of the war the Government ordered that the educational and cultural institutions be removed from places near the sea to safe places in the interior and the "students be encouraged to participate in the war with their books and brushes but not with rifles."

In our last August number we made some extracts from an article in *Asia* by Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize-winner, bearing on this attitude of the Chinese Government and people.

### *Popular Awakening in the Indian States*

The agitation in the Indian States for the introduction of responsible government is a genuine indigenous popular movement. In many of the States where the struggle is going on the people are maintaining its non-violent character in spite of shooting and other violent forms of repression and even in spite of such atrocities as outrages on the chastity of women.

It is to be noted that in no State do the people want to eliminate their ruler. They want self-government under his aegis. In some of the States, for example in Aundh, a small State in Maharashtra, responsible government has been granted to the people, either voluntarily by the Ruler or in response to the popular demand.

In some States, e.g., Cochin, Mayurbhanj, Sangli, etc., progressive constitutional reforms have been introduced, though full responsible government has not yet been granted.

### *Reported Constitutional Progress in Mysore*

It is reported that in Mysore the people's representatives will be granted some powers in the reformed constitution. Good news, if true.

### *Satyagraha in Hyderabad State*

Under instructions from the Congress High Command the Hyderabad State Congress suspended its Satyagraha in order to give the authorities of that State the opportunity to gracefully and graciously accede to the popular demands and in order to show that the agitation carried on by the Hyderabad State Congress was not a communal movement. But the Nizam's Government has not yet, to our knowledge, made any responsive gesture.

If in any Indian State, or in any province of British India, any religious community is denied civic or other rights, is discriminated against, repressed and oppressed, and if in spite of repeated representations made its grievances are not redressed, it has every right to carry on non-violent Satyagraha. There is no sense in condemning it by calling it communal. Communalism is bad when it is aggressive towards or encroaches or seeks to encroach upon the just rights of other communities.

The Hindus of Hyderabad have many grievances. Representations have brought no redress. Therefore, their Satyagraha is justified, and all nationalists should wish it success.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam ought to remove the grievances of his Hindu subjects. They form the majority of his subjects. He owes his wealth mainly to them. He ought not to compel them to carry on the struggle to the bitter end.

If His Exalted Highness, as befits the position of the ruler of the premier Indian State, introduces responsible government in his territories, his Mussalman, Hindu, Christian and other subjects will all be able to make greater progress. They will be more prosperous and

add to the prosperity of their Ruler, too. And thus the position of His Exalted Highness will be still more exalted.

### *Hyderabad Day*

Last month Hyderabad Day was observed in very many places in India to express sympathy with the Hindu Satyāgrahists in Hyderabad. It was not in the least anti-Muslim in any sense. Hence in most places the meetings and processions could be conducted peacefully, as the Muslim population there were right in not adopting any hostile attitude towards them. But in a few places, as at Delhi and Bareilly, either owing to local misunderstanding or mischievous instigation from outside, communal strife broke out with fatal results in some cases. This is very much to be regretted.

Muslim solidarity is good so long as it does not directly or indirectly foster the wrong idea that every Muslim is always right and that a Muslim Ruler can do no wrong nor can the administrative arrangements and practices of his State be wrong in any particular.

### *Rajkot Ruler Goes Back On His Promise*

Satyāgraha in Rajkot was given up on the understanding that, as arranged with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, reforms would be introduced in that State. But the Thakore Saheb of that State, as its ruler is called, appears to have gone back on his promise. So the people have decided to resume Satyāgraha.

### *Bloodshed in Ranpur*

Ranpur is a small state in Orissa, smaller than Dhenkanal, which has become notorious for its more than half a dozen shootings with fatal results. As in many other states of Orissa, popular agitation had been going on for some time in Ranpur for the redress of grievances. The incident which has brought this small state into the limelight is that the political agent, Major Bazalgette, fired his revolver twice under circumstances which have been somewhat variously reported in the dailies, and in consequence two men died and he was himself killed by persons in the crowd upon which he had fired. Whatever the provocation, if any, which led him to discharge his revolver, or the provocation, if any, which led some persons in the crowd to assault him with fatal consequence, the episode cannot but be deeply regretted. Political agitation in India, includ-

ing the Indian States, should and must be carried on in a perfectly non-violent manner even in extremely provocative circumstances, if it is to achieve its object. This is what should be borne in mind by our own people, whether they be leaders or their followers. As regards Englishmen and Indians who derive their power directly or indirectly from the British Government, they should remember that during the last quarter of a century many powerful empires have toppled down and of the surviving empires the prestige of the British Empire is not very great.

### *The Government of India and the Orissa Ministry*

Thousands of terrified people have left their hearths and homes in Talcher, Dhenkanal and some other Orissa States and taken refuge in the Province of Orissa. The Orissa Ministry and the people of Orissa have been humanely doing their best to give them relief. So long as the refugees do not feel assured that they will be safe in the States they have left, they will not voluntarily go back there. These refugees are not criminals flying from justice. Therefore they should not be extradited, according to any code of ethics or law. If the Government of India sought to force the Orissa Ministry to extradite them, the latter would be justified in resisting such pressure. If the Government of India persisted in applying such pressure the Orissa Ministers would feel bound to resign, and there would be a crisis.

The extradition of a few States' subjects here and there is a different matter. But here also great care must be taken to determine by judicial inquiry whether the person whose extradition from British territory is required by a State has really committed an extraditable offence or is merely a man who is in the bad books of the State authorities for political reasons and whom therefore they want to have back in their power. Should the latter be the case, there should be no extradition.

### *Countrywide Independence Day Celebration*

Independence Day was celebrated all over the country on the 26th January last, both men and women participating in the celebration. A novel feature in Calcutta was a mile-long procession of carters who displayed the tricolour National Flag and the red Labour Banner on their buffalo carts. It is not merely

the Congressites who observed the day. Persons belonging to no party, many members of the Hindu Mahasabha, many Mussalmans, and many Anglo-Indians took part in the celebrations. In most places the day passed off peacefully. In the few places where there were disturbances they were due generally to the hostile attitude of some communalist Mussalmans who owed their inspiration directly or indirectly to the Muslim League.

The attitude of the Muslim League is curious. Last year it accepted the independence of India as its goal, though it has not made the least independent effort to reach that goal. Neither has it co-operated with the Indian National Congress in furtherance of that object. On the contrary, persons under its influence have tried to make the Independence Day celebrations a failure.

Similar has been the attitude of the communalist Muslims towards responsible government in Hyderabad. The introduction of responsible government is a step towards the achievement of independence, and therefore the Muslim League, of which the professed goal is Independence, ought to support or in any case ought not to oppose any movement for attaining responsible government. Satyagraha in Hyderabad, which the Hyderabad Day celebration was meant to support, has responsible government as its main object. But wherever on that day there have been disturbances in connection with it, communalistic Mussalmans were implicated in them.

It is a great pity.

It is reported that the disturbances in Allahabad on Independence Day were due to efforts made by some students, celebrating it, to force the Modern High School to observe a holiday on that day. At another place also a similar attempt at compulsion produced similar results. Persons who value their own liberty should value the freedom of opinion and action of others who differ from them. Those who try to compel others do not understand what liberty means.

### *The Independence Day Pledge*

The following pledge was read at the meetings held in connection with the Independence Day celebrations :

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to

alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever British connexion and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods and it is by adhering to this method that our country will attain independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle till Purna Swaraj is attained."

We support this pledge whole-heartedly.

We have only one comment to make. Whatever the objects and methods of British rule in India—we do not want to discuss them here, it is not a fact that India has been *ruined* culturally and spiritually. The literature of a country is a main element or feature of its culture. The ancient literature of India has become known and been recovered in great part during British rule. Two such great authorities as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore agree in holding that *modern* Bengali literature owes its origin and progress to the influence of English literature. Probably that is true of the other *modern* Indian literatures, too. Indian art, too, has had its revival and a new creative urge during the British period of India's history. Hence we hold that India has not been *ruined* culturally.

As regards India's alleged spiritual runatone during the British period, it is a fact of history that this period has seen the birth and growth of many new spiritual movements and the revival and rejuvenation of many old ones. Among the world's great spiritual personalities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such personalities of India hold a prominent place, and among them Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Congress, which has drawn up the independence pledge, is still happily in our midst. Therefore we hold that India has not been *ruined* spiritually.

It is necessary to point out that it is not our contention that the British Government has deliberately and actively brought about India's cultural and spiritual revival or rebirth; we only state the fact that, even if it were admitted that the British Government wanted to ruin India culturally and spiritually—on that point we do not pronounce any opinion here, it has failed to achieve that object.

The political ruin of India is a large subject. It cannot be discussed in the course of

a brief note. Here we shall content ourselves by saying that, whatever the state of political feeling in India just previous to the British period, the birth and growth of political consciousness in the modern sense among the Indian intelligentsia and masses belong mainly to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of course, it is not our contention that the British Government seriously wanted that there should be this birth and growth. We only state a fact of history.

We shall make only one other observation.

Even if British rule had been exactly the opposite of what it has been and is, if it had actively and earnestly promoted India's economic, political, cultural and spiritual progress, we would still have longed and worked for independence. Because we are men, not cattle. Cattle are taken care of by others. Human beings, if they want to deserve the name of man, must take care of themselves, must manage their own affairs, and must continually grow to self-ruling capacity—by learning through mistakes, if necessary.

### *Reservation of Appointments for the Majority*

The Bengal Legislative Assembly has accepted by a majority of votes a resolution reserving 60 per cent of the appointments in the provincial services in Bengal for Mussalmans, who form a majority of the population of Bengal, being 55 per cent. So they want 5 per cent more of posts being reserved for them than their proportion in the population! This resolution had, of course, the tacit approval and support of the predominantly Muhammadan Ministry of Bengal.

Reservation of posts for the majority is absurd—not to speak of reservation in excess of their percentage, which is still more absurd. But we do not want reservation even for any minority. Considered from the point of view of the bulk of the people belonging to the majority community and the minority communities, what is good for them is that the public services should be filled by the appointment of the most meritorious and ablest candidates, irrespective of creed or caste or class. That makes for the best administration and the progress of the country, which benefit both the majority and the minorities generally, whereas reservation is of economic advantage only to the small number of persons, and their families, who get the posts. Appointment according to merit and ability gives a stimulus to education and

intellectual improvement among the majority and the minorities alike, which reservation does not.

### *Reservation of Posts for the Majority Against the Law*

Reservation of posts for a majority community is opposed to Section 293 of the Government of India Act of 1935, of which the relevant portions are quoted below.

"Section 293. (1) No subject of His Majesty domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India, or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring, holding or disposing of property or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession in British India.

"(3) Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the special responsibility of the Governor-General or of a Governor for the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities."

These two sub-sections make it clear that the general principle is that all offices under the Crown in India will be open to all deserving candidates irrespective of religion, place of birth, etc. but that some proportion or percentage of the offices may be reserved by the Governor-General or a Governor "for the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities," and of course these offices reserved for the minorities shall not be open to others. It is also clear that only the Governor-General or a Governor who can make such reservation for minorities, not any Ministry or legislative body.

We shall, of course, have to consider the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors also in this connexion. The concluding part of paragraph 9 of this Instrument is quoted below.

"Further, our Governor shall interpret the said special responsibility as requiring him to secure a due proportion of appointments in our services to the several communities, and, so far as there may be in his Province at the date of the issue of these our instructions an accepted policy in this regard, he shall be guided thereby, unless he is fully satisfied that modification of that policy is essential in the interests of the communities affected or of the welfare of the people."

The "accepted policy" in Bengal "at the date of the issue of" the Instructions did not (and does not) require that the majority community should have 60 per cent of the posts. The Instrument says, "he (the Governor) shall be guided thereby," which is mandatory. The Governor can make a modification of the policy, if it "is essential in the interests of the communities affected or of the welfare of the people."

So, according to the Instrument of Instructions the Governor can reserve even all the jobs for the majority community, if he thinks that

will promote the welfare of the people ! But then why has Section 52(1) (b) of the Government of India Act given him the special responsibility for "the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities" ? Will their legitimate interests be safeguarded by giving them no appointments in the public services at all or by giving them a smaller proportion of the appointments than their proportion in the total population of the Province ?

One question arises here, which not being jurists we are unable to answer : Can the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General or a Governor negative or modify an Act of Parliament, which the Government of India Act of 1935 is ?

### *If Hindu Majority Provinces Followed Bengal Precedent ?*

In pursuit of its imperial policy the British Government has placed the Muhammadan community in power in Bengal. The same policy has led the Government to give the Mussalmans "weightage" in provinces where they are a minority. Not to be outdone by the British Government, the Congress Provincial Governments have given the Mussalmans more appointments in the public services than they could get by merit or claim on the ground of their numbers. Having got "weightage" in the public services in the provinces where they are a minority they intend to abuse their power in Bengal and give themselves "weightage" in the public services here, too, where they form a majority of the population. So, whether they are a majority or a minority, they must have "weightage."

But it is not unimaginable that the Hindus also can play at the same game. They may say : "Where we are 86 per cent. of the population, let us have 92 per cent. of the Government posts; where we are 88 per cent., let us have 95 per cent. of the posts; where we are 94 per cent., let us monopolise all the posts; and so on; and where we are 44 per cent., let us have 60 per cent. of the posts; where we are 8 per cent., let us have 20 per cent., of the posts; and so on." Whether they will do so, is another matter. But the Bengal Mussalmans' demand of 60 per cent. of the posts is a provocative precedent for similar demands on the part of Hindus everywhere.

### *Bengal Congress Party and Communal Reservation of Posts Conference*

The Bengal Premier has convened a conference of Congressmen and others to discuss

the question of the communal distribution of posts in the public services, perhaps with the object of obtaining the support of the Bengal Congress Assembly party to the reservation of 60 or at least 55 per cent. of the posts for Mussalmans. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha and Congress Nationalist party of Bengal are opposed to such reservation. The opinion of the overwhelming majority of the public associations and public men consulted on the subject by the British Indian Association is against such reservation. The nationalist organs of Bengal, including pro-Congress organs, are opposed to it.

It is an important matter. Perhaps Congressmen in Bengal ought to obtain the opinion of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee, the Congress high command and the Congress Working Committee in the matter.

If the Bengal Governor agrees to the reservation which the Mussalmans want, the Bengal Hindus should appeal to the Federal Court against the order to test its legality.

### *Compulsory Retirement After 25 Years' Service*

We do not know if last year's Bengal Assembly resolution advocating the compulsory retirement of all Government servants in the Provincial and Subordinate Services on the completion of 25 years' service instead of at the age of 55, as at present, has been given effect to. The obvious intention of the resolution is to create more vacancies early to which Mussalmans may be appointed. The resolution cannot be supported on the ground of economy or on any other reasonable grounds. It can be proved mathematically that it would entail more expenditure on the services than at present. The compulsory retirement of experienced officers at an age when they are quite fit for work would make all departments of Government less efficient. It would entail hardship on such officers and shake public confidence in Government service.

### *Railway Disasters*

Since the publication of our last issue there have been two terrible railway disasters, both on the E. I. Railway. The Dehra Dun Express disaster, with its horrible immolation of an unaccounted number of passengers in bonfires burning for long hours, was still fresh in public memory when another disaster due to the collision of two locomotive engines and resulting in the loss of seven lives and other casualties,

was reported. There have been altogether half a dozen disasters in this line in the course of a year or so. Sabotage, even if true, cannot be pleaded as an excuse. An efficient and vigilant administration ought to be able to prevent sabotage. There would seem to be criminal inefficiency and negligence somewhere which only a thoroughly searching independent inquiry can detect and expose.

### *Jaipur's Ban on Seth Jammalal Bajaz*

There is a saying that the gods first deprive of their senses those whom they want to destroy. Irresponsible autocratic rule (or rather misrule in most cases) has made most rulers of the Indian States unpopular with their subjects, who are carrying on an agitation in many States for the introduction of responsible government. Sensible rulers ought to read the signs of the times and satisfy their subjects, whose demands are quite reasonable. But instead of doing so, some rulers are bent upon creating trouble for themselves. It was not at all necessary for the Jaipur Durbar to prohibit the entry of Seth Jammalal Bajaz into Jaipur soil in the interest of peace and order and good government there. But when the Seth defies the order, there may be some trouble.

### *The Congress Presidential Election Controversy*

As the Congress presidential election will be over by the time our present issue is in the hands of our readers, we do not wish to discuss in detail all the statements made on the subject by different parties and persons. We shall make only a few remarks on a few of the statements made, without saying anything on the respective qualifications of the two candidates.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's reasons for withdrawing from the contest are convincing. His statement would have been quite unexceptionable if it had contained only those reasons, but nothing more. But when he went on to urge the claims and recommend the election of another candidate, he perhaps did what was not correct. We would have made this remark if he had recommended some one other than the gentleman named by him. Every Congressman undoubtedly has the right to publicly support the candidature of some candidate and oppose that of others. But members of the Congress Working Committee, of whom the Maulana is one, are not ordinary members. They are colleagues of the President and his nominees. For any one of them to practically oppose the

re-election of the present incumbent, knowing that he is a candidate, does not seem to us proper.

The statement which Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose made on the 21st instant after the publication of Maulana Azad's statement does not call for any comment. Even without giving any reasons he has every right not to withdraw from the contest.

We do not see, from the democratic point of view, the necessity and propriety of the seven Working Committee members' statement issued from Bardoli on the 24th January last, though party tactics may have necessitated its issue. As there are rules for the election of the president in the Congress constitution, that implies that sometimes, if not every year, there will be a contest. That the election has been unanimous during some years past does not mean that it was always so and will and should be always so. As a matter of fact there were contests for the presidency in some previous years. As the Congress constitution provides for election by the delegates, they should be allowed to exercise their right of voting freely, whenever there is a contest. Voting should not be prevented or made a superfluity and the word 'election' made unmeaning, by the Working Committee or any group of its members or any super-dictator becoming the President-maker or President-maker. Of course, when there is only one candidate and when that is not due to any wirepulling from behind the curtain, there need not be any voting by the delegates. When there is more than one candidate, no direct or indirect pressure ought to be brought to bear on any of them to withdraw from the contest.

We agree that it is sound policy not to elect the same person in successive years, "except under very exceptional circumstances." But it is for the electors, the delegates, to judge whether the circumstances are exceptional or not in any year. We think the circumstances are not less exceptional this year than when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was re-elected.

According to the letter of the new Congress constitution the President may or may not be a mere chairman or a figure-head, but in practice he is the Executive head of the Congress, and he chooses and nominates his Working Committee. He sometimes takes the initiative, as in the matter of the national industrial planning.

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose's statement in reply to that of the seven Working Committee members is rather long. We agree with him.



when he says that there should be no "moral compulsion" on any candidate to withdraw and that delegates should be allowed to exercise their right of voting freely, "otherwise why not end the elective system and have the President nominated by the Working Committee?", etc.

But we do not know his reasons for assuming that none but leftists are or can be "genuine anti-federationists," and therefore we must wait for convincing evidence on the point.

Says he:

"I feel strongly that we should have, during this momentous year, a genuine anti-Federationist in the presidential chair. If the right wing really want national unity and solidarity, they would be well-advised to accept a leftist as President."

But may not the rightists also say, "if the leftists want national unity and solidarity, they would be well-advised to accept a rightist as President?" Again:

"Let the right wing, who are in a decided majority in the Congress, make a gesture to the left wing by accepting a leftist candidate even at this late hour. I hope that my appeal will not be in vain."

According to ordinary democratic notions, the majority prevails over the minority and is allowed to do so, except under dictators. But here Sriyut Bose asks the majority to surrender or yield to the minority. If, as he says, he is for free voting by the delegates, why does he ask the rightists to accept a leftist candidate, thus making voting unnecessary and depriving the delegates of the opportunity and right of voting?

Perhaps the two extracts which we have made above from his statement are not absolutely free from a sub-conscious liking for "moral compulsion."

[This note was written on 28th January, 1939.]

### *Student Disturbances in Aligarh*

It is not our opinion that all our students are guilty of indiscipline, and we have no conclusive proof that most of them are so. But there is no doubt that large numbers of them brook no discipline. That is not good for them, nor good for the nation. Indiscipline should not be mistaken for freedom.

News of perhaps the worst example of student indiscipline has come from the Muslim University of Aligarh. The Aligarh District Magistrate's version is as follows:

"A serious riot took place this evening at about 7 p.m. University students made an unexpected mass attack on exhibition tent, set fire to it and assaulted convalesces. Thirtysix convalesces were injured, a couple of them being stabbed. Students were completely out of control despite patient exhortation by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and other University authorities. They took

out poles of tents, attacked the police and held up the fire engine from going to the spot."

Both the Magistrate and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor should explain why the students behaved in the way they did.

### *Mahatma Gandhi on the Jewish Problem*

LONDON, Jan. 19

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense as England belongs to the English. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs," declares Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *The Church of England Newspaper*.

Mahatma Gandhi points out, however, that he does not defend the excesses of the Arabs.

Referring to the cry for a "National Home" for Jews, he asks, "Why should they not like other peoples on earth make that country their home where they are born and earn a livelihood?"

Referring to the persecution in Germany, Gandhi says, "The tyrants of old never went so mad as Herr Hitler seems to have gone."

Regarding the Jews in Germany, he writes, "I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into a summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women, possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will then be a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of a dehumanised man."—*Reuter*

Gandhiji wrote something similar in *Harjan* of November 26, 1938. We commented on his views as expressed in that paper. We did not accept all his views as correct. *The Jewish Advocate* of Bombay, dated December 2, 1938, also criticized him.

It cannot be denied that the Jewish religion is more ancient than the Muhammadan religion, and it is also true that it is more ancient than the Christian religion. By Jews we understand the people who followed and follow the Jewish religion. People following the Jewish religion lived in Palestine before the birth of Christianity and Muhammadanism. Even after the Dispersion, some Jews have been living in Palestine all along down to the present time. And it is not a fact that it is only after or during the last great world war that the Jews are settling in Palestine and that with the help of the British in consequence of the Balfour Declaration. *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (Vol. vii, page 713) states:

"Since the middle of the 19th century there has been a steady increase in the number of resident Europeans—missionaries and commercial agents, consuls and colonists, the last either German or Jewish settlers."

The beginning of this Jewish agricultural movement was the founding of the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel by the Alliance Israélite in 1870. In Southern Palestine the more important settlements are Raddon Is

Zion, 'the first in Zion,' founded 1881, with about 3,000 acres and over 1,000 inhabitants, Rechoboth, founded 1890, with over 2,500 acres and nearly 1,000 inhabitants, and Petach Tikveh, founded 1893, with 8,000 acres, including valuable orange groves, and over 3,000 inhabitants. All these and a dozen smaller ones are in the neighborhood of Jaffa."

All these Jewish settlers settled in Palestine in the 19th century; they were not "imposed" on the Arabs by British arms.

*The Jewish Advocate* writes:

The Jewish return to Palestine is not carried out, as the Mahatma simply says, under the shadow of the British gun. The Jews have gone and are going to Palestine at the direct invitation of 52 countries who have affirmed the historical right of the Jewish people to return to their ancient and never forgotten homeland. And it will succeed or fail according to the principles of justice or otherwise which govern the Jewish work in Palestine. If it is a crime in the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi for the Jews to return to their homeland at the invitation of the world and with British facilities, however negligible, it should appear to him far more criminal for the Indian people to go to South Africa, Kenya, Burma, the Malay States and Ceylon, or any part of the British Empire, for no other ostensible right than that the British gun happens to stand there. But apparently neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any other leader of India considers it "wrong and inhuman" to "impose" Indians on Africans or other backward people, however "imperialistic" their penetration in those countries is. On the other hand, the Congress raises its voice in protest when a few hounded German Jewish families are sought to be placed by Britain in Kenya in order to save them from "organized and shameless persecution!" And the Mahatma does not even utter a syllable about this!

The same paper observes:

There was no Arab country for more than four centuries before the Great War, and the Arabs never ruled Palestine for any length of time throughout their history. It was as a result of the war and the system of the Mandates that the Arabs obtained their independence, or something very much like it, in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordan, etc. It is true that they fought for it. But so did the Jews. Is the Mahatma aware that thousands of Jews fought and died in Palestine for its liberation, and therefore for the liberation of Arab countries? If the Arabs were given a promise, so were the Jews. By the "accepted canons of right and wrong" the Jews, if the Mahatma wishes to overlook all the historical and moral reasons, are entitled to an award of their services in the same proportion as the Arabs. But are they? A race of 15 million Arabs which was released from its centuries of bondage with "the help of the British bayonets" is offered millions of square miles of land to form its own independent governments according to its own needs and wishes. The Jews, a race of 17 millions, are offered their ancient small tract of land as a national home, with ample provisions for the guarantee of the interests of the inhabitants. The Arabs continue to neglect their territories as they have neglected them when they were dependent. The Jews kindled with hope breathe a new life over their homeland, in order to breathe the absorptive capacity of Palestine without prejudicing the economic interests of the Arab inhabitants. And a great spiritual leader like the Mahatma, who believes in the just distribution of wealth, does not only countenance the just distribution of land, though he struggles for it in his own country, but flies in the face

of all the facts and declares that the Jews in Palestine are "co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them." It is outside our scope to speak for Britain, but what constitutes despoilation of the Arabs by the Jews in the Mahatma's eyes? Is it the achievements we enumerated, or has he any other thing in mind? If he has, let him speak out!

Mahatma Gandhi ought to accept the challenge of this Jewish journal!

As regards Mahatmaj's advice that the Jews should make that country their home where they are born and earn a livelihood, *The Jewish Advocate* observes:

"For 2,000 years we sought, like 'other peoples of the earth,' that that country be our home where we are born and where we earn our livelihood. Have we been allowed to do that? Let Mahatma Gandhi look deeply and honestly at this question and answer it for us."

"The Jew is an alien wherever he has lived since his dispersion from his ancient country. He has tried not to be an alien. He served in Germany an apprenticeship of eight centuries to qualify for citizenship; but he failed. In Italy, in some cases, he served since the Dispersion. He has failed also. The Mahatma does not see this incredible fact of history."

The Jewish paper has much to say on Mahatmaj's advice to the German Jews to adopt organized Satyagraha. We quote below only a few sentences:

What is, in effect, Mahatma's advice to the Jews? It is that they should adopt the policy of Satyagraha, and "insist on a just treatment wherever they are born." Without any disrespect we state that the Jews have adopted this course 2,000 years ago, and clung persistently to it ever since. But with what result the Mahatma ought surely to know.

It may be argued that the Mahatma recommends to the Jews of Germany to observe organized Satyagraha. If this be so, he is equally guilty of ignorance about the German situation. What is the meaning of organized Satyagraha in a State where violence is showing "how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness?" When people, old, young and sucking, are removed from their beds and carried unceremoniously by armed guards and thrown across frontiers, what is the virtue of organized Satyagraha?

### *Emancipation of Gujarat Predial Serfs*

BARDOLI, Jan 21

The age-old system of Dublas in Gujarat by which 40,000 landless agricultural labourers are attached to landholders as virtual serfs is to be abolished.

A formal announcement to the effect will be made on January 26, Independence Day, at a meeting to be held at Bardoli.

This is the culmination of prolonged negotiations which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had with the landholders who at a meeting held on January 16 at "Swasay Ashram," Bardoli, agreed to put an end to this system.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Sardar will attend the meeting on January 26.

The Dublas are landless agricultural labourers and are attached to the landholders as virtual serfs. The landholder advances a lump sum of money to them, which they are expected to repay in service. The landholder provides food and clothing, as Dublas are generally ignorant, backward and addicted to drink. The original loan

is seldom repaid and the Dubla remains a serf till the end of his life. Not only that, he is liable to be transferred from one owner to another like cattle.—A. P.

### *Utilization of Calcutta University Libraries Increasing*

A record figure of 1,48,899 volumes of books of the central University library of Calcutta were utilized in the course of the year 1937 by the University students, casual readers, teachers and other members of the University for reference purposes. When classified, it was ascertained that the largest number of books found consulted by readers were books on Economics, next History, next English language and literature and after that books on Ideology.

It is good news that the reading habit is increasing among our advanced students.

That they read books on economics more than on any other subject may be due to the prevailing poverty in Bengal.

The total accession number of volumes of printed books in the Central and the 11 other departmental libraries of the University including the library of the Law College (excluding the periodicals) on the last day of the last year were 1,13,282, the total number of manuscripts 12,113; the total number of books of the Law College Library were 41,838, the total number of books printed in the Chinese, Japanese and Spanish languages being 2,070. The grand total of volumes now possessed by the Central and other libraries of the University in all languages being 1,69,323 volumes as against 1,64,765 in 1937.

A total of 1,48,899 volumes of books were issued out to readers for reference purposes as against 1,37,784 volumes in 1937 and 93,377 volumes in 1936. The daily average number of books issued for this purpose being 533 volumes as against 516 in 1937. The average daily attendance of readers in the Reading Room of the Central Library was 230 as against 201 in 1937.

### *Bombay Premier on Karnataka Separation*

We have received the following communication from the Secretary, All Karnataka Unification League, Belgaum:

For the first time after his assumption of the Premier ship of Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher paid a visit to Karnataka in the first week of December 1937. Mr. Kher's four days' tour in the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts provided an excellent and long-awaited opportunity to the people of Karnataka to demonstrate to the Head of the popular Ministry the intensity of their feeling on the question of Karnataka's separation. Every city, town, village and hamlet he visited, every address and deputation he received, expressed the imperative necessity for an immediate self-determination of Karnataka. Before this all-important question, other problems receded into the background. In one place Mr. Kher asked: "Have you no local grievances?" to which came the prompt reply, "Yes, Sir, we have many, but today our main demand is Karnataka's separation!"

On every occasion during his 700 miles tour in Karnataka, when he addressed more than 100,000 persons Mr. Kher expressed that he was profoundly impressed by the unanimity of popular demand and promised to accord his whole-hearted support to Karnataka's separation. In

his reply to the Karnataka deputationists and earlier in his interview to Mr. V. B. Kulkarni, Mr. Kher said that he had already got into touch with the Madras Premier in connection with the separation of Andhra and that he would soon send up Karnataka's case to the authorities concerned. By doing so, Mr. Kher will win the abiding gratitude of the Kannada people.

### *Calcutta University Students' Welfare Committee*

The report of the Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University for the year 1937-38 is a record of careful work done during the period. The Committee expresses the opinion that

the survey shows that there has been a perceptible improvement in the physique and health of the students. The average student of 1937 is a larger, a more robust and a more healthy person than the student of 1921. But however welcome this finding may be it must be pointed out that the standard of physical level achieved is still considerably below that for students of Western countries. It merely indicates that the health and physique of the Bengali student can be improved considerably by sustained well organized efforts.

That indication is encouraging.

### *Calcutta University "Career Lectures"*

The University of Calcutta has shown its anxiety for the promotion of the economic interests of our educated classes by making arrangements for the delivery of lectures by competent authorities on the possible commercial, industrial and business careers open to them. Appropriately enough the inaugural lecture was delivered by Sir P. C. Ray, who has been unremitting in his efforts during the last half a century to draw the attention of our educated young men to such careers. That he pointedly referred to the prominent position occupied here by non-Bengalis in the world of trade, commerce, industries and business in general, was meant only to indicate to Bengali young men the avenues of material prosperity existing in Bengal. What he said does credit to the enterprise and business capacity of the non-Bengalis in Bengal.

### *Bengal Momins' Grievances*

According to the Momins (the Muslim weaver and other similar classes) of Bengal in Conference assembled last month, the higher classes of Muslims in the Province do not accord to them the fraternal treatment in social and other matters which Islam enjoins, but monopolize all the advantages which the reformed constitution has placed within the reach of the Muhammadans. This is a serious impeachment of the Muslim middle classes and aristocracy of Bengal.

## Chota-Nagpur Aborigines Conference

The Chota-Nagpur Adibasi Sabha (Aborigines Conference) which met in Ranchi on the 20th January last represents a most important movement. The men and women who attended the Conference numbered some 50,000 according to some estimates. In any case it was a mammoth gathering. It included a large number of women, most of whom wore light-green saris. That the work of the volunteers left nothing to be desired and that the reception committee did its duties efficiently, show the capacity of the Adibasis. The earnestness and enthusiasm of these children of the soil of Chota-Nagpur can be gauged from the fact that many of the delegates walked for days together to reach Ranchi carrying their food and fuel. The flags, festoons and placards inscribed with the words "Separate Chota-Nagpur," "Give us Liberty," "Give us Employment," "Give us a Degree College," etc., indicate what the Adibasis want. The case for constituting Chota-Nagpur into a separate Province is as good as, if not better than that for the other new Provinces already created or to be created.

## No Return of African Colonies to Germany

BOMBAY, JAN. 18.

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to send Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to East Africa in May next to organize a movement among the Indian residents there against the return of the East African colonies to Germany.—A. P.

No better man could have been chosen for the purpose than Sardar Patel.

No Colony should be returned to Germany. At the same time what is mandatory territory now, e.g., Tanganyika, ought not to be amalgamated with any British Colony, e.g., Kenya. Indians receive better treatment in Tanganyika than in Kenya. Self-determination and independence not being within the range of practical politics in the African regions under white domination, the best Government for these areas would be an international administration with the native Africans and the Indian settlers adequately represented in it.

## Tribute to Rammohun Roy

The Foundation Day of Rammohun Roy Library in Calcutta was celebrated on the 28th January last.

Paying eloquent tributes to the life and work of the late Raja Ram Mohun, Sir Manmutha said that they were taking part in a function which was associated with the shallow memory of one of the greatest men the country

has ever produced. While Raja Ram Mohun appreciated in the fullest measure the benefits of Western learning and culture, he retained in himself the culture and religion of his own country. It was he, proceeded Sir Manmutha, who for the first time went out to preach to the Western people the gospel of Indian culture. It was he who made the Western people revise their notions about the people of India, who were looked upon as ignorant, illiterate and uncivilized people.

## Gandhiji On Corruption in the Congress

BOMBAY, JAN. 23.

His attention being drawn to the blatant irregularities in Congress elections and the organized impersonations during the recent elections in Bombay, Gandhiji writes in today's *Hanjan*: "Out of the present condition of the Congress, I see nothing but anarchy and red ruin in front of the country. Shall we face the harsh truth at Topuri?"

"Internal Decay" is the caption of this article, in the course of which Gandhiji draws attention to the increasing indiscipline of Congressmen and says: "Let no Congressman blame me for thinking aloud. Though I am not in the Congress, I have not ceased to be of it."

Rome's decline began long before it fell, he says, but Congress need not fall at all if corruption is handled in time.

## Earthquake Disaster in Chile

As the result of a severe earthquake last month in Chile 10,000 persons are estimated to have been killed in one town alone. Perhaps the total loss of life in the country will exceed 30,000. We deeply sympathise with the people of that country.

## Burma Riots: Situation Improved in Monywa

RANGOON, JAN. 25

The situation in Monywa where three persons were killed and twenty others injured on January 19 as a result of mob violence has much improved. The Military Police are still on duty. Some of the Indians who left the town have now returned.—A. P.

Disturbances continue to occur elsewhere.

## Subhas Chandra Bose Elected Congress President

According to announcements made in the Calcutta morning papers of the 30th January last, Sriji Subhas Chandra Bose has secured 1580 and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya 1377 votes in the Congress presidential election contest. The A. I. C. C. office will announce the results officially after the telegraphic communications of the results have been confirmed by letters. Though the report of the voting in N.-W. F. P. is unofficial, the total votes cast there being only 41, Sriji Bose's distinct majority cannot be affected by any mistake there. The votes

cast for the two candidates in the different provinces are reported to be as follows :

SJ. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE	DR. PATTABHIT SITARAMAYYA
Andhra .. .. 28	Andhra .. .. 181
Bengal .. .. 404	Bengal .. .. 79
Berar .. .. 11	Berar .. .. 21
Burma .. .. 8	Burma .. .. 6
Gujarat .. .. 5	Gujarat .. .. 100
Kerala .. .. 80	Kerala .. .. 18
Panjab .. .. 182	Panjab .. .. 86
Tamil Nad .. .. 110	Tamil Nad .. .. 102
Utkal .. .. 44	Utkal .. .. 99
U. P. .. .. 269	U. P. .. .. 185
Delhi .. .. 10	Delhi .. .. 5
Bihar .. .. 70	Bihar .. .. 197
Maharashtra .. .. 77	Maharashtra .. .. 86
C. P. (Maharatta) .. .. 12	C. P. (Maharatta) .. .. 17
Bombay City .. .. 12	Bombay City .. .. 14
Assam .. .. 34	Assam .. .. 22
Ajmer-Merwara .. .. 20	Ajmer-Merwara .. .. 6
Karnatak .. .. 106	Karnatak .. .. 41
Sind .. .. 13	Sind .. .. 21
N-W F.P. (unofficial) .. .. 18	N-W F.P. (unofficial) .. .. 23
Mahakosal .. .. 67	Mahakosal .. .. 68

## Death of W. B. Yeats

LONDON, Jan. 29

The death has occurred of Mr. W. B. Yeats.

William Butler Yeats, poet, dramatist, critic, essayist, patriot and mystic, was born on June 13, 1865 in Dublin. After finishing high school education, he was for a time an art student, but left art for literature at the age of 21. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1933 and was a Senator of the Irish Free State since 1922.

Yeats epitomised the national life of Ireland in the same way as Tagore does the national life of India. A staunch protagonist of the political aspirations of Ireland, he took a prominent part in the Celtic Revival that was to play an increasingly important part in the ideological background of the Irish freedom movement.

Yeats more than any one else was responsible for making the poetry of Tagore known in the West. It was chiefly due to his enterprise that the first book of English translation of Tagore's poetry was published (Gitanjali, 1912) which fetched the Poet the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913.

## Return of Forfeited Lands in Bardoli

BARDOLI, Jan. 29.

The little village of Varad in the Bardoli Taluka, Surat district, witnessed an impressive ceremony today in connection with the return of the forfeited lands to their original owners. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel attended the function. Ten thousand peasants, men, women and children and a large number of Surat citizens attended the function.

The Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister, Government of Bombay, who was present, announced that all the forfeited lands in the Surat district had now been returned to their original owners.

Mahatma Gandhi addressing the gathering said that, although the occasion was undoubtedly a very auspicious one, he desired to make his audience bear in mind that they should know how to be prepared once again, should the occasion arise, to lose their now restored lands.—A. P.

## British Cabinet Changes

LONDON, Jan. 28.

The following changes in the Government are announced :

Admiral Lord Chatfield, former First Sea Lord of the Admiralty becomes Minister for Co-ordination of Defence, instead of Sir Thomas Inskip.

Sir Thomas Inskip becomes Secretary for Dominions, replacing Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who has held the post jointly with the Colonial Secretaryship since the death of Lord Stanley in October.

Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith becomes Minister for Agriculture in the place of Mr. W. H. Morrison, who has been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Lord Winterton, ex-Chancellor of the Duchy, becomes Paymaster General, relinquishing his seat in the Cabinet. Lord Munster, ex Paymaster-General, succeeds Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, who has resigned.

Mr. Morrison will assist Lord Chatfield and represent him in the House of Commons.

The reconstruction of the Cabinet indicates that Mr. Chamberlain has adopted a new technique in Cabinet-making, as he has brought to the Ministry men who are acknowledged in their own sphere and are experts whose highly trained services cannot fail to be of utmost value.

Mr. Chamberlain gave the first indication of the new technique when he entrusted Sir John Anderson with the task of reorganizing civilian services in Great Britain. Now as Minister for Co-ordination of Defence, the Prime Minister has called upon Lord Chatfield who is regarded perhaps as the leading strategist of the present time.

Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, new Minister of Agriculture, is one of the leading authorities on Agriculture in the House of Commons.

It is regarded as an indication of Government's intention to press ahead with rearmament for defence that Mr. Morrison should be appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with the express task of assisting the Minister for Co-ordination of Defence.

The Cabinet changes apparently dispose of the rumours of an early General Election and it now seems that Mr. Chamberlain will not decide to go to the country until next autumn at the earliest.—Reuter

## Sir T. B. Sapru Denounces Provincialism

Presiding over the annual prize distribution function at the Anglo-Bengali Intermediate College in Allahabad last month, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru vigorously and effectively denounced the spirit of provincialism.

Sir Tej Bahadur at the outset paid handsome tributes to the services which the Bengali community had rendered to the United Provinces. Bengalis, he said, had indeed been torch-bearers of learning and enlightenment. Everywhere in India no Bengali should be treated as a "foreigner." He was very sorry for the controversy about Bengalis in the neighbouring province. It was a sad reflection on our nationalism. Thousands of Bengalis had settled in U. P. and he considered them as good citizens of U. P. as any U. P. man. Sir Tej Bahadur deprecated the attempt to divide people of India into separate compartments. "I no more look upon Bengalis as foreigners than I would allow anybody to treat me as a foreigner in this province" (loud cheers).

Proceeding, Sir Tej Bahadur said that it was not considered desirable for an "old fogie like myself" to offer any advice to the students, but he would advise them to maintain discipline and not to consider themselves already as grown-up men. The more he pondered over the growing indiscipline among the students, the more sad he was. Students who went about shouting were dissipating their energies. They were not broadening but circumscribing the limits of liberty.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru laid stress on the necessity of physical culture.

### *Gandhiji Against Congress Non-Intervention in States*

BARDOLI, JAN 24

The Congress policy of non-intervention would be cowardice when there was an all round awakening among the people of the States, said Mahatma Gandhi in an interview with "The Times of India" today.

Mr. Gandhi added that the Congress would be neglecting its duty if, having the power, it shrank from using it and allowed the spirit of the people of a State, to be crushed from want of support from the Congress.

This is the gesture which the States' people expected. It will put new spirit into them.

### *Congress Leaders' Secretive Mentality*

Among the matters discussed at the last Bardoli session of the Congress Working Committee was Mahatma Gandhi's "Instrument of Instructions" to the Congress Ministries relating to the Congress policy toward the minorities in general and the Muhammadans in particular, which was presumably approved by the Committee. But it was given out that the Committee had decided not to publish this Instrument. Why?

The agenda of the Bardoli session of the Committee included another item, viz., the attitude of the Congress towards the British-devised Indian Federation. Was it discussed? If so, with what result? If not, why? In the recent controversy relating to the Congress presidential election, much was said about the Rightist and Leftist attitude towards federation, but no reference was made to the discussion, if any, on the subject at Bardoli.

The secrecy complex is not democratic.

### *Nationhood A Political Concept*

In the course of his Hindu Mahasabha presidential address Srijut V. D. Savarkar said that "the Hindus are the nation in India and the Moslems a minority." The Hindus no doubt form the majority of the nation, but they are not the whole of it. The political entity

known as the Indian nation includes the Indian Muhammadans, the Indian Christians, the Indian Jews, etc., also.

### *The Refugees of Talcher*

Talcher is a small Orissa State with a population of only 70,000. Owing to misrule there some 32,000 people have fled from it and taken refuge in the neighboring British-ruled district of Angul. The reason why they left the State will be understood from what they said to Srijut A. V. Thakkar and Prof. N. G. Ranga.

When asked by Mr. Thakkar, they are reported to have said:

They could no longer bear the atrocities of the State police and officers. They were prepared to starve themselves and be buried in Angul, rather than go back to the State.

The refugees said to Prof. Ranga:

When their women were being molested, harassed and even raped, their ear-rings and nose-rings forcibly snatched away, thereby tearing away their earlobes and nostrils, how could they tarry to think of their love for ancestral villages? When their crops were being either attached and grain taken away or spoiled, their grain in the houses, jewellery and small sums of money available were looted and their cattle and even lands confiscated, what else was there for them to hang on to?

The conditions in which these people have to live in Angul are thus described by Mr. Thakkar:

The campers are living in small low huts, walls and roofs being made of small twigs with leaves of 'sal' and 'pissal' trees which abound in the jungles of Angul. The protection from sun and cold is very meagre, but that is the best type of hut they could improvise under the circumstances. When the leaves dry up and are blown away in the course of three or four weeks, they bring new twigs with leaves and renovate their huts.

Their water supply is very scanty, wells being deep and rock-bottomed. At present dirty water of small tanks is consumed by them, in one case from a distance of 4½ furlongs, but the tanks will dry up in a month or two, and then they do not know where to go for water. Even at present there are a few cases of diarrhoea and as water gets more dirty in the tanks cholera is very likely to make its appearance.

Even in the camps of over 12,000 souls (I would call them towns) there is not a single medical man to attend to them. A doctor stationed at Chandpada, eight miles from each of them, is expected to attend to their medical wants and also attend to sanitation and vaccination, in addition to his ordinary duties. He has no additional medicines supplied to him by the Medical Department for the two towns that have grown up lately, as if by magic.

With their limited resources neither the people nor the Government of Orissa can give adequate relief to these refugees. The whole of India should come to their rescue.

## EMERSON'S CONCORD

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

"I LIKE to close my eyes and see Old Concord—the mill dam, the Wright Tavern, the rather busy business blocks, the Green and the trees beyond, the little river, the patriarchal figure of Mr. Alcott with his white hair, Miss Louise driving about in her wicker pony carriage with its white horse, Miss Ellen Emerson riding sidewise, with billowing skirts, on her donkey, Hawthorne walking meditatively along the street, Thoreau talking with a friend, and Emerson, with his tall and slightly stooping figure, a shawl about his shoulders, waiting patiently in line with the rest at the post-office wicket, looking as I imagine Dante looked on the streets of Florence." So wrote a young woman from Washington who visited Concord in 1878.

The literary associations of Concord are not its only claim to fame. Perhaps no one of the smaller towns of New England, unless it be Plymouth, is more significantly related to early American history. It was settled only fifteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, and the visitor to Concord is shown the spot where stood the ancient oak, known as Jethro's Tree, under the branches of which the first English settlers bought from the Indians six square miles of land forming the Concord Plantation. The locations of the first dwellings in this settlement and of the first Meeting House are still pointed out.

Concord early became a center of educational and political influence. The first Provincial Congress was held here in 1774, presided over by John Hancock. In anticipation of the Revolution large quantities of military supplies were stored in Concord as a safer place than Boston; and it was the attempt of the British, coming out from Boston, to capture and destroy these, that caused the first bloodshed of the revolutionary struggle. The modern visitor is shown the battleground. Wright's Tavern, occupied by the British, and later by Washington, may still be visited. In 1775, Harvard College was temporarily removed from Cambridge to Concord, to be farther from the British headquarters in Boston.

When Ralph Waldo Emerson settled in Concord it was a typical old-time New England village, such as were commonly the outgrowth of early American life in that region,—a type which for nearly two centuries remained essentially unchanged, until the advent of railroads

and factories. With its gentle, winding river and its wooded hills, Concord offered surroundings of peaceful beauty for a quiet, simple and independent life. Several generations of Emerson's ancestors had lived here and this doubtless added to its attractions for him. Soon after coming to make his home in the village we find him writing in his journal, not without some emotion: "Hail to the quiet fields of my fathers!" He had many happy boyhood memories of Concord, too, when he had enjoyed nothing better than going out there from Boston, with his brother, to visit at good Dr. Ripley's where they could run wild in the pastures and woods and swim in Walden Pond.

Though Boston was his birthplace and childhood home, Emerson came to feel that the city was not the place where he wished to spend his life. An entry in his journal while he still lived there showed how his wishes and plans for his future were tending away from the city. "I am by nature a poet," he wrote, "and therefore must live in the country." It was this deep impulse in him that found expression in his poem "Goodbye, proud World" which was written several years before he left Boston.

"Goodbye, proud world! I'm going home;  
Thou art not my friend, and I'm not thine.  
Long through thy dreary crowds I roam:  
A river ark on the ocean brine,  
I've been tossed like the driven foam;  
But now, proud world, I'm going home.  
  
O, when I am safe in my sylvan home,  
I tread on the pride of Greece and Rome;  
And when I am stretched beneath the pines,  
Where the evening star so holy shines,  
I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,  
At the sophist schools and the learned clan;  
For what are they all in their high conceit,  
When man in the bush with God may meet?"

Although he could speak of the city with a fine poetic scorn, yet he must have been aware that the vocation he was choosing for himself,—that of a writer and lecturer—was dependent upon city contacts, so, in selecting Concord for his country home, he was doubtless influenced by the fact that it was only twenty miles from Boston. Yet it was in the midst of real country,—a region of hills and valleys, fields, deep woods, running streams, ponds and small lakes, orchards, herds of grazing cattle, rich bird life, and wild flowers. There were glimpses of distant mountains and opportunities for endless

quiet walks and for solitude such as poets and thinkers love.

How happy and content Emerson was in his choice of Concord as his home is shown by many entrances in his Journal. Here is one: "If God gave me my choice of the whole planet or my little farm, I should certainly take my farm." This he wrote after he had had fifteen years of paying taxes, of fetching in wood in his arms to feed the fires of his house, and of struggling in vain to root the chickweed and witch-grass out of his garden.

His essay called "Concord Walks" begins as follows: "When I bought my farm, I did not know what a bargain I had in the bluebirds, bobolinks and thrushes, which were not charged in the bill; as little did I guess what sublime mornings and sunsets I was buying—what reaches of landscape, and what fields and lanes for a tramp . . . Still less did I know what good and true neighbors I was buying, men of thought and virtue, some of them now known the country through for their learning or subtlety, or active or patriotic power . . . ; and other men not known widely but known at home, farmers, doctors not of laws but doctors of land, skilled in turning a swamp or a sandbank into a fruitful field and, where witch-grass and nettles grew, causing a forest of apple trees or miles of corn and rye to thrive.

"I did not know what groups of interesting school boys and fair school girls were to greet me on the highway, and to take hold of one's heart at the School Exhibitions"

His farm consisted at first of two acres of land, just a little out of the main part of the village, with a well-built, roomy house and a small barn. Later he added other acres, thus gaining not only a garden, but an orchard, pasture for a horse and cow, and most glorious of all, a grove of noble pines on a high bluff beside Walden Pond, with a view over its waters and over many miles of country beyond.

Such were the externals of his Concord paradise. Sharing it with him were a most excellent wife, and four dearly loved children, three of whom were his joy all his life. The death of the fourth one, a singularly bright boy, at the age of five years, inflicted upon his father perhaps the sharpest sorrow of his life.

The home was one of security, quietness, affection, unselfishness, mutual regard of all its inmates for one another's interests, hospitality to friends and neighbors, interest in all good causes, open-hearted and open-handed generosity to the poor and the suffering. Oliver Wendell Holmes closes his book on Emerson

with these words: "If He, who knew what was in man, had wandered from door to door in New England, as of old in Palestine, we can well believe that one of the thresholds which those blessed feet would have crossed, to hallow and receive its welcome, would have been that of the lovely and quiet home of Emerson."

Emerson's experiment in gardening did not yield him roses alone;—with the roses there were some rather sharp thorns. Here is one of his descriptions of gardening when its discouraging side looms large: "With brow bent, with firm intent, the pale scholar leaves his desk to draw a freer breath and get a juster statement of his thought in the garden-walk. He stoops to pull up a purslain or a dock that is choking the young corn, and finds there are two; close behind the last is a third; he reaches out his hand to a fourth, behind that are four thousand and one. He is heated and untuned, and by and by wakes up from his idiot dream of chickweed and red-root to remember his morning thought and to find that with his adamantine purposes he has been duped by a dandelion."

Often, in his Journal, we find him laughing at himself for his ignorance of gardening and telling humorous anecdotes about his mistakes in farming methods, but, on the other hand, insisting on the renewal of hope and courage, the quickening of his whole life, physical, intellectual and moral, which he gets from his hoe, his pruning knife, his hayfield and his wood-lot. Here is one such passage from his Journal: "I know of no manner of calming the fret and perturbation into which sitting and too much reading, writing and talking bring me, so perfect as physical labor. My garden yields me sanity and self-control. My hoe, as it bites the ground, revenges my wrongs, and I have less heart to bite my enemies. I confess I work sometimes with some venom, and expend a little unnecessary strength. But, by smoothing the rough hillocks, I smooth my temper; by extracting the long roots of the grass, I draw out my own splinters; and in a short time I can bear the bobolinks sing and see the blessed deluge of light and color that rolls around me." In one of his poems he declares: "All my burrs my garden spade can heal."

Although Emerson disliked crowds and loved to be alone, whether strolling in the woods, or working at his desk,—yet he was not by nature a recluse. He prized friends and enjoyed his Concord neighbors. With those of them who had gardens or fruit orchards he liked to discuss new varieties of vegetables and best methods of fertilizing, trimming and graft-



ing apple and pear trees. In his walks in the village it was by no means an unusual thing to see him stop before the open doors of a blacksmith shop and watch the smith shoeing a horse, admiring and praising his skill; or, in his walks in the country, leaning over a fence to talk with the farmer about his plowing or his crops.

He took great pleasure in the town-meetings. He saw in them the strength and safety of New England. He felt that in this institution the problem is solved of how to give every individual his full weight in the government. "Here," he declared, "the rich give good counsel, but the poor do also. It is an everlasting testimony of man's capacity for self-government." His son says of him, "He sat among his neighbors and watched the plain men of the town manage their affairs with the courage of their convictions, seldom taking part in the debate and then with great hesitancy and modesty, and then came home to praise the eloquence and strong good sense of his neighbors." In his Journal we find this entry: "At the town meeting last night I was greatly impressed with the leaders. Four of those who spoke would have satisfied me if I had been in Boston or Washington."

Of no class of his neighbors does he speak with a heartier admiration than of farmers, whom he describes as "stalwart fellows, deep-chested, long-winded, tough, slow and sure." His enthusiasm rises to its crest in his picture of "the all round New England boy who learns to do everything,—who teams it, farms it, peddles, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, and buys a township."

For a number of years Emerson was manager of the village Lyceum, using his influence to induce prominent speakers to give lectures, and often entertaining the lecturers at his own home. Each winter he himself gave one lecture and sometimes two or three. The whole number that he delivered before lyceums during his Concord life was exactly one hundred.

In 1835, when the town celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of its settlement, he delivered the historical address. On all sorts of important and public occasions he was the person almost invariably chosen to preside or to speak, everybody feeling that he always said "the right word."

Emerson and his family were associated with the Concord Unitarian Church, of which his grandfather and great-grandfather had been pastors. He served on the Concord school committee and in the village fire company. He belonged to the Concord Social Club. Of this

last group which met on Tuesday evenings through the winter, he writes as follows in his Journal: "Much the best society I have ever known is a Club in Concord called 'The Social Club,' consisting always of twenty-five of our citizens—doctors, lawyers, farmers, traders, millers, mechanics, etc.—solides of men, who yield the solides of gossip. Harvard University is a wafer compared with the solid land which my friends represent. I do not like to be absent from home on Tuesday evening in winter."

It was Emerson's custom to take long afternoon walks, sometimes alone, sometimes with companions,—Henry Thoreau, Ellery Channing the poet, or a chance visitor. It is the universal testimony that he never conversed so well as on these walks with others. When no congenial companion was at hand, he was equally content to walk alone. Here is his own description of such solitary jaunts: "It is a hot July day. I put on my old clothes and my old hat and slink away to the whortleberry bushes and slip with the greatest satisfaction into a little cow-path where I am sure I can defy observation. This point gained, I solace myself for hours with picking blue-berries and other trash of the woods, far from fame, behind the birch trees. I seldom enjoy hours as I do these. I remember them in winter, I look forward to them in Spring." In his Journal he tells us that while he had always counted himself a lover of nature and had always been fond of reading books of outdoor life and adventure, yet he had never known what the country really was until he had a home there,—what Nature really meant until he went to Concord to live with her, to be her companion, friend, student, lover, in all seasons, in sunshine and storm, day and night. All things became new to him,—grass, flowers, meadows, streams, birds, insects, sunrises and sunsets, night skies. The splendid, ever-changing, ever-wonderful world of Nature entered into him, became a part of him as never before, adding new joy to his life, and new freshness, depth, insight and power to his thinking and writing. It may well be that had he stayed in Boston where city conventions and house-fronts could limit his horizon, his universe would have been less splendid, his thought less fresh, the wings of his spirit less strong and daring.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's last resting place is in the beautiful Sleepy Hollow Cemetery of Concord. There under sprading Concord elms he lies, among his neighbors and friends whom he loved, Hawthorne, Thoreau, the Alcotts, the Channings, and those lesser folk who also filled an important place in his Concord life.

## EARLY DAYS AT SRINIKETAN

By L. K. ELMHIRST

IN the business world we are accustomed, at the end of each year, to take stock and to draw up the balance sheet of our enterprise. We budget for the future on the basis of our past experience. This anniversary occasion offers us a similar opportunity to look back and examine the past in the light of the principles we learnt when we studied here at Santiniketan or Sriniketan, and, in the light of our findings, to do a little more careful planning of the future. Have these principles served us in our day-to-day activities in the world outside, and, when times have been difficult, what sort of anchorage have they offered us in troubled waters? Or did a poet's vision of what might be remain for us only a crazy dream?

I have tried to look back and do a little stock-taking and, though the balance sheet must remain a private matter, the process has reminded me of certain historical factors in the

long been an ambition of mine to visit India, and I went to an English friend, the late Mr. K. J. Saunders, and asked him the names of one or two books to read before sailing. One was a book by a Mr. Charles Andrews and the other, *Gitanjali* by Rabindranath Tagore. These two books only served to increase my desire to explore the wealth of the East at first hand. I never met either of the authors until six years later. My first year I spent in the Deccan, where I came to know Mr. Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Marathi poet, then for a year I was in Mesopotamia and, on being invalided back to India in 1917, I joined Mr. Lionel Curtis as his Secretary for a few months. He was busy at that time working out his scheme of dyarchy for India, a scheme which, ultimately, was with little change embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Act and passed by Parliament in 1920.

During my first month in India in 1915 I had the good fortune to meet Mr. Swamidas, who under the Y. M. C. A. was then experimenting in a number of villages in Madras with the Raftissen System of Co-operative Credit as a method of extending to the cultivator the means for helping himself. My own interest in the land and its problems, more especially those of India, was further aroused by Dr. Harold Mann of Poona and by Mr. Sam Higginbotham for whom I worked at Allahabad and who recommended me when the war was over to seek a practical training in agricultural science at Cornell University in America. At an All-India Conference of agricultural specialists which I attended late in 1917 in Poona, these two men were almost alone in appealing to the Government to watch the interests of the Indian cultivator and his need for scientific services and not solely the needs and requirements of the planter.

On Mr. Higginbotham's advice, when the war was over, I took a job in a boat going to New York and then for two years as a student at Cornell University earned my board and lodging either by washing dishes, or by teaching, or by working as a farm labourer in vacations, whilst I studied agricultural science and economics.



Mr. L. K. Elmhirst (centre), Pandit Kshatimohan Sen (right) and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee at Santiniketan  
(Photo: P. Ray Chaudhury)

background of the early days of Sriniketan which may be of interest to you

Whilst finishing my course in history at Cambridge in 1915, I received an invitation to come to India and work in a civilian capacity with the newly arrived territorial army. It had

At the age of 28 it was no simple matter to turn student again and at times I used to grow despondent over the future and wonder whether my dream of returning to India would ever materialise. In the back of my mind I had always wondered whether Santiniketan was not the place where such research as I wanted to undertake would perhaps be possible. I knew nobody there, but I was quite decided that neither in Government service nor under the missionary auspices I had experienced was I likely to find the kind of atmosphere or of facilities for which I was looking.

Imagine my astonishment therefore when one morning in the spring of 1921 I opened a telegram which read, "Come and see me in New York, Rabindranath Tagore." I had no idea that the Poet had ever heard of me. In his characteristic way he ended our first conversation by saying, "Come back with me to India to-morrow." I stayed to finish my course and after getting a degree sailed for India in September 1921, helped in my project by Mrs. Willard Straight, whom I married in 1925.

At first I urged the Poet to let me learn Bengali, but he was in a hurry for work to begin. On February 5, 1922, fourteen of us, with our kit, set out in a Ford lorry, driven by Alu, to Surul, to take over the old engineer's house, the ruin of the old railway shed and the garden and farm, then given over to malaria, monkeys and mosquitoes. The Poet sent with me ten students, who said they would like to try to be farmers and as staff, Santo-h Majumdar and Kalimohan Ghose. It was some years later that the Santiniketan staff told me of the difficulties they had had with those same students until Surul took them off their hands.

From the outset we had two main objectives, to survey the economic, social and scientific needs of the cultivator in his home, village and fields and secondly to try out our own laboratory experiments in health, education, craft, cultivation and animal husbandry. "Sir" I can remember the students saying that first night, "we have dug the trenches and arranged the latrine buckets for the morning, but where is our sweeper?" Together in the morning we emptied the buckets and were encouraged to learn that the Poet had the same day shared the same office with us in his own garden. Always he was at hand to discuss new problems as they arose, to give a lead. At his suggestion the girls in the school were to be given a chance to work their own gardens. Objections were raised by the staff. I can still see Gurudev armed with an axe and the girls with spades

clearing the jungle for the first plot. That is sixteen years ago.

For fourteen years now under your own leadership you have carried on this research and experiment into the social, educational, economic and scientific problems of village life and, though the work has grown beyond my recognition, the old principles we learnt from the Poet remain the same and, as I believe, would apply not only to the whole of rural India but to most of the rest of the world as well.

When the Poet took Dr Kaldas Nag, Nandalal Bose, Kshitimohan Sen and myself to China, we had occasion to visit the Soviet Ambassador in Peking. The Poet tried to explain the principles of this village work, and how after trying them out intensively in a few villages he hoped the people of India would see the need to apply them on a much wider basis. The Ambassador then explained to us that one of the benefits of the Revolution in Russia was the fact that overnight it had been possible to spread certain blessings from one end of Russia to the other. Some years later another Soviet Ambassador, discussing the rural problem of the U. S. S. R., told me that one of the great drawbacks of a revolution was that so many reforms were put over in such a hurry without sufficient thought that much of the work had to be done all over again with considerable waste and delay as a result. "How fortunate you are," he said, "to be able to try out your experiments on a small scale and slowly to discover the right principles before attempting application on a wide scale."

It is some of these same principles that we learnt from the Poet that we have been trying out in Devonshire at Darlington Hall since 1925. I do not want to attempt to describe that experiment but rather to finish by trying to restate after some years of trial and error a few of those basic principles that we learnt from the Poet and by practice at Sriniketan.

There were plenty of people in those days who laughed at us as merely *chāshās*, as pursuers of an expensive hobby which would not last, or who accused us of taking up another Poet's toy. The crazy toys of poets so often seem to have a significance which we fail to recognise until it is too late.

First and foremost was the Poet's emphasis upon the need for a fundamental respect for and readiness to appreciate the individual, whether aboriginal Santhal, outcast Muchi, man, woman, boy or girl. This may sound like a platitude but, there were in those days any

number of "bhadralog" and British government officials who could, from their first approach, be guaranteed to upset and insult any villager they came across, and in looking for staff for the village reconstruction work we found but a bare handful of workers who could be counted upon to give the villager the feeling that he was going to be not merely respected but appreciated as an individual and as a person with an experience of life of value for its own sake.

This principle of respect for the individual and of refusal to impose upon him some system we may think good for him seems to me basic in the whole approach of Santi and Sriniketan to education, to extension work, and to life.

As each sunrise and sunset gives us some new scenic effect at the opening and close of the day, so a Poet's mind, filled with creative imagination and long-sighted vision seems to regard each day as a challenge to us to engage in some new experiment with life. It is as if he was forever asking us the question, what is life for if not for experiment and new creation. In sending this lorry load of amateurs to Surul the Poet was not only applying this principle of experiment, but was taking, I am still inclined to think, a much bigger gamble than usual. I doubt whether he will ever learn the prosaic caution of the everyday world. I hope not.

The third principle is only perhaps a natural outcome of the first two. If life is to be treated as a creative experiment and if every individual is to be respected, then there is no process in life that must not come up for imaginative treatment, for scientific check and measurement or for periodical spring cleaning by somebody, preferably a poet.

Into our wholly compartmentalised world, docketed, labelled and pigeon-holed, the Poet casts his synthetic ideas of Visva-Bharati and Sriniketan and claimed them as natural and logical additions to his existing school. Who ever heard of the older Universities of Europe actually going into the business world and operating commercial enterprises as part of their daily function? Masters of Arts the West and the East turn out in thousands, but of what kind of Arts, and how many of them have really mastered the training of feeling and the development of the imagination and of the senses through actual experience of drama, music, dance and design, as the science labora-

tory disciplines and trains the reason and the intellect? How were life or education to be or to become whole without access to as wide a pattern and field of experience in the Arts as possible, experience not just of a bookish and intellectual kind, of lectures, but of a rich cultivation of all the senses and of the inner centres of consciousness?

The word capitalist still denote to us the idea of exploitation of human beings and of unlimited profit-taking at the expense of the employee and the public. The Poet never hesitated in advising us to launch some new business enterprise if he thought there was a good enough human, social and economic reason for it. How else, he would say, was the world of commerce to be civilized than by bringing intelligent and sensitive minds to work upon it and in it?

In the building of the Sriniketan industries the disciplines of trade and economics have worked as a very proper check upon the overflowing idealism of our early days. Vague goodwill, sentiment and enthusiasm are fairly cheap and plentiful commodities on the market and, if money is available, they get free play for a time but so often they land us only in discouragement and waste. When success in their application has to be measured in exact terms of human betterment, of the raising of the standard of living of a poverty-stricken people, of economic, social, artistic and psychological progress, the wastage today of much well intentioned but ill directed human effort in the social and political fields becomes only too apparent.

To respect the individual, to treat each day as a new opportunity for some creative experiment, to look upon the whole of life and all its processes as the natural play-ground for human art and scientific measurement, these habits of mind I learnt to appreciate from your Founder-President, and, fail as one is bound to do, lacking that strength and poise that seem to come to him from his inner certainty of vision and of the meaning to life, I can never be too grateful for the opportunity he gave me to draw upon his inspiration during those four years at Sriniketan. I should like to thank you for your kindness in inviting me to return and to share with the alumni some of my past experience on this anniversary day.

Speech of Mr. L. K. Elmhirst on December 23, 1938, at the Old Boys' Gathering in the Mango Grove at Sriniketan, kindly written out by himself at our request.

## PEARL BUCK AND THE GOOD EARTH

By HARIPRASAD CHATTERJI, B.T., DIP. SP. ENG.

[Pearl Buck, the celebrated American authoress, wins the Nobel Prize for literature, 1938. Her book, "The Good Earth," a novel of Chinese life and manners, written in 1927, published in 1931, and chosen for distribution by the Book-of-the-Mouth Club, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in America, and for more than a year was the leading best seller in fiction.]

PEARL SYDENSTRIKER BUCK was born at Hillsboro, West Virginia, June 26, 1892. She comes of a well-known Virginia missionary stock and her father was working in the Interior City of Yochow, China. There she spent her childhood and also at Chinkiang on the Yangtze. She was taken to China at a very early age, and except for occasional trips with her husband to her ancestral home and for the few years when she attended Randolph-Macou College, after making the trip to Virginia via Europe, Mrs. Buck has always lived in China, which is really "home" to her. She knows as no other foreigner has known, the genius of this prehistoric seat of Oriental civilization and the lives of the men and women and children who live there. A Chinese by self-adoption, with the subtle quicksilver wit and sleight of imagination inherited from the land of her forefathers, she has lived in the midst of famine and handits, and in communities where she was the only white woman. For a while she taught English at Nanking University, but she preferred to continue to be a student, a student untrammelled by academic discipline of the Chinese people and their changing civilization, which she depicts so vividly in her writing. Her works include the following:

*Fast Wind: West Wind*, 1930;  
*East and West and The Novel: Sources of The Early Chinese Novel*, 1930;  
*The Good Earth*, 1931;  
*The Young Revolutionist*, 1932;  
*Sons*, 1932;  
*Is There a Case for Foreign Missions?*, 1932;  
*The First Wife and her Stories*, 1933;  
*All Men Are Brothers* (translation from Chinese), 1933;

with the family for 18 years. This psychologically accounts to a not inconsiderable degree for the romantic tint traceable in her Chinese novels. Never was a novelist more able to bring his or her figures into perfect relation with their background, a complete weaving of character, sentiment and environment. Though famous elsewhere Mrs. Buck was, so far, unfortunately an almost unknown name in India. Hence this attempt to limn her as a novelist, dipping our pen freely into *The Good Earth*, to colour her portraiture.

*The Good Earth* is the history of the lives of a family of Chinese peasants. This, together with the subsequent novels, *Sons* and *A House*



Pearl S. Buck

on the weaknesses, the foibles, the virtues of this time-honoured race. She is naively pathetic, but she is never bitter against these, *her own* people. It would be wrong to call it fiction, for the word has a vague romantic sense in common parlance. It would be equally wrong to classify it with Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* and such stuff, with colourful reports of amateur tourists, or with cursory reviews of unassimilated and ill-assorted blends of fact and fiction such as flow from the pen of versatile Civil Service men spending a few years of manhood in the Far East. Mrs. Buck does not belong to that class of novelists who create and people worlds of their own so that one approaches their characters with amusement, admiration or contempt, not with liking or pity; she never injects into her creatures her personal and exaggerated characteristics.

Consider this picture of an ordinary Chinese city where rags and riches lie together in poignant contrast. Wang Lung was driven to seek refuge here because his land was barren under a rainless sky. From famine he came into the opulence of the city, he, his wife and children and aged father, to winning a hard living by sheer exertion of the limbs :

"Clinging thus to the outskirts of the great, sprawling, opulent city, it seemed that at least there could not be any lack of food . . . Here in the city there was food everywhere. The cobbled streets of the fish market were lined with great baskets of big, silver fish, caught in the night out of the teeming river; with tubs of small shrimps, dipped out of a net east over a pool, with heaps of yellow crabs, squirming and nipping in peevish astonishment; with writhing eels for gourmards at the feast; and at the grain markets there were such baskets of grain that a man might step into them and sink and smother and none knew it who did not see it, white rice and brown, and dark-yellow wheat and pale gold wheat, and yellow soy beans and red beans and green broad beans, and canary-coloured millet, and grey sesame. And at the meat markets whole hogs hung by their necks, split open the length of their great bodies to show the red meat and the layers of goodly fat, the skin soft and thick and white. And in the duck shops hung row upon row, over the ceilings and in the doors, the brown baked ducks, that had been turned slowly on a spit before coals, and the white salted ducks, and the strings of duck gizzards; and with shops that sold geese and pheasant and every kind of fowl.

"As for vegetables, there was every kind which the hand of man could coax from the soil; glittering red radishes and white, hollow lotus root and taro, green eggplants and celery, curling bean sprouts and brown chestnuts and garnishes of fragrant cress. There was nothing which the appetite of man might desire that was not to be found upon the streets of the markets of that city. And going hither and thither were the vendors of sweet sweets and fruits and nuts of hot delicacies of sweet potatoes browned in sweet oils and little delicately spiced balls of pork wrapped in dough and stained, and sugar cakes made from glutinous rice; and the children of the city ran out to the vendors of these things with their

hands full of pennies and they bought and they ate until their skins glistened with sugar and oil."

Mark the accurate marshalling of details, facts piled upon facts, photographing of real life which is made all the more real, more vivid and much more throbbing but not less life-like by being subjected to the vision of a poet; for none but a poet can see into the heart of the commonplace and banal. And in between the lines there runs a subtle vein of righteous indignation. This will be more apparent from the following excerpt

In the village where Wang lived and which he was forced to abandon, people ate grass and clods of earth, because the crops had failed; whereas in cities

"men laboured all day at the baking of breads and cakes for feasts for the rich, and children laboured from dawn to midnight and slept all greasy and grimed as they were upon rough pallets on the floor and staggered to the ovens next day, and there was not money enough given them to buy a piece of the rich breads they made for others. And men and women laboured at the cutting and contriving of heavy furs for the spring and at thick brocaded silks, to cut and shape them into sumptuous robes for the ones who ate of the profusion at the markets, and they themselves snatched a bit of coarse blue cotton cloth and sewed it hastily together to cover their bareness."

Which recalls to our minds Hood's equally heart-rending picture of a skeleton in rags 'sewing at once with a double thread a shroud as well as a shirt' Which further reminds us of Upton Sinclair's stinging passages where he lays bare the horrors of a Chicago canned-meat factory. The effect is everywhere the same. But where one pours his wrath through the megaphone of a demagogue, and the other touches us to the quick by direct appeals to the hidden springs of pity and love, Mrs. Buck moves us by her artless persuasiveness and gentle womanliness. Charles Dickens, the great champion of the unwashed millions held up the foibles and cruelties of his countrymen to scorn and public ridicule. Mrs. Buck not only shares these feelings of pity and scorn but mixes with them a greater dose of sympathy for the disinherited which is characteristic of the softer sex. But scratch her childish vestment and neo-fatalistic attitude, and you will find the red banner of revolution rearing its crest in proud disdain. She identifies herself with Wang and his suffering family; she identifies herself with the spirit of famine-ridden China :

"With food spilling out of the markets, with the streets of the silk shops flying brilliant banners of black and red and orange silk to announce their wares, with rich men clothed in satin and in velvet, soft fleshed rich men with their skin covered with garments of silk and their hands like flowers for softness and perfume and the

beauty of idleness, with all of these for the regal beauty of the city, in that part where Wang Lung lived there was not food enough to feed savage hunger, and not clothes enough to cover bones."

So much for her sympathy with the down and out. We now turn another leaf of this amazing book. An interesting sidelight is thrown on the position of women in China. Speaking elsewhere<sup>1</sup> of this problem Mrs. Buck hinted that the Chinese are not over-sexed or sensual. May be it is because sex has been accepted as an inevitable force in their lives and without reason or repression, normal as food or drink. Early marriage readily solves the painful enigma of self-control for young ones. Here every child even understands about sex. No fuss is made over it. In this respect they are morally healthier than the Western people. Once a girl is married she has no identity of her own. She becomes a parcel of her husband's household. O-lan's whole life is one continuous sacrifice of self. It is the alpha of a married woman's function—"slave" is therefore the word commonly used for girls. The husband may even bring a concubine into the very home where his lawful wife is slaving for his every material comfort. Nowhere is this tragic absurdity more pathetically exposed than in the words of the dying O-lan, the brief, broken, delirious words reminiscent of her early slave-life and stirring in their mournful appeal:

"I will bring the meat to the door only—and well I know I am ugly and cannot appear before the great lord— And again she said pining, 'Do not beat me—and I will never eat of the dish again—' and she said over and over, 'My father—my mother—my father—my mother—' and again and again, 'well I know I am ugly and cannot be loved.'"

Only a scrap of her talk is preserved and that is enough.

Like Tolstoy, the author of *The Good Earth* can create a character in so few words, she can make the manner of a man's or a woman's thought so quickly intelligible, she makes her people so violently alive, that each one crosses and re-crosses our mind long after the chapter is finished.

The reasons for her attaining the very peak of excellence are not far to seek. In the first place, we observe that here, unlike the author of *Esmond*, the creator is altogether forgotten in the world of her creation. Critically, of course, we know that this is impossible, that this non-self-intrusion is the result of judicious thought and wise selection of facts; but the apparent

effect is that the creator is not there at all, there is nothing to reveal to us the undraped hand of the conjurer. Here we are only watching a scene at close quarters, the drama occupies us, and nothing else.

Another illustration to clear the point. This moving scene describes Wang Lung, now father and grand-father of a riotous brood, bent with age, but withal, always conscious of the blood of his sun-baked ancestors in his veins, a proud champion of 'the bold peasantry, the country's pride,' prophesying doom for his posterity if it were divorced from land. One day as he overheard the conversation of his two sons about selling the land and dividing the money,

"he cried out and could not keep his voice from breaking and trembling with anger: 'Now, evil, idle sons—sell the land?'—and he choked and would have fallen, and they caught him and held him up, and he began to weep . . . 'It is the end of a family—when we begin to sell the land. Out of the land we came and into it we must go—and if your will hold your land you can live—no one can rob you of land—' And the old man let his scanty tears dry upon his cheeks and they made salty stains there. And he stopped and took up a handful of the soil and he held it and he muttered: 'If you sell the land, it is the end.'"

Henchard is more poignant and balanced in adversity, yet he is a portion of Hardy; Gabriel Oak has all the complexities of a civilised man living in a modern city; Esmond has enough affectation to mark him off as an *alien*, a something which does not happen in the ordinary course of things; but Wang Lung and his family soar higher than all other characters in fiction, not only because of the naked candidness which characterizes them, but also because of the peculiar artlessness with which the author invests their movements. Mrs. Buck wrote in her autobiography:

"My chief pleasure and interest has always been people, and since I live among Chinese, then Chinese people. When I am asked what they are like I do not know. They are not this and that, but people. I cannot describe them any more than I can my own blood kin. I am too near them and have shared too closely their lives."

She dislikes all those writings about the Chinese which make them strange and outlandish and the greatest ambition of her life is 'to make the people in my books as real as they are to me if I can.' Will it be too much to say that she has been able to realize her life's ambition? Not many geniuses in the realm of letters rose to such heights as she has risen, as, for instance, Wordsworth rose in *Michael*, Shakespeare in *King Lear* and *The Tempest*, Defoe in *Robinson Crusoe*.

1. Mrs. Buck's article 'China and the Foreign Chinese' in *The Yale Review*, Connecticut, Spring 1932.

It is her artless simplicity and choice of phraseology, the rhythm of sentences and words chosen, that succeed in overcoming the reader's tendency to disbelief, just as Orpheus' lyre tamed the wild Cerberus into a fawning lapdog. Her triumph is the triumph of style wedded to truth and reality."

Is the success of the book then solely due to these dramatic descriptions of reality? Hardly. Every clever novelist uses two methods, the dramatic or scenic way, and picture-making, with inclinations, as the occasion demands, to one or the other. Fielding, Balzac, George Eliot incline to the second device, Tolstoy or Dostoevsky and to some extent Galsworthy to the first. Mr. Lubbock has finely observed that the quality of a novelist appears very closely in his management of the two, "how he guides the story into the scene, how he picks it out of the scene; a richer and fuller story than it was before, and proceeds on with his narrative." How far this dictum applies to *The Good Earth* will be evident when we read Wang Lung's reverie as he rose on the morning of his marriage day:

"Never again would Wang Lung have to rise summer and winter at dawn to light the fire. He could lie in his bed and wait, and he also would have a bowl of water brought to him, and if the earth were fruitful there would be leafy leaves in the water. Once in some years it was so . . . And if the woman weaved there would be her children to light the fire, the many children she would bear to Wang Lung. Wang Lung stopped, struck by the thought of children running in and out of their three rooms . . . The house would be full of beds. The blaze of the oven died while Wang Lung thought of all the beds there would be in the half-empty house, and the water began to chill in the cauldron."

In imaginative sweetness this passage claims kinship with Eliot's immortal 'Dream Children'. A further example of the pictorial method is noticed in the following lines Wang and his wife are together ploughing their field:

"The sun beat down upon them, for it was early summer, and her face was soon dripping with her sweat Wang Lung had his coat off and his back bare, but she worked with her thin garment covering her shoulders and it grew wet and clung to her like skin. Moving together in perfect rhythm, without a word, hour after hour, he fell into a union with her which took the pain from his labour. He had no articulate thought of anything; there was only this perfect sympathy of movement, of turning

this earth of theirs over and over to the sun, this earth which formed their home and fed their bodies and made their gods. The earth lay rich and dark, and fell apart highly under the points of their hoes. Sometimes they turned up a bit of brick, a splinter of wood. It was nothing. Sometimes, in some age, bodies of men and women had been buried there, houses had stood there, had fallen, and gone back into the earth. So would also their house some time return into the earth; their bodies also. Each had his turn at the earth. They worked on and on, moving together—together producing the fruit of this earth—speechless in their movement together."

And in the example which follows, the pictorial method and the dramatic have been dovetailed into each other:

"It seemed now that none knew how to light the grass and keep it burning in the oven, and none knew how to turn a fish in the cauldron without breaking it or burning one side black before the other side was cooked, and none knew whether sesame oil or bean were right for frying this vegetable or that. The filth of the crumbs and dropped food lay under the table and none swept it unless Wang Lung grew impatient with the smell of it and called in a dog from the court to lick it up or shouted at the younger girl to scrape it up and throw it out."

The writer has us by hand, but her hand is unseen, we are made to see what she sees to walk the way she has walked but there is no force, no compulsion. We glide along smoothly, our attention focussed on the moving scene, forgetful of the genius behind it. The formula on which depends a successful blending of the pictorial and the scenic methods is a carefully guarded secret known only to those few who have trod the paths of Helicon.

This is not all. Mrs Buck is very careful to present a complete picture of Chinese society. She does not forget to take us round the school where children are taught, for education of children is an important limb of social machinery. What follows is an exquisite description of an old-fashioned Chinese country school, not unlike her sister institutions, the Maktabas and Pathshalas, scattered profusely over India's vast countryside. The picture will bring the sad passages already quoted into comic relief:

"A small school near the city gate kept by an old man who had in past years gone up for Government examinations and failed. In the central room of his house therefore he had set benches and tables for a small sum at each feast day in the year he taught boys in the class-rooms, heating them with his large fan, folded, if they were idle or if they could not repeat to him the pages over which they pored from dawn till sunset. Only in the warm days of spring and summer did the pupils have a respite, for then the old man nodded and slept after he had eaten at noon, and the dark small room was filled with the sound of his slumber. Then the lads whispered and played and drew pictures to show each other of this naughty thing and that, and snickered to see a fly buzzing at the old man's hanging open jaw, and laid wagers with

2. With respect to her style, Pearl Buck pays this tribute to her mother: "Most of all did she teach me the beauty that lies in words and in what words will say. From my earliest childhood, she taught me to write down what I saw and felt and she helped me to see beauty everywhere." The balance of her gifts is singularly poised. Nowhere is a semblance of *tour de force*, or eager lung for the right expression.



each other as to whether the fly would enter the cavern of his mouth or not. But when the old teacher opened his eyes suddenly—and there was no telling when he would open them as quickly and secretly as though he had not slept—he saw them before they were aware, and then he laid about him with his fan, cracking this skull and that. And hearing the cracks of his stout fan and the cries of the pupils, the neighbours said: 'It is a worthy old teacher, after all.'

This is where Wang Lung brought his two sons. A farmer himself, he has had no opportunity to probe into the mysteries of the printed hieroglyphs. Having now silver in his girdle, he realises his ambitions through the medium of his sons. But with what result? Having learned a 'stomachful of characters' the farmer's boys are transformed into *bhadraloks*, gradually disengage themselves from the land and fall easy victims to the Circean spell of the city. Not only in China, but in India, too, we are aware of the vices of the modern system of education which sets a wedge between children and their land. This is all the more disastrous in a mainly agricultural country. However, it goes without saying that the passage just quoted tells a lot about China and her teeming masses. We hope to see a new reorientation when China emerges out of her present crisis. But all this is by the way.

Pearl Buck has done more for China than Kipling has done for Anglo-India or Lafcadio Hearn for Japanese life. *The Good Earth*, with the two subsequent novels, *Sons* and *A House Divided*, is an important epic of the great unwashed in China. The life of the men and women in these novels and the life without them are not separate. Here we come closer

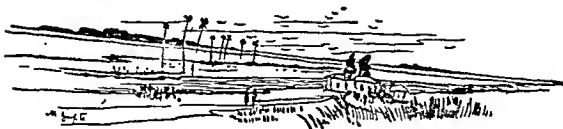
than anywhere else in fiction to the heating heart of the eternal. The reason why they are real, romantic, original and convincing is that Mrs. Buck likes the Chinese as they really are. "They allow for all that is human and is not oppressed by any sense of sin." She likes "these people as they really are, common with the good commonness of everyday things, lusty, hardy, quarrelsome, alive!"

How, then, to rank her as a novelist? Will Mrs. Buck be recognized as a force in contemporary letters? The answer to the first question lies in the womb of futurity.<sup>3</sup> As for the second, better judges than the scribbler of this essay have already settled that affair. These books, with their air of telling us something very old and perfectly true, which has lain unnoticed but is now revealed, satisfying in their roundness and fullness, will make such questions seem futile. Complete and still, serene and brave, very chaste and very beautiful, they rise in the memory as on a hot, yet breeze-swept summer evening, one's eye catches the silver radiance of a star, then of another, and yet another, hohling out of the twilight regions of the sky.

"Very old are we men,  
Our dreams are tales  
Told in Eden  
By Eve's nightingales."

3. 'China and the Foreign Chinese' in *The Yale Review*, Spring 1932.

4. In her own words: "I would like to be known not for myself but for my books. The Chinese are very sensible about this. They take the artist as important only because of his art and are not interested in the personality of the artist."



After some five hours, the egg-cell broke up. But all that merely means that so far scientific skill has not learned how to keep the egg-cell, undergoing virgin conception, alive and active for long enough time to observe tangible developments.

Dr. Reimann told me that he is now attempting to devise methods which would help in keeping the activated human egg-cells alive, at least for twenty-four hours. One of the main things necessary is a suitable "soup", that is nutritive medium.

I for one do not doubt that Dr. Reimann and his staff scientists, Dr. Bernard J. Miller and others, will solve their difficulties. In twenty-four hours, a great deal can be observed of the parthenogenetic activity of the human egg-cell. No human baby can be formed so quickly. And the day when an entire human child could be developed out of an unfertilized egg-cell, outside the mother's body, may yet be so remote as not to be even worth talking about. It may never come.

But already a very important advance has been made, not only from the viewpoint of evolutionary theory, and the general philosophy of science, but from the more practical angles of biology and medicine.

Let it be emphasized that the important thing was not piercing the egg-cell with a needle. Any other sort of artificial stimulation, such as chemical or physical, might have started parthenogenesis. For example, ethyl ester of acetic acid is known to stimulate artificial parthenogenesis in animal eggs. This substance was added to the drop of freshly drawn human blood in which the human egg-cell was kept alive.

Without the co-operation of the surgeons of the Lankenau Hospital, the whole experiment would have been impossible. Five women had to be operated on, for the removal of their ovarian tracts, fallopian tubes and so on. The

time was so chosen that the ova, the egg-cells, could be present in the tubal organs when these were surgically removed. Five ova, human egg-cells, were thus obtained. The particular ovum which was activated artificially came from a thirty-five years old Negro woman.

Now, one of the most important results of these studies might be a better understanding of certain forms of tumors, including cancer tumors, found in women.

Tumors are ordinary cells of the body which begin to grow and grow, and turn into large lumps. When these cells are uncontrolled in growth and capable of spreading in other parts of the body, cancer is diagnosed.

A number of clues have been found that suggest a close relationship between cancer and embryonic development. In the case of such tumors as dermoid cysts, teratomas, hamartomas—all dreadful names—it has been suspected that the basic cause was the parthenogenesis of the human egg-cell in the woman's body. That is, somehow an egg-cell become active, started embryonic development, but instead of the normal growth of a baby, only a tumor resulted.

After all, perhaps, these experiments will show that without normal fertilization—with a male sperm cell—no normal human baby can result, only a sad and unpleasant tumour or such incredible thing. However, no speculation is proper. Only research will show the truth.

The larger significance of all these experiments is that they give us hope that man may yet learn how to control heredity, pre-natal environment, and other vital factors, upon which depends human betterment and prevention of constitutional diseases and defects. The language of science is blunt and unadorned. But the results of scientific way of handling reality are such that they can be used to greatest advantage, provided those who use them are good men and wise, not rogues and fools.



## PROSPECTS OF POPULAR FRONT IN ENGLAND

By PROFESSOR NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

THE 'National' Government has been in office since 1931. At the start there was much justification in characterising it as such. It is true that the bulk of the Labour Party broke away from the leadership of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and refused to have anything to do with the new Government he formed. But although they preferred to be in the opposition the Cabinet which Mr. MacDonald now constituted with himself as the Premier included several Labourites, a few Liberals and a number of Conservatives and what is more it had the support, in the House of Commons, of the Liberal and Conservative Parties as such and of a group of Labour representatives. Gradually, however, the colour of the Government began to change. As the emergency subsided and the crisis passed its meridian, the Conservatives who had got into the House in a huge majority in the general election of autumn, 1931, began to assert themselves. It is true that this historic Conservative majority had been returned not on Conservative ticket but on that of the National Government. Its return was in fact very largely due to the efforts of Mr. MacDonald and Lord Snowden. But day by day this memory became dim and the fact stood out that about three-fourths of the House were drawn from the Conservative Party. There were murmurs among them that although other groups in the House were proportionately so small they had such large representation in the Cabinet. They also complained that the policy of the Government was not really that which the Conservative Party would have followed if left to itself. Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the Conservative group, was of course as loyal to the captaincy of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and to the ideal of the National Government as circumstances would permit, but even he could not stem the tide of Conservative reaction. It began to tell. The Conservatives demanded a policy of frank protectionism. Their Liberal and Labourite partners, however, demurred. For the time being a compromise was effected. The Government adopted a protectionist policy but its free trade members were allowed to speak against it in the Parliament and thereby to save their conscience. The much-vaunted joint responsibility of the Cabinet was thrown to the

winds in order that the National Government might continue to be national in personnel. But this patch-work could not be maintained for long. Very soon other counts of difference also arose and the bulk of the Liberals and some of the Labourite supporters of the Government thought it time to withdraw their co-operation. Lord Snowden whose outspoken utterances were largely responsible for the labour debacle and the conservative triumph in 1931 resigned from the Cabinet and except the Simonites the Liberals also left the Government and went into opposition. So henceforward the National Government, though still led by Mr. MacDonald became to all intents and purposes Conservative in outlook and policy. The election of 1935 was all the same fought in the same lines as in 1931. But the truth could not be kept a secret. The National Government was really the government kept in power by the Conservatives and following the policy of the Conservative Party. Mr. MacDonald only followed the logic of events when he exchanged offices with Mr. Baldwin. The first place in the Cabinet was now offered to and accepted by the latter. So long as Mr. Baldwin remained at the helm of affairs, Mr. MacDonald also remained associated with the Government. He was there however only a pathetic old figure without following and without support. Then as Mr. Baldwin retired from the Premiership, Mr. MacDonald also bade adieu to politics and retired to die. Today also the Government has outwardly maintained its national label. But an analysis it will be found that it is from every standpoint conservative in character. True, Sir John, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and several others are still in the Cabinet, who are not members of the Conservative Party. But as for Sir John Simon, he is called a liberal still because of his past. Otherwise his walk over to the Conservative camp is almost complete. He cannot be distinguished from any conservative stalwart by any of the utterances he may have made since 1931. The same may be said of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. He may be still keeping outside the Carlton Club but time is not distant when he also will be absorbed in the Conservative Party.

Now the Parliament elected in 1935 may

continue for five years under the Parliament Act of 1911. It is unlikely however if the general election will be postponed beyond the autumn of 1939. It is likely that Mr. Neville Chamberlain will approach the electorate not as the leader of the Conservative Party but as the head of the National Government. Although this term has become by now a complete misnomer still it is expected to pay in the general election. The economic crisis to meet which the National Government was constituted has no doubt been got over but the condition of Europe is such that, Mr. Chamberlain will argue, it should be faced only by a National Government. Accordingly he will keep up the pretence that he is seeking the vote of the electorate not as the leader of a party but as the head of the nation. It is by this method he may attract to his camp not only those who by tradition and habit vote conservative but also those floating electors who have no fixed anchorage and may waver as to which side they should support.

The question is what the Liberals and the Labourites will do. Will they approach the electorate as separate groups or will they pool their resources and present a combined front to the candidates of Mr. Chamberlain? The Liberal Party has become progressively attenuated since the close of the War. The English soil has proved so far too uncongenial for the growth of the continental group system. Two-party arrangement seems to suit best the political genius of the British people. It is significant on this account that as the Labour Party attained maturity and became a force to be reckoned with, the Liberal Party began to dwindle and decay. The Conservative Party is there to maintain the existing arrangement of things and fight the onslaughts that may be made upon the status quo. In opposition to that is the Labour Party which is the party of change, which wants to alter the existing basis of the social organisation and create a new heaven and a new earth for the have-nots. It is not thought necessary that there should be any party in between these two parties of conservation and change. So the Liberals have practically no elbow room in the country. It is of course true that if the system of representation was different from what it is, the Liberals might have had a better fate. In successive general elections the Liberal candidates secured the support of about one-fourth of the electorate. But the number returned to the House of Commons has been on all occasions very few. If some acceptable kind of

proportional representation was adopted the Liberal members would have formed a respectable group in the House. But none of the Governments have so far entertained the suggestion of proportional representation, as its adoption was likely to result in the break-up of the House into several small groups which would threaten the continuance of the Cabinet Government on its existing basis.

Anyhow the Liberals have been convinced that they by themselves will never be able to muster sufficient strength at Westminster to influence the policy of a Government. If however they are allowed to combine their forces in the country with the other progressive party, they together may secure a majority in the House and oust thereby the Conservatives from the seats of authority. For months past the Liberals have in fact made repeated efforts to come to some workable arrangement with the Labour headquarters so that the next election may be fought by the two parties constituting a Popular Front against the Conservatives who have been virtually in power since 1931. The last effort in this direction was made towards the close of October by Mr. Ramsay Muir who is one of the few old guards who are still doing their best to keep burning the lamp of liberalism in England. In these attempts at an workable arrangement with the Labour Party, the Liberals have been prompted as much by their own hopeless position as by the success of the Popular Front in France for over two years. If the Socialists and Communists could collaborate in France with the Radicals, there was then certainly nothing wrong in the collaboration between the Labourites and Liberals in Great Britain.

This approach of the Liberals has however been given a mixed reception by the Labourites. Some people may of course take objection to the use of the expression "mixed reception", as the Labour Party has already officially rejected the proposal of a collaboration with the Liberals. But although the party as a whole has not thought it right to give any quarters in such approach, there is an influential group in the party which is not only not in favour of such unceremonious rejection of the Liberal proposal but is rather definitely in favour of its acceptance. In fact it may be said that on this issue there are two opinions in the party.

Let me first of all summarise the arguments of those who are in favour of responding to the Liberal invitation. They are convinced that just as the Liberals by themselves will not find it possible to persuade the electorate in the near

future to send them in a majority to Westminster and give them thereby the opportunity of carrying out their own programme. It may be taken for granted that in the next election the Labour Party, though it may improve its position in the House of Commons to a great extent, will not be able to secure a majority in that body. The predominant opinion in the country is anti-socialist. It may not like everything that Mr. Neville Chamberlain is doing. It may in fact want a more go-ahead approach of several important problems with which the nation is faced. But all the same it does not want the socialisation of banks and industries and the conscription of wealth in the country. So the Labour Party will be in the wilderness for an indefinite period if it continues to plough a lonely furrow. If however it collaborates with the Liberals now, there is every chance of their securing a conjoint victory in the polls and such a victory, it is assumed by many, will stand the country in good stead at this hour of crisis in the history of democracy and liberty. One by one the lamps of freedom have gone out in Central and Southern Europe—Czecho-Slovakia, which was the last stronghold of democracy in Central Europe has also now given way to fascist onslaughts. It has virtually become an annexe to Nazi Germany. It is in England and France that the anchor still holds. The prospects of France even are not, however, quite rosy. It is unlikely that the reactionaries there will secure any permanent triumph. It is rather expected that the forces of democracy will assert themselves again so as to foil the machinations of the royalists and fascists. But still the swing of the political pendulum in this great republic has been too rapid to allow absolute confidence to be reposed in this country as a sure refuge of freedom and liberty. So England must be prepared to become the last stronghold of democracy if all other countries fail. But here also, it is pointed out, the ground is being yielded from day to day to those who draw their inspiration from the dictatorial systems. Imperceptibly and unobtrusively the National Government has allowed more than one invasion to be made upon the cherished rights of democratic freedom in the country. If consequently this Government secures a fresh lease of life in the next election, that will be not only a great loss to the opposition parties but to the cause of democracy itself. So a Popular Front constituted by the Lib-Lab understanding is an expedient to be encouraged and fostered at this moment.

The opponents of this proposal who are in the majority in the Party use on their side arguments which also have sufficient plausibility and even force. They point out that an electoral understanding with the Liberals is possible only with the abandonment of socialism. The Liberal Party, it is true, has to its credit certain legislations which were definitely socialist in flavour. It was the Liberal Government in the beginning of the century which was responsible for initiating some of the social services which happen to swallow so much of the Government income today and which on that account occupy such an important place in every budget placed before the House. But although the Liberals have given up to a considerable extent their old position of individualism and are ready today to follow the Labour Party up to some way in respect of proposed legislation for controlling private initiative, yet it is certain that they will definitely set their face against going the whole hog of labour theory. "Socialism in our time" cannot certainly be the slogan of the Labour Party if it is to work in collaboration with the Liberals. Now the question is if the Labour Party is willing to abandon socialism and make a compromise with the Manchester School. The rank and file of the Party have answered it in the negative. They appreciate the fact no doubt that democracy in Europe is in danger. But they appear to be of opinion at the same time that if fascist dictatorship in this continent has to be resisted successfully, it can be so resisted not by the so-called capitalist democracy but only by democracy based on and strengthened by socialism. A writer in the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labour Party, argued recently that the dictators of fascist countries were pushing their armament and trade policies in a manner with which the capitalist governments of western democracies could never compete. It would be always an unequal trial of strength. Without the elimination of the idea of private profit, it would not be possible for the Government of France and Great Britain to beat down Germany and Italy. In other words without the adoption of socialist principles, the western democracies would continue to be helpless.

Secondly, a question which is regarded as very pertinent in some quarters, is asked as to whether the Popular Front which is proposed to be created will include the Communists or not. Mr. Nevins, who in a letter to the *New Statesman and Nation* recently put in a plea for the organisation of the Popular Front,

pointed out that there must be no hesitation in including the Communists as well. Just as, he opined, the Labour Party would shake hands with the Liberals so also it must shake hands with the Communists and the three groups would together constitute the Popular Front against the reactionary rule of the so-called National Government. But there are obvious difficulties in the way of such fraternisation between the three groups which have so far been at daggers drawn. The Communists are not today allowed to be members of the Labour Party. They have no representatives in the House of Commons and have very few supporters in the electorate. Neither their principles nor their methods of work have been acceptable so far to the Labour Party and far less to the Liberals. What is more, they are closely connected with Moscow and draw their inspiration very largely from this source. In view of these facts both the Labourites and the Liberals may regard their co-operation not as a gain but only as a liability. The electors will be more scared away than netted in by the association of the Communists with the Popular Front. It should be remembered that in France when the Popular Front agreement was first made in July 1935, the Communists showed considerable moderation and co-operated with singular level-headedness with the Socialists in coming to terms with the Radical Party. The Communists at that moment were in fact in a very chastened mood. They had tried hard to enlist members among the peasants of the country. But these people were mostly individualist in outlook and refused to have anything to do with Communist organisations. It was because of this failure among the peasants that the Communists thought at the moment that there was necessity of some change in their tactics and some moderation in their policy. So they met the Radicals and the Socialists half way and gave their support to the Popular Front. In England however the Communists do not appear to be in such a chastened mood today. So it is very unlikely that any co-operation will be possible between the Liberals the Labourites and the Communists.

Thirdly, the circumstances in which the Popular Front was created in France are

altogether absent in England. There for some time past the reactionary forces were in the ascendant. The Royalist and Fascist Leagues were active as they had never been since the days of the Dreyfus scandal. The Stavisky affair was shaking the republic to its foundations. The night was jubilant and the supporters of democracy and republicanism were set at nought. If democracy was to be defended at all from the dark conspiracies and direct attacks of its bitterest enemies, it was imperative that all the parties of the Left must combine. Accordingly the Popular Front agreement was signed in 1935 and several months later the general election was fought on that basis. For over two years the combination lasted, though not without many internal conflicts and clashes. But as the memory of those dark days became increasingly dim, the relations between the different partners of the front also became increasingly cold. And at last we have arrived at a time when these relations have become definitely hostile and the Popular Front has become a thing of the past. Now in England surreptitiously and imperceptibly the old traditions of liberty may have been undermined to a great extent. But it does not appear that there is any risk of a frontal attack being made upon the democratic system and the parliamentary constitution of the country. So the urgency for an artificial combination between the Liberals and the Labourites does not exist. It is unlikely on this account that the idea of the Popular Front will materialise. Some of the members of the Labour Party of course do not see any virtue in continuing in sterile opposition. They think that if the party is to be strengthened and if hope is to be infused into its membership it is necessary that it should come to power in the near future. And as it appears impossible to climb to power without Liberal co-operation, it is better to accept it on some terms than to remain out for an indefinite period. But this is regarded as an opinion of defeatism, which the large majority of the party is unwilling to accept. So the Popular Front goes to the wall.

London.  
December 7, 1938.



## AN INDIAN FOLK-SONG COLLECTOR

By DR SUNTI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LITT.

*Khaira Professor, Calcutta University*

SRI DEVENDRA SATYARTHIJ, well-known to the readers of *The Modern Review* for his most interesting articles on folk-poetry in different parts of India, has already made his debut in the society of international journalism by his contributions on Pathan songs to the American journal *Asia*. Satyarthiji may be said to be the only publicist in India who has made our folk-literature his main business in life, by collecting it first-hand, by translating it and by giving it out to the world, lighting up his labours with his own enthusiasm and his literary sense.

I have had the privilege of knowing him some six years ago when he came to Calcutta. With his long hair and beard and his fine intellectual face and eyes full of expression, he looked rather a prophet of old, with a touch of the exotic because his obvious youth contradicted his hirsute prophetic appendage.

He spoke to me in his soft and musical voice, and somehow his conversation with its ring of earnestness (we spoke in English and in Hindustani) made a favourable impression upon me. As a student of language and literature, I was very much interested in his long tours for collecting ballads, poems and songs that are used by our peasantry in the countryside; for however sordid might be the poverty-stricken and ignorance-ridden life of our village masses, the divine gift of poetry has not yet left them—the taste of the nectar of poetry (albeit it is folk-poetry) is frequently the only sweet fruit in the poison tree of life, to quote the ancient Indian adage, which can put a little zest in their hard humdrum existence.

I myself like many another indulged at one time in amateurish song hunting from our wandering religious minstrels—*Bairagis*, *Bauls* and their ilk, and consequently I had a community of interest with this unknown song-hunter from the Punjab. Satyarthiji unfolded his plans—how he wished to continue his travels all over India collecting from the mouths of the people songs from all parts and from all languages—no matter even if he did not understand them as they were

song, but he had the patience to read them through and get them literally translated with notes and in this way gathering a rich harvest. Could I suggest how best he could work? He was so humble and so willing to be guided. I did not know at that time the extent of his collections, and I wished him not to dissipate his energies by taking up too broad a field. Why not concentrate first to his native province and gather as many songs as he could from the Punjab peasantry? Surely the University of the Punjab, or the Punjab Government, or some public organization having the good of the Punjab peasant and the improvement of the Punjab language and literature before it, will be persuaded to publish his corpus of folk-songs. Such collections never fail to be appreciated. Sir R. C. Temple's work in this direction is well-known (it is a pity that his collections are not available in a convenient form), and recently Sri Ramnarain Tripathi has brought out *Gram-Git*—a valuable collection of folk-songs from the United Provinces. One can not omit to mention Sri Bhaverechand Meghani's *Radhali Rat* and other collections of Gujarati folk-songs. The East Bengal folk-ballads collected at the instance of Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen and published by the University of Calcutta can also be mentioned.

Satyarthiji was a bit diffident about support from learned bodies like a University; he went to Rabindranath Tagore and obtained his blessings in his objective to make collections of Indian folk-songs at large.

After these years of gypsy life (he tells us of his little struggles in the circular he has issued about his aims and intentions), Satyarthiji may be said to have found his bearings. I think he has shown by his writings that he persists to hear the common voice of India's joys and sorrows through songs in various languages and dialects; he certainly endorses the opinion of the Scotch patriot, Fletcher of Saltoun (Andrew Fletcher), who in 1703 declared that a nation's ballads are more important than its laws—an opinion which has almost passed into a proverb.

Satyarthiji should continue to give out to

the general reader, both in India and outside India, fêtes champêtres, with collections from his fruit-gathering in the garden of folk-poetry; but I insist, and I am glad to find him of the same opinion, that he must publish the texts of his collections in the original languages in the Nagri or Roman characters in his books. If he can do this, he will certainly deserve well of our country and its culture.

It is gratifying to see that he has already published a work *Giddha* in Punjabi on the popular folk-dance of the Punjab. A review of this pioneer work by Sir Jogindra Singh had already appeared in the January 1938 issue of *The Modern Review*.

Will he lack support from the public and the institutions when he is ready with his *MS-* of Indian folk-songs?

## RAJPUT SONGS OF WAR

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

### II

THE armour-maker, the blacksmith, gets this advice:

O armour-maker, please remember to make  
A bit loose armour than the actual size of my  
husband;  
Let it be fastened rather tightly  
When his body, blossoming like a lotus flower,  
becomes fuller.

The blacksmith makes an exceptionally good sword.

O blacksmith's wife, I simply praise now and again,  
Your husband, (the maker of a wonderful sword);  
While my warrior husband faces the enemy,  
His sword saves him from every single blow.

When a hero dies fighting, he sells his head,  
to use the Rajput idiom, for his country:

O sister, I hate to live in the neighbourhood of  
cowards;  
I dedicate myself to this land where they sell their  
heads!

In one song, a hero's wife the mother of  
a baby, prepares herself for the performance  
of *Sati*:

My husband now sleeps in the battle-field, his last  
bed,  
And here a new son is born to me,  
O my husband's elder brother's wife, pray feed  
on your breast's milk  
My little son with your child

The hero's mother feels delighted at the  
sight of her daughter-in-law's *Sati* rite:

Cut to pieces, my son fell in the battle,  
His wife now burns herself alive;  
A huge hill of national honour before me,  
My joy knows no bounds.

Songs about the *Sati* are many; it was a  
thing of usual life. The *Jauhar*, which was  
not so frequent, did not make a nation-wide  
theme. The dry-shelled coconut that every

bride still gets from the bridegroom as a  
marital present at the wedding, was taken as  
a symbol of the husband himself, in case the  
dead body of a hero was not procurable, which  
the woman kept with her while burning herself  
alive. There are numerous descriptions of the  
*Satis* in the folk-lore. The eyes of a deceased  
hero's wife sparkled with enthusiasm as she  
turned the coconut round and round; tossing  
it up again and again and then holding it joy-  
fully, with every care that it should not fall  
down. She praised it, its beautiful shape that  
represented the head of the hero. The coconut  
was kept with honour even if the hero's dead  
body was present on the fire. The fire was no  
fear: it was *Agni*, the Fire God: the woman  
embraced it to be born again in heaven, not  
as a child as she was born in the world, but  
to be born young, of full age: and she believed  
that she would get her husband in heaven as  
old as at the time of his *Veer-Gati*, the heroic  
martyrdom. The traditional rite of *Sati* is no  
more in vogue; the law has abolished it. But  
the old songs, which are much more than  
legends, are still there; rites and ceremonials  
come and go with the changing generations of  
a people, but the songs and ballads of a  
country cling to the age-long traditions.  
Songs of a people are always a natural growth  
of time. In the heroic songs of Rajputs, the  
detailed description of a soldier's wife per-  
forming *Sati* is not procurable; that has been  
a story-teller's business.

### KINGS, WARRIORS AND CHARANS

Patriotism was the key-note of the  
character of the Rajputs. They made a history





Maharaja Mansinha of Marwar

almost unique in the world's annals. "High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them," observes Tod in his monumental work. Those were the days of hand-to-hand fight in most cases; courage and bravery meant much more then than today. Patriotism inspired the kings and warriors of Rajputana—a land of heroes; and they fought most recklessly to defend their motherland. Patriotism was more than religion to them.

The glory of kings and warriors is a continuous theme in these songs.

Our parents we may forget,  
And we may forget many of our friends;  
But ever fresh we keep our heroes' memory,  
Repeatedly the Charans sing of them.

The Chāran exalts the mothers of heroes:

My life I dedicate to the queens  
Who produced the thirty six Rajput clans;<sup>1</sup>  
For a seer of wheat flour and a little salt  
The Rajputs offer heads to their masters

1. Thirty six is the proverbial number of Rajput

Some of these songs immortalize the chivalry of different clans.

The Hada Rajputs are great in fighting in fierce battle.

The Gauris are great in feats of sword-manship.

The Devras are great in persistence.

And the Rathors make unique heroes.

The Hada Rajputs are a sub-clan of the Chauhan; the kings of the present states of Kota and Bundi are from the Hadas. The Devra Rajputs are another Chauhan sub-clan, the king of Sirohi State comes from it. The kings of the five states, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kishangarh, Sitamau and Selana, are Rathors; *Ran-vanka Rathor* (the Rathor always a good warrior) is celebrated as a motto by the Jodhpur State. The Panwar Rajputs, often called Panwars or Parmars, had a stronghold over Marwar in olden days; they had nine states there and a local saying, *Nau koti Marwar*, reminds us of their past glory.

From time immemorial the lion has been the symbol of a hero. The Rajput songs are full of it :

Lions make no distinction  
Between their own and foreign land.  
Any forest where they roam  
At once becomes to them their home.

The elephant, in contrast with a lion, may stand for a person who accepts slavery :

"In one and the same forest they live  
Then why so different?  
The lion may not fetch a single cowrie,  
And the elephant may be priced at a lack of rupees."

"The elephant accepts a mighty chain in his neck,  
Pull the chain and he would follow you,  
Had the lion, too, accepted a chain in its neck,  
You would have bought him for ten lack of rupees."

In one song an elephant in a forest is addressed :

O elephant, you may carry on your roar  
Near this stem of a tree amidst a grove  
As long as the lion does not awake in the den  
Raising his claws heroically.

*Sinh* (lion) became the second common word of thousands of Rajput names. But only one side of the lion's character was symbolized. It was his bravery, the lion's cruelty was never a part of the ideal. The lion as a vehicle of *Ran Chandi*, the goddess of war, turned into the common emblem of Rajput nationalism

clans. It is not settled as to which are these clans. The five clans, *Rathor*, *Kachhaha*, *Sisodia*, *Chauhan* and *Bhati*, are obviously in the forefront; from them come the rulers of the present Rajput States. The Mewar State's ruler is *Sisodia*.

A set of three *Doohas* about Bādal and his mother, the contemporaries of Padmni (about 1359 A D), though not so old possibly in language hands down to us a brilliant tradition :

When Bādal prepared himself to face the enemy  
His mother came to him and exclaimed

"O what is this, Bādal my son?"

O you are merely a child (unfit to be a warrior)

"Mother, why you dare call me a child?"

Never have I wept lately while asking for a loaf of bread.

O you'll recognize my bravery only then

When I succeed to strike my sword on the Sultan's head"

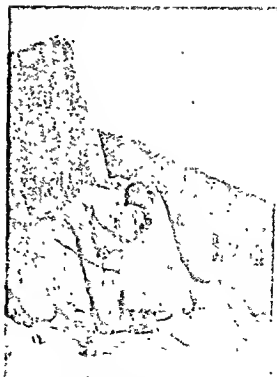
"The tiger, the falcon and man of good blood

They are never taken as mere children.

They may hunt a big game within a moment

And within a moment they may own it"

Bādal's uncle, Gorā, was a principal sirdar of Clutter. The tradition goes to say that Padmni sought for Gorā's advice after Alau-



The dyer's daughter  
Even little girls like this listened to the songs of war  
in olden days

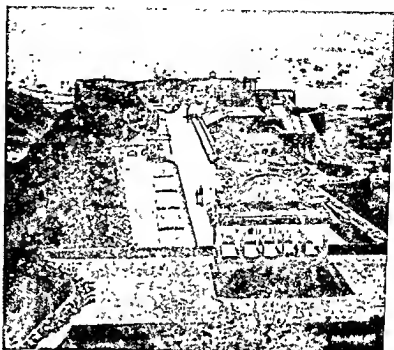
din took away her husband with the bait that he will be released if only she will yield and reach his harem. Gorā suggested a tit for tat. And when she schemed to send a word to

Alauddin that she would come to him with five hundred women, Gorā and his nephew, Bādal, arranged the whole show. Five hundred warriors, dressed as women, sat in the palanquins; in the principal palanquin was seated a blacksmith, dressed in the queen's attire, who kept with him his instruments to cut the iron chain of the king. The palanquin bearers, too, were all soldiers. Gorā and Bādal accompanied the procession as sirdars; they rode on their mettlesome horses. Ultimately with the pretext that the queen would meet her husband in privacy for some time before she entered the harem, the blacksmith freed the Rajput king by cutting his chains; Bādal most heroically took him up on his horse behind him and fled away. Alauddin's warriors came forward. The Rajputs fought bravely. Gorā was killed in this battle.

One *Dookha* is typically conspicuous for the name of Rāv Jagmal. The tradition goes on to say that Rāv Jagmal defeated the king of Mandu and took his daughter, Geendoli, as his bride. The song brings to us an indirect compliment paid by the mother of Geendoli to Rāv Jagmal as she asked her defeated husband—

At every foot is lying a spear,  
At every foot are lying fallen shields,  
Bibi, the Khsn's queen asks her husband—  
"How many Jagmals are there in the world?"

The name of Rana Pratap (1597-1653 Bikram) is the most sacred of all the Rajput heroes. In the Rana's time, every sword wanted to go once to his hand, the Chāran still remembers. The Rana's memorial, in its true form, is to be found in songs. The Chāran believes that the Rana's rival, Akbar, too, perhaps admired the heroic and patriotic character of the Rana in his heart of hearts. The tradition goes on to say that once Akbar, garbed as a Rajput, went to the Aravalli hills, where the Rana was passing very hard days with his devoted wife and little children; the Rana's personality gave him a unique picture of a hero. The Bhil tribesmen, who stood for the Rana,



A Rajput Fort

—S. Bhatia

man, his counsellors, however, again converted him to his former position.

The song that the Chāran sang addressing every Rajput mother in the Rana's time is rather bitter:

O Mother, give birth to a son,  
A mighty hero, O he must be another Rana Pratap;  
Taking the Rana for a snake at his bed-side,  
Akbar's sleep is disturbed at night.

This *Dookha* is believed to be the opening piece of a letter that Prithviraj Rathor, who lived helplessly with Akbar, wrote to Rana Pratap, when he heard that the Rana was going to beg Akbar for a treaty. The other nine *Dookhas* which Prithviraj wrote to the Rana are as follows:

His ground is uneven, his days, however are good,  
He is the man of the hour, and he won't yield;  
Encompassed by the enemy's warriors,  
The Rana passes his days amidst the hills.

O Rana Pratap, O marvellous hero,  
O annihilator of the hostile armies,  
Who can dare pound the land of Mewar under the  
horses' hooves  
As long as you stand to defend it?

Rana Pratap's turban alone is genuine,  
The Rana comes from the royal family of Sanga;  
Incessantly your turban you kept erect, O Rana,  
Since you stood to face Akbar's hostility.

O rightful owner of Chitor,  
You alone keep "the one-fourth of a moment  
While the bell rings" on your head;<sup>2</sup>  
O Rana Pratap, the honorable king of Mewar  
O king Akbar, let me tell you,  
Your grandeur is worthy of a Turk;  
All the Rajput chiefs bow before you,  
Rana Pratap alone never salutes you.

Akbar has confined all the cowlike Rajput chiefs  
Within one enclosure (what a pity!)  
The Rana alone does not yield to have his nose strangled,  
Rana Pratap roars like a mighty bull.

Almost all the Rajput chiefs became bullocks,  
The lulling influence of Akbar has overpowered them  
all;

The Rana alone refuses to bear Akbar's string,  
What a mighty bull is this hero Rana Pratap!

If my *Patal*, that hero Rana Pratap,  
Utters perchance "king" with Akbar's name;  
The sun, that offspring of Kashyap,  
Would begin to rise from the West.

Should I twirl both the ends of my moustache?  
Or should I cut off my head with my sword?  
Write to me soon, O *Duran* (of Rajput chivalry),  
Which of the two propositions I may follow?

Some scholars believe that Prithviraj  
only wrote the last two *Doohas* to Rana Pratap  
in a confidential letter.

Rana Pratap answered to Prithviraj most  
heroically in three *Doohas*:

*Ekling*, the great god, would ever make me utter  
"Turk"

(With Akbar's name) in the present life of mine;  
The sun would ever rise (make assurance doubly sure)  
From the East after its usual scheme  
O Peethal, dear Prithviraj Rathor, be happy,  
Twirl as usual both the ends of your moustache;  
As long as Pratap is alive to strike his sword  
On the heads of all the hostile warriors.  
A heavy blow I would prefer from a sword,  
To my rival's success that I take for poison;  
O Prithviraj, you may very well succeed  
While carrying on your discussions with the Turk.

The tradition goes on to say that all the  
ten *Doohas* composed by Prithviraj along with  
the three *Doohas* by Rana Pratap served as  
poignant war-songs for years together.

Adlia Dursa, a contemporary of Rana  
Pratap, was a well-recognized Chāran. He  
celebrated the Rana's personality in many songs.  
In him the Rajput war-song found an illus-  
trious bard. Here are some of his songs:

1. Akbar has come like an utter darkness of a night,  
All Rajputs feel sleepy;  
But Rana Pratap, the world's pious man,  
Is on guard and he sleeps not.

2. The pun is upon *Pachari* (the one-fourth of a  
moment, that means turban (*pageri*))—the symbol of  
a true Rajput's honour.

2. Akbar has gathered round him many a stone,  
(Just see) how the Rajput chiefs have come to his  
fold,  
But Akbar hasn't yet got *Paras*, the philosopher's  
stone,  
Thus Rana Pratap, my hero.

3. Rana Sanga was a saviour of his faith,  
He came in conflict with Babar,  
Rana Pratap never bows down at Akbar's feet,  
(He carries on the old tradition).

4. Out of sheer greed have they all given way,  
Once they were the unconquerable kings of India,  
But Rana Pratap worships his motherland  
As a son should love his mother.

5. He faces Akbar's army on each hill  
He gives a hard blow to the enemy.  
In every pass, on every foot, he twists the enemy's  
pride,  
Thus Rana Pratap, my hero.

6. O Akbar, O snake-charmer, carrying a string and a  
*poongi*,  
O why take all this trouble?  
Into your basket of snake-like Rajput chiefs,  
Rana Pratap, my hero, would never come.

7. Carrying his queen, he runs about,  
The *udumbara* fruit has the sweet taste of nectar for  
him;  
The peaceful life under Akbar appears to be poison  
To this Rana Pratap, my hero.

8. (Every now and then) he keeps a fast,  
With a hungry stomach he sleeps like a tiger;  
But he never thinks of leaving the family tradition,  
Thus Rana Pratap, my hero.

9. The immortal wealth is only one, O Rana Pratap,  
And that is one's good fame that lives in the world  
after one's death;  
Both the sorrows and joys of this life  
Pass away rapidly like dreams.

Two of the *Doohas* of Surasch Taprya, a  
Chāran, are noteworthy.

The heroism of Rana Pratap, the master of Chitor,  
Grows like a plant of *champa* flowers;  
On its fragrant petals  
Drone-like Akbar has never come.

Rana Pratap gave a hard blow  
Of his sword that shone like gold;  
As the rays of the sun pass through clouds,  
It passed through the elephants.

Many songs about Rana Pratap are anony-  
mous. In some cases the original metre seems  
to have faded to acquire a uniform character.  
Nor is it easy to translate them literally, the  
obscure words do not yield their meanings  
readily; some of the phrases and old idioms are  
quite unintelligible to the aged Chārans them-  
selves to whose lips they still cling. Here are  
four songs translated with great difficulty:

1. In front of Raja Manu's elephant  
Accompanied by many a warrior  
Bahol Khan, the Mogul, stood like an elephant;  
Rana Pratap's sword that never misses its prey  
Fell on his head.



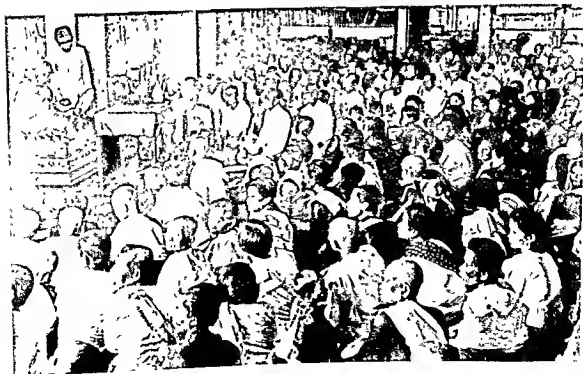
Rajput soldiers  
Patriotism was more than religion to them



*They fought for their country*  
Patriotism, that made the history of the Rajputs almost unique in the annals of the world  
was the cornerstone of Rajput Chivalry [Photographs: S. Bhatia]



Bhikkhu Narada of Ceylon addressing Cambodian Buddhist priests at the Buddhist Institute of Cambodia  
 [Courtesy Biblotheque Royale, Phnom Penh]



Bhikkhu Narada of Ceylon addressing an assemblage of laymen at the Buddhist Institute, Cambodia

## THE STORY OF CHANDIDAS

BY PROF. PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A., F.R.S.

### I

[Chandidas is one of the brightest luminaries in the literary firmament of Bengal, and historians of Bengali literature have waxed eloquent over the sweetness and pathos of his *padas* (verses), descriptive of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Līlā* (the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa). His lyrics are reported to have been the delight of Śrī Chaitanya-deva, the great Vaiṣṇav saint of Bengal. Still, Chandidas is a shadowy personality. Scholars declare they can trace two or more poets of the same name, each with a distinctive style of his own, while one also comes upon references to a "so-called Chandidas." A biographical poem has been, in recent years, unearthed; it has been edited by Prof. Joges Chandra Ray, Vidyānidhi, and a notice of the poem has appeared in *The Modern Review* for November, 1938. The date of the composition of the poem has been estimated by its editor to be the second decade of the nineteenth century, and it is based on a Sanskrit work composed in the seventeenth. Though the supernatural abounds in its narrative and miracles occur, yet there is a sufficient basis or substratum of truth or reality, on which the personality of Chandidas comes out in definite outlines. An outline of the story of the poem is given here, without any attempt at a literal, or even abridged, translation. The story begins with a dream, a common literary device, as students of English literature will agree;—the poet Cāḍmon began his paraphrase with a dream.]

### THE IMAGE OF BĀSALI

THE goddess Bāśali (an emanation or form of Śakti or divine energy) appeared as a Brahmin girl before Raja Hamir in a dream towards the early hours of the dawn, when dreams prove true. "O chief of men, know that I, Haimavati, have left Benares and come to you at Brahmanyapur, a small village; I am now to be found in the form of a block of stone and I am a trader's property now! Hasten, buy me in exchange from him; you shall offer me daily worship, and I will be your family deity. My name is Bāśali. Build me a temple

in your city, and in it place my image carved out of the stone."

A strange dream! Stranger still the sight that awaited the Raja. There stood Haimavati before him when he awoke: Haimavati, terrible to look at her hair dishevelled, with the *khāṇḍa* (sacred sword) in her hand, violent of mien, the eyes and the tongue lolling about, with a string of men's heads for her garland. The Raja fell prostrate at her feet and was assured by her of protection and blessing. And then—lo! she had disappeared. The divine commission could not be neglected; the Raja straightway called on the trader, who was not a little surprised to find him without the regal accoutrements and the usual retinue; he felt also a little anxious: was he suspect of any crime which the Raja had come to investigate and to punish? Hamir assured him there was nothing to fear; he had only come for a block of stone which the trader had with him, and in exchange the Raja would grant him remission of taxes and security against ill-treatment. Certainly this was no unreasonable request. Hamir was immediately given the stone, and as he carried it off on his head, the idea dawned on the trader: "Is it not strange, and of deep import, that the Raja took away a block of stone in this fashion? What can it be? Is it the touchstone, or is there any precious gem hidden in it? Or may be, it is a god or goddess transformed into a stone, that has been disgusted with me for my cold treatment, and now it has placed itself in the keeping of the Raja on that account?" Whatever the case, he fervently prayed for a *darshan* or sight of the immortal being that it might have contained, so as to make things straight for him.

His prayer was heard, and granted too. The goddess appeared before him in a flash, and explained: "You are as dear to me as Gaṇeś or Kartik, my sons. Your love holds me captive; how can I leave you? Even if I leave you in the body, I may not do so in the spirit. Now listen how I came to be here. Two brothers, Devidas and Chandidas, Brahmin by caste and residents of Brahmanapur, had gone to Benares with their mother in a fit of great

agony due to social persecution; on her death at Panchagangā Ghāt, they worshipped me in that piece of stone as their mother. After a while they asked me with folded hands: 'Mother, with your permission we are going to Dwarka. But what about your daily worship? Tell us that, or allow us to carry you on our head all the way to Dwarka.' My voice told them: 'You have my permission to go. May your desires be fulfilled! But don't you take this block of stone with you, for great suffering awaits you. When travelling abroad, offer worship in spirit; the stone image will come in due course. Some day or other you may like to visit your homestead; I shall be there before you in this stone block, and emerge out of it in human form, to delight my devotees. You will net as my priests. Having thus advised them I have, O trader, come away, carried on your bullock. Now that I have explained everything, do not mope but go about your business, it is getting late.' The trader heard, and obeyed with joy.

Meanwhile the Raja had quickly returned to the city with his load, bathed the block of stone in holy Ganges water with his own hands, and placed it on a mount. His royal consort came and laughed: "O chief of men, what have you to do with this block of stone? Numerous servants wait upon you, and for you to do this! Surely you are not in your senses." The Raja remonstrated: "Do not say so, my dear; this is none else but Gauri, the Fair One, who is imaged in a thousand ways in the Universe, now graciously condescending to accept my humble service in this form." Still the Rani doubted, and the Raja asked her to meditate on that block of stone if she wanted to test his statement. She did so, when lo and behold, out of the stillness of nature came forth the response: "Why, dearest, why dost thou call me?" That convinced the Rani and she began to pray; all the royal household joined her, great commotion prevailed, and the whole town was astir.

#### 1 DEVIDAS AND CHANDIDAS TO ACT AS PRIESTS

Thus went the day, and at night the Raja in his sleep again dreamt a dream. The goddess appeared before him and told him to dip the stone in milk all the hours of the night, and to send for the blacksmith on the morrow. He came when summoned, and chiselled the stone into an exquisitely fine image to the delight of all who saw it. How to worship the goddess? She herself gave the necessary directions: ten seers of rice per day with milk and *dāl* and fish;

*khichuri* in winter; the water used in bathing her feet, if taken, would be a great atonement. And as regards the priest, the goddess desired the Raja to employ Devidas and Chandidas of Brahmanyapur for the work, on suitable allowances so that they might be placed above want. "But where are they?" asked he. The goddess replied: "Soon shall you meet them. They are on their way home, back from their pilgrimage. Tomorrow you may expect them here."—"But what do you say, mother? They are outcasts, how can they be allowed to offer worship to you and be our priests? Chandidas is devoted, body and soul, to Rami, the washerwoman; they are never away from each other; so have I surprised them on the fields at Nanur; they were sitting together in a secluded corner and on my approach went hastily away. Sometimes I found Rami massaging Chandī's feet at the temple of Nityā; at other times I found her asleep with her feet nestling cosily on the bosom of Chandī. So how can he be a priest to you? I have heard all sorts of monstrosity in my day, but this beats them all."

#### THE RAJA'S REMONSTRANCE—THE 'DOUBTFUL ANTECEDENTS' OF CHANDIDAS

The Raja went on recounting the antecedents of Chandidas. Fishing in the Dhobaghat, the portion of the tank reserved for washermen, Chandidas was approached by Rami. In the villages, *purdah* is practically non-existent, and evidently they had been acquaintances with affinity of soul. She whispered to him, "What is this that you are doing? Why fish in this ghat? It is so very inconvenient to the womenfolk! Tell me, quick, where shall I fill my pitcher now?" Chandidas entreated her not to do it there, but move to some other place, as all the fish that might otherwise take the bait would be scared away; he was a Brahmin, and he would beg it as a favour. In return, he would give her some fish. Rami laughed and declared she did not want any fish, her demand was altogether of a different sort. Chandidas promising acquiescence, she said: "I want your love in exchange. That means for you, Chandidas, people's dispraise, royal persecution, social obloquy. All these you will have to bear. I have spoken; now tell me, will you close the deal?" Chandidas was surprised beyond measure and answered, "well, supposing I do, think now, what is to be the ultimate result of all this." Rami said: "Listen to me, friend, where all this is to end. We two shall sing of Rādhā and Krishna, and gain immortality and heavenly bliss." Chandidas:



with Chandrachuda and they found the god with hands stretched, ready for the acceptance of their worship. The liquid waves of the Ganges were flowing through his matted locks; his horn was rolling on the ground with his *damru* (a small drum shaped like an hour-glass); the tiger skin wrapped his loins; a necklace of bones was round his neck; the snake, coiled round his limbs, hissed. The sight of the god filled Rami with the spirit of devotion, and as she was about to place at his feet the beautiful flower she had picked up, he hastily prevented her, and said it was the same flower with which a certain *Sannyāsi* had worshipped the Lord Vishnu up in the Himalayas at the source of the Ganges; Siva, also a devotee of the Lord, could not have it at his feet but must bow to it. He asked Rami to take Chandidas back to their village home, and spread the sacred name 'Rādhā-Krishna among all and sundry. Doubting no more, Chandrachuda arranged to send Rami back to her place.

#### RAMI AND CHANDIDAS RE-UNITED

In the village home Dayananda went through the penance (*prāyascitta*) ceremony while Rohini mourned. Chandidas also agreed to go through the ceremony and the Brahmins, accepting him back into their fold, sat at their meals. Going in and out with his plate of rice, which he was serving to his guests, Chandī was suddenly accosted by Rami, who appeared one knew not whence. "Why, O Chandī, what is this? If you give your caste to your caste-people, what will become of me? Have you ever thought about that? Anyway, let us embrace and part." Chandidas was holding the plate of rice with two hands, how could he go in for the embrace? Behold, he has grown two hands more which grasp Rami's proffered hands.

This miracle escaped many, but a few witnessed it and raised a hubbub and rushed upon Rami "like the tumultuous roar of surging waters," but she, strange to relate, vanished into the thin air. In the confusion that followed, the guests departed, leaving the food served before them untasted; but Devidas was elated, he was so much overjoyed that he danced, grasping Chandī by his arms. He was sure the people round them were just then too dense to realise his brother's worth, but the day was not far off when they would realise it. If they tried to separate Chandī from Devi they would lose their all through fire, and they would be forced to taste the very dishes which they left now untouched. With Chandī's help he dug

a hole in the ground and filled it with the rice etc. covering it with earth. Their mother, *Vindhyaśini*, wept tears of sorrow. That evening the Brahmins met together and decided upon Chandī's death and Rami's exile, but lo! it was found out on the morrow that Devi and Chandī along with their mother had already left under cover of the night. In the following evening when the men had retired to bed and the lamps had been put out, a huge fire raged and, in spite of all attempts at salvage, burnt all the houses in the village to cinders, two houses only being left standing—those belonging to *Sanātan* the washer-man and to Devi. The outlook was indeed gloomy; there was no provision; for about a month the people lived on the supply sent by the Raja, but evidently it had its limit. The poor souls had to spend day and night in huts hastily got up on bamboo poles and thatched with leaves of trees. Once again did Rami appear before them; finding them in a repentant mood for their conduct towards her, she consoled them, and promised that Rohini would supply them with their requirements when they were in want. Thus assured, the villagers then began re-building their houses and it was possible for them to do so with Rohini's help. They were thankful for it; but two stayed away, her husband and father-in-law. They were ashamed and would not appear before her.

#### ROHINI'S RECONCILIATION WITH HER HUSBAND AND FATHER-IN-LAW

One day Bijaynarayan was sitting under a tree, pale and dejected, when Rami came and offered to place with him on deposit some treasures she had; this was necessary, she said, as she was uncertain in her movements. At first Bijaynarayan was unwilling; he saw through this move which had for its purpose his own good. Why should he, a Brahmin, be greedy of what belongs to other people? "Buy it," said Rami, "the price being Rohini's life. She has not touched any food since you came away; a few days more and she will die of starvation."—"Why then, kind and considerate as you seem to be, why did you spoil my caste, and I a Brahmin?" Rami said: "I assure you, Rohini is also a Brahmin by birth. Apart from that, these treasures belong to you of right." The Brahmin was persuaded to accept her offer, and they were reconciled. Then she divulged the secret of Rohini's birth; she was the daughter of *Bhābāni Jhoryat*, a Brahmin of pure birth who had ruled in *Brahmanyapur*. But the turbulent *Sāmantas* of

the land, expelled by him, rose in revolt, and twelve of them attacked the palace at night and killed him. In the confusion Sanātan, Rami's father, escaped with his wife and Rami and the young princess Rohini to his brother-in-law's place at Chatsila; Rami was then five and Rohini, one. After twelve years' stay abroad they had returned to their own village, and Rohini had observed the caste rules since her marriage. Rami's parents, her uncle Srinivas, she herself and the two brothers, Devidas and Chandidas, were privy to the secret, which should still be kept till the return of the last two. Rami told Dayananda also how she got the treasures from his mother's uncle, Chandrachuda.

All these the Raja had learnt by his secret methods—through his spies. Such being the antecedents of Chandidas, how could he be employed as a priest to Bāsali?

#### BUT BĀSALI STICKS TO HER CHOICE: RULES OF HER WORSHIP—THE QUESTION OF ANIMAL SACRIFICE

But Bāsali was adamant; she stuck to her choice. She informed Raja Hamir that Chandī was a spirit of Śiva, just as Rami was one of hers, and the Raja should be thankful that they had graced Brahmanyapur with their birth. The sole object of Rami's being was to protect Chandidas against the invasion of lust, to fill him always with the love of Rādhā and Krishna; their love was not of the flesh, but divine; and Bāsali had come there with her companion, Nityā, to save them from harm. Rami and Chandidas knew each other perfectly well; it was hard for a stranger to form a correct idea of their relationship.

On hearing this the Raja was distracted with grief: had not the community passed its orders of extreme penalty on Chandidas? Why did not Bāsali then come to his rescue? The Raja considered himself guilty because he had allowed the death of a true Brahmin, but Bāsali bade him be of good cheer, because she had intervened—killed the hangman, and sent Devī and Chandī to Benares. Now they were returning to their native place, and none but they should officiate as her priests.

An interesting talk ensues between the Raja and Bāsali. The goddess lays down the law regarding her *pūjā*, and says she would accept, if offered, a goat or a sheep, a buffalo or a rhino; this will amount to no sin. "How!" exclaimed the Raja; "is not *Ahimsā* the greatest virtue in the world?" The goddess replied with a smile: "The local custom or

the family practice is more binding than any *śāstra*, Śiva is offered fowl's eggs in the north; Narayan accepts wine and meat from the devotee, the water of the Ganges may not taste sweet, it may be dirty; still, its holiness is beyond criticism. The safest way is to acquire wisdom by following the family tradition. The more you advance that way, the more do you realize your unity with the world, and then you merge in the spirit of the Universe when you sacrifice your self." "But is not violence the greatest sin, and *ahimsā* the greatest virtue?" persisted the Raja. In reply the goddess sophistically asked: "Why then, O chief, does the virtuous Brahmin kill the poisonous snake? Why are human sacrifice and horse sacrifice recommended in the Vedas and the Puranas by holy men? Do those go to hell who perform these sacrifices? Is not the guest also called *go-ghna*, a man for whom the cow is sacrificed? Did not the river Charmanvati spring from the stream of bloodshed during a sacrifice? You know all that, still you keep on asking the same questions! Your day-to-day existence involves the death of millions of creatures. Can you help it?" Bāsali strengthened her arguments by unfolding to him a vision of a sacrifice in the heavens—numerous sheep and buffaloes were being offered and accepted. The Raja was satisfied, and went away.

#### BĀSALI MEETS THE TWO BROTHERS

Devidas and Chandidas came to the confines of their village, and to them appeared Bāsali. She advised them about their conduct and also relating to matters spiritual, referred Chandidas to an *avadhuta* named Ananda dwelling in the Susunia hills nearby, to whom he should go for initiation into a spiritual life. Incidentally she informed them of their previous life;—at Jubrajpur lived a woman named Hirā whose austerity pleased Haimavati so much that Hirā was granted the privilege of bathing in the Trivenī (or sacred confluence of the three rivers) in her own hut. She had three sons, Ballabh, Jitendriya and Paresih, and these three were accordingly asked to dig three tanks—which were, by the goddess' grace, connected by means of tunnels with the Ganges, the Saraswati and the Jumna; and Hirā used to dip herself everyday in the three tanks, which was thus virtually a dip in the Trivenī. The three brothers were reborn as Chandidas, Devidas and Nakul, while Vindhya was the same as Hirā of old. The goddess asked Chandidas now to devote himself to the com-

first friendly, but the spirit of combativeness grew, and the two stood ready to fight, one with the sword and the other with his *chakra*, to defend their respective *protégés*.

It is difficult to imagine what would have been the result of such a fight if it had taken place at all. But at this stage Chandidas and Rami intervened, appeased them and sent them away. It was left for Chandidas to effect a

friendship of the two chiefs, and when both were profuse with protestations of loyalty, Chandidas sealed the pact by promising to be at Bishnupur every year on the night of the full moon of Rās. Counselling by him, Gopal Singh returned to his territory with his soldiers before the night was over and before the people could discover his movements—his defeat and discomfiture.

(To be continued.)

## PEARL S. BUCK

American Nobel Prize Winner

By P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA

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THE Swedish Academy at Stockholm recently awarded the 1938 Nobel prize for literature to Pearl Buck, American author of *The Good Earth* and other novels about China.

Third American to win the Swedish honor, Mrs Buck follows Sinclair Lewis and Eugene O'Neill. She was the second woman in a decade to win this recognition for writing. The other was Sigrid Unset just ten years ago. Her name will now appear alongside those of such famous winners as Maurice Maeterlinck, Rudyard Kipling, Anatole France, William Butler Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, Luigi Prandello, Thomas Mann, and our own beloved Rabindranath Tagore.

Pearl Buck, in private life Mrs Richard J Walsh, said on November 10, 1938, one hour after learning of her triumph, that she was taken aback with the totally unexpected honor. Speaking in the office of her publisher, John Day Company in New York City, she recalled her first words as follows:

"I said, 'That's ridiculous,' and I suppose a great many others will say the same thing. Had Chinese expressions of gratitude come to mind? Certainly, I thought—though probably not aloud: 'O pu sing sin' (I don't believe it), but 'kung shikung shi' (congratulations)."

The author of *The Good Earth* and ten other books, numerous short stories and articles since 1930, was grateful that the Nobel prize for literature was based on the sum of a writer's work rather than any single product. In a broadcast to Sweden on November 10th at noon she defined one successful book as a sign of

growth and was hopeful that her development would continue.

Theodore Dreiser merited the honor, the author said over the air, continuing:

"I don't know him and he doesn't know me, but I feel diffident in accepting the award just the same."

She told of having visited Stockholm on a pleasure trip in 1932 and said she would try to be there on December 10th to accept the medal, scroll, and cheque from the hands of King Gustaf. The money will amount to between \$40,000 and \$50,000, it was learned.

Mrs Buck, as she prefers to be known publicly, gave a Press Conference the day after she received the coveted honor. She replied to questions carefully, yet appeared to enjoy the ordeal of flashlight bulbs and swift changes of topic in the interview.

She implied, the Nobel prize was a shade less thrilling than her notification in Nanking seven years ago of the Pulitzer prize. "It was the first intimation I had that my work interested my own people," she explained.

She was born in Hillsboro, in the state of West Virginia, on June 26, 1892, the daughter of two missionaries on leave from China—Abraham and Caroline Sydenstricker. Her childhood was spent on the Yangtze River in the town of Chinkiang. She mastered Chinese before she had learned English.

Pieces written by the little girl were published by the *Shanghai Mercury*. But she really found her way into print in 1923, with magazine

articles on China. *East Wind, West Wind*, a novel, had evolved by 1930, and, close on its heels, came the best seller, *The Good Earth*. Mrs. Buck declares that her favorite work was *Sons*, 1932, which "Americans failed to understand because it marked strongly my Chinese phase."

She was educated at Randolph Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, did post-graduate work at Cornell and Yale, and taught in three Chinese universities. Her own activity as a missionary ended about six years ago. She has two children and has adopted four more. Following her divorce from John Lossing Buck she married Mr. Walsh.

An almost unbroken literary identification with the Far East was interrupted last year when Mrs. Buck wrote *This Proud Heart*, a novel set in America. Another with a New York locale has been finished, she disclosed. Publication will be deferred until *The Patriot* is on the market.

The writer said:

"The latter is a Chinese-Japanese story dealing with the conflict, I'm altogether on the Chinese side personally and politically, yet I'm very fond of the Japanese people. I will never live in China again. I hope to visit the country when it becomes a certain what shape it will assume."

She discussed her method in writing, thus:

"I don't wait for moods—you'd never get anything done if you did. I write about four hours a day in terms of episodes, never stopping in an emotional crisis nor, for example, going into one just before luncheon."

"I think in the Chinese idiom and translate. That

may be why the result occasionally resembles scriptural English. The Chinese language, like King James' English, is simple and from the soil. My reading habits? Well, I keep something new and something old going all the time."

A telegram delivered to her at the Press Conference in her publisher's office on November 10th was the first official word she received. It read:

"The Swedish Academy has this day assigned to you the Literary Nobel Prize and would be grateful to receive by wire your acceptance to the Secretary of the Swedish Academy. (Signed) Per Hallstroem."

Mrs. Buck laughingly denied that she would "go on a spree" with the prize money; nor had she any need for a yacht or jewellery. After reflecting a moment, she observed: "Now I can devote myself to writing books I want to write. Fewer short stories will need to be written."

Mrs. Buck fully deserves this recognition. In her books she manages to combine the intellectual scheme of the modern novel with the simplicity, pungency, and savviness of the Oriental style, which to the Western mind, devoted in these times to the apprehension of reality in all its guises, seems to partake of a legendary quality. But there is also matter for the psychologist and for the social-mind in her books. And it is undoubtedly this fusion of the material of modern literature with the warm medium of the Oriental viewpoint which results in both a novel and a "story" that has secured so enthusiastic a reception for Mrs. Buck's works among the world's reading public.



or, the Secretary at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die, if they shall entirely cease."

### PUBLICATIONS

From the programmes of monthly meetings for the past several years it will be evident to every right-thinking person that really first-class communications, now submitted to the Society for publication are few and far between and that the Society has almost reached the languishing point. Since 1923, the Society has made three serious efforts to bring its Journal and other publications up-to-date, due to the enthusiasm of some one member, but as soon as such a member relaxed his energies, the publications fell into arrears again. The delay in the publication of papers has been mainly responsible for the quality and quantity of matter at present received for the Journal of the Society. There are several articles, which were accepted for publication over a decade or more ago, but they are either still lying in manuscript or, worse still, in metal at the press, for which the Society must have paid or has yet to pay large sums of money on account of the types having been kept standing. We specially wish to direct attention to a long article on the "Wild Men of Tibet" which was read by the General Secretary about 13 years ago. We understand blocks worth several hundreds of rupees were prepared for the article and the matter has been in type for over a decade. Recently several articles have appeared on the same subject in this country and abroad, and the non-publication of the article in the *Journal*, besides the unnecessary expense involved, has been a great loss to scholarship. If this article ever sees the light of day, we have no doubt that its chief merit will have considerably faded away by that time. There are several articles of this type, but we purposely selected the one where the author happens to be in Calcutta and is an Official of the Society. If any other author had been responsible for such a long delay, we have no doubt, a claim for the total cost would have been made from him. This Officer of the Society is maintained at a cost of Rs 750 a month, besides occasional honoraria which run into several thousands.

In the *Proceedings* for 1932 (p. cxvii), one finds that another member of the Council had his work on *Rubaiyyat of Umar-i-Khayyam* accepted by the Council for publication and in this connection received from the Society the cost of the blocks (*Proceedings* for 1932, p. cxvii) that he had prepared for the edition.

The press set up the matter in May 1934, and though the author is in Calcutta and is still a member of the Council, the edition has not been published so far.

To take another instance: another member of the Council of the Society, who besides getting remuneration for publication of works in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, gets a monthly remuneration of Rs. 200 in connection with the publication of the Catalogue of Arabic and Persian manuscripts. When in 1934 (*Year Book* for 1934, p. 89), this Officer of the Society was entrusted with the task there was a considerable stuff in the press and in manuscript left by Mr Ivanow as long ago as 1929; it was then expected that the matter would be finished within a couple of years. But it is surprising that though this officer has received over Rs 9000 in remuneration no further volume of the *Catalogue* has yet been issued. Of course completion of the work would have meant termination of the monthly allowance, and thus the delay may be understandable, but such neglect means that there cannot be any supervision by the members of the Council over their colleagues in the Council. We shall refer to this matter again in connection with the Rules of the Society.

Among the *Bibliotheca* works in English, it is well known that *Albarnama* and *Vajjalagam* have been in the press since 1919, *Kasar Saga* since 1925 and *Tabaqat-i-Albarni* since 1932. Of the Sanskrit works, which have been in the press for several years, reference may be made to *Kuttanimitam*, *Dharmabindu*, *Tirthakalpa*, *Avadana Kalpalata*, *Atmatattvavivēka*, *Vaikhāṇasya Sūtra* and *Saundarananda Kavya*; Tibetan work in the press is *Dowazangus* with notes and without notes, and Arabic and Persian work is *Haft Iqlim*. It would certainly seem remarkable that a reprint of the Third Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress was ordered by the Council in 1931 (*vide Proceedings* for 1931, p. cxxvi), and the matter for the reprint is in type since 1931 and has not yet been printed off.

The Society also publishes "Descriptive Catalogue of San-krit MSS" and a member of the Society is paid an honorarium of Rs 100 per month to attend to this work. Since this arrangement on monthly payment basis was made, the quantity of the work, if any, turned out is very small and the net result is that the third volume on *Tantra* which has been in the press since 1934 has not made its appearance yet. Even in this case a little delay on personal grounds is understandable, because the complete-

opinion obtained by the President in 1924, the subsequent practice of giving this allowance to the General Secretary even when he was not carrying on the actual duties of the General Secretary, shows that its administration has been based as if the incumbent had been a paid servant of the Society liable to ordinary leave rules, etc. In 1925, Mr. Van Manen was absent from Calcutta on a visit to Nepal, for three weeks in May and June, and received his remuneration for this period. In 1927, on a report being placed before the Council regarding the General Secretary's health it was—

"Resolved that the General Secretary be granted six months' leave with continuation of full compensation allowance from 1st May, or such subsequent date as he may avail himself of it and that he be given an honorarium of Rs. 4,000" (*Proceedings for 1927, p. LXXIV*).

The General Secretary was again absent on leave from 28th April to 26th May, 1930, and was allowed to draw full allowance. In the *Proceedings for 1931, (p. cxviii)*, it is mentioned that "the General Secretary, to arrange absence on leave with the President or his substitute," but there is no mention of the actual period for which the General Secretary was away from Calcutta. Again on 31st July, 1933, leave was granted for two months from such date as the General Secretary may find convenient and he was allowed to draw the full compensation allowance during his period of absence. In 1936, the General Secretary again proceeded on six months' leave and the Council not only allowed him to draw his compensation allowance at the full rate during his period of absence but granted a further honorarium of Rs. 4,000. It may be noted that the persons who acted for the General Secretary during his period of absence, carried on the full duties in an honorary capacity.

In the case of the other members of the Council, no sanction of the Council is ever sought or found necessary for any period of absence from Calcutta. This also shows that the position of the present General Secretary, who draws a compensation allowance from the funds of the Society, is quite different from other members (except one) who are honorary in the real sense of the terms.

The liberality of the Council in giving such compensation allowances will be further evident from the fact that in the *Proceedings for 1930*, the following extract from the Minutes of the Council dated the 30th June, 1930 is given below :

#### THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

"The President requested the General Secretary to withdraw from the meeting, after which he raised the question of the General Secretary's financial position. He pointed out that the Office of the General Secretary, as an unpaid Office, puts the incumbent to appreciable expenses wholly incurred in the performance of his duties. Hitherto a personal compensation allowance of Rs. 500 monthly had been paid to meet such expenses but this was evidently not sufficient. He suggested that this personal compensation allowance should be raised to Rs. 750 only and moved formally that this should be done with effect from the 1st July, 1930. The Honorary Treasurer seconded the proposal. Carried unanimously."

The above resolution clarifies the position of the General Secretary's compensation allowance for the first time, though it does not take into consideration that this Office is *honorary* and is meant only for those who can do the work without charging any remuneration for the same. The practice from 1784 to 1923, as also during the periods of absence of the present General Secretary, is wholly ignored. There is no dearth of the lovers of the Society who would carry on the duties in an honorary capacity, provided they had the adequate staff for the routine work.

That the General Secretary is a member of the staff, so far as the administration of monthly payments and grant of leave, etc are concerned, is further clear from the fact that the Council fixed the car allowance of the General Secretary at Rs. 120 per mensem out of his total allowance of Rs. 750 per mensem for rebate on Income-Tax and that the income-tax on his allowance is deducted at source along with those of the other members of the staff (*vide Year Book for 1934, p. 83*).

Though by the end of 1938, the General Secretary will have received a sum of Rs. 1,21,000 as compensation allowance and Rs. 8,000 as honorarium, the matter has never been brought to the notice of the general body of members who, in accordance with the provisions of Rule 64, Clause C, should have been consulted in spending such a large amount and in making a big change in the organization by keeping a General Secretary who was only willing to work on getting personal compensation, honorarium, leave on full salary, etc.

#### II. SHANSU'L-ULAMA KHAN BAHADUR DR. Hidayet Hosain

By a Council resolution dated the 27th August, 1934, (*vide Year Book for 1934, p. 89*), it was proposed to continue the Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts. The proposal was accepted and Dr. Hidayet Hosain was placed in charge at a remuneration of Rs. 200 per mensem.

The preparation of the Persian and Arabic Catalogues was under the charge of Mr. Ivanow, who worked as a paid servant of the Society on a remuneration of Rs. 150, which was later increased to Rs. 200 per month. This scholar had done an admirable piece of work and served the Society well for a number of years.

At the time of his leaving the Society Mr. Ivanow had a great deal of matter ready for publication, some in page-proof, some in galley-proof and some in manuscript. This was not attended to for a number of years, and when Dr. Hidayet Hosain retired from the Educational Service, the Council entrusted to him the work of the Catalogue. Dr. Hosain is a scholar of repute, but it is amazing that since 1931, not even one page of the Catalogue has been published so far, though in 1937 a work by him was accepted by the Council for *Bibliotheca Indica* at the usual remuneration of Rs. 2-8 per page.

In spite of Dr. Hosain having succeeded a paid servant of the Society for the Catalogue work, he still continues on the Council as Joint Philological Secretary, who is really the official of the Society in charge of the Persian and Arabic sections of the Society. Thus his position is very anomalous, for he, as Joint Philological Secretary, has to supervise his work on the Arabic Catalogue of which no monthly, quarterly or annual report is made to the Council. The net result is that, though the Society up to the end of 1938 will have spent Rs. 10,400 on this work in remuneration to Dr. Hosain alone, nothing has been published so far. If the Society had engaged Dr. Hosain on the usual term of Rs. 2-8 per page remuneration, the work would have long been completed, for it would have meant the publication of 4,160 pages for Rs. 10,400.

### III. MR. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, AN ORDINARY MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY

The Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts was started by the late M.M. H. P. Shastri and he published six volumes of the Catalogue. A remuneration of Rs. 300 per mensem was paid to him by the Government of Bengal through the Society. After his death, on a suggestion by the Philological Secretary, the Council agreed to have a preface written to Vol. VII of the Catalogue (*vide Proceedings for 1933, p. LXIX*), but later when the Government agreed to make a grant to the Society for the Catalogue, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti was definitely entrusted with the work on a remuneration of Rs. 100 per month with retrospective

effect. In the beginning Mr. Chakravarti did some useful work, but as soon as the monthly remuneration was fixed the work slackened, with the result that even Volume VIII which had been partly prepared by the late M.M. Shastri has not made its appearance. Mr. Chakravarti will have received from the Society as remuneration a sum of Rs. 6,350 by the end of 1938, and in accordance with the terms of remuneration for work in *Bibliotheca Indica* he should have published 2,540 pages for this amount.

Besides the laxity of work that has resulted from such monthly payments to members, there has been visible a great demoralising effect of such a policy on the entire administration of the Society. The way in which the spirit of Rule 73 has been evaded and new terms coined such as, *compensation, remuneration, etc.* for salary, it seems highly desirable that the Rule should be amended. Some other members of the Council are also paid remuneration from time to time for work in *Bibliotheca Indica*. This practice is not objectionable provided it is based on merit and not on patronage.

### GENERAL LECTURES

From the point of view of the general public, the General Lectures arranged by the Society are of special interest. This practice, started by Mr. G. H. Tipper in 1925, had worked very well for some time, but after three years it languished altogether. Thanks to the energetic efforts of Mr. N. Barwell, the lectures were revived again in 1931, but they were neglected during the next two years. In 1934, Sir L. L. Fermor managed to revive them, but since then there have been no lecture in 1935 and 1936 and one lecture in 1937 and 1938 respectively. That the Council has failed in its duties in this connection is clear from the fact that the very first Regulation concerning General Lectures provides that :

"The Council shall arrange for the delivery of up to four general lectures annually, to be held in the Society's rooms, and during the winter season, between the 1st of November and last of March."

In view of the cessation of the Public Lectures at the Indian Museum, for some years, the General Lectures of the Society would have been doubly welcome for the public of Calcutta.

### MONTHLY MEETINGS

Another matter in which the members and the public are greatly interested are the

Ordinary Monthly Meetings of the Society. On account of lack of suitable papers, scrappy things are now being served to the members and in consequence the attendance at the meetings is very low. Sir L. L. Fermor, who will long be remembered for his energetic work for the Society during his Presidentship, tried to enliven these meetings and as a result the attendance increased considerably. It was in the August 1934 meeting that the general body of members considered the question raised by Sir L. L. Fermor to the effect that

"to make the Monthly Meetings of the Society more attractive and interesting" and suggested that "an endeavour might be made to induce scholars to communicate to the meetings of the Society preliminary results of their investigations and to make interesting exhibits of novelties from time to time, apart from the question of subsequent publication of the fully worked out result"

It is stated in the Year Book of the Society for 1934 that :

"In the course of the discussion it was suggested that a periodical report of the meetings containing an abstract of papers received, communications made, or exhibits shown might be issued between the meetings to all members so as to keep them in closer touch with the activities and current affairs of the Society. Another suggestion made was that this report might publish questions addressed to the office or officers of the Society in order to find a wider circle of experts who might be in a position to contribute suitable replies. The opinion of the meeting was decidedly in favour of such a measure as suggested."

The Council, acting in accordance with the opinion of the general body of members, started a new publication *Advance Proceedings and Notices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the first number of the first volume appeared in October, 1934. The practice was not new, as monthly proceedings were issued to the members in the earlier stages of the Society's history and, in terms of the Rules, correspondence of considerable interest is published in these Proceedings. In the Introductory note to the first number of the new publication the General Secretary of the Society *inter alia* made the following observations :

"The utility of the new publication will to a certain extent depend on the co-operation of the members. Its primary aim is to furnish a channel of regular and quick information to the members concerning the current affairs of the Society, and in general it should express the vitality and activity of our institution."

So long as Sir L. L. Fermor was the President, the new periodical was issued more or less regularly; soon after his retirement from India it became intermittent and has now languished altogether. Its publication was greatly appreciated by the members and judging by the

standard set by the General Secretary to judge "the vitality and activity of our institution" it can safely be stated that the institution has also languished. It is impossible to imagine how in an organized institution like the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the officers of the Society can ignore the orders of the Council and the decisions of the general body of members. Indeed, it is amazing that nobody has taken any action in the matter so far.

#### STAFF

In connection with the present inactivity of the Society one often hears from certain interested persons that the "staff" of the Society is not sufficient to do the multifarious duties. The members and the public will be interested to know that the Society, out of its estimated income of about Rs. 56,000 spends about Rs. 31,000 on the salaries and allowances of its staff. The actuals for the past three years are as follows :

Year	Income	Salaries & Allowance of Staff
1935	. 56,011	31,856
1936	. 52,368	31,088
1937	.. 50,975	30,098

It will thus be seen that already about three-fifths of the total income is being spent on the staff and during the last year an additional appointment of an Assistant Secretary was made in the scale of Rs. 250 to Rs. 500. It is no wonder in these circumstances that the income of the Society is spent in relieving unemployment rather than in carrying on the normal functions of the Society.

Regarding the income of the Society, attention may particularly be directed to two items, *Advertising*, Rs. 9,600 and *Rent*, Rs. 9,300. When the Society leased out the two plots from which the above income of Rs. 18,900 is derived about 1928, on a proposal by the General Secretary, the Finance Committee recommended to the Council :

"That in case any lease proposals are accepted by the Council, the Finance Committee recommends that any income derived from such leases should be invariably transferred to the Permanent Reserve Fund of the Society and not to be used for current expenditure." (Proceedings for 1923 p. cxviii).

The Council, however, decided to allocate Rs. 10,000 out of this income to the Reserve Fund, but in 1931, a sum of Rs. 5,000 out of this allotment to the Reserve Fund was deflected to the current expenditure and in the following



year the whole amount was so deflected. This state of affairs continues up to the present day. So in considering the normal income of the Society, this extraordinary income should be kept aside and in that case the income is just enough to meet the salaries and allowances of the staff. During the period from 1931 to 1937, no increments were given to the staff in their salaries on account of low finances of the Society, though in accordance with the terms of their appointments they were legally entitled to these increments. However, quite a different treatment was shown to the General Secretary by the Council. As indicated above in 1939, the President raised the question of the financial position of the General Secretary and his personal compensation allowance was raised from Rs. 500 a month to Rs. 750 a month.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Upto 1923, under Mr. Elliot's Assistant Secretaryship, the work of the Society went so well, but since the appointment of the present General Secretary the staff has been considerably increased with a distinct fall in the activities of the Society. In 1924 a File Clerk, in

1925 an Additional Clerk for Old Files, in 1926 a Head Clerk, in 1927 a Press Clerk and in 1938 an Assistant Secretary were added to the staff. With all this additional staff, the work of publications is in arrears and the correspondence during 1937 showed the number of outgoing letters as 1,067 against incoming letters 3,438. These figures clearly show the amount of attention and service that the staff renders to the general body of members and the public at large.

Many more instances of the neglect of the Officers and Council of the Society could be cited, but enough has been said to show that the affairs of the Society are not in a healthy condition and that its management is very lax. Even in the award of medals favouritism is shown. The time in our opinion is ripe when members should take full interest in this old institution of India and call a general meeting to appoint a Committee to look into the working of the Society in all its aspects. If suitable steps, strictly in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of the Society, are not taken immediately, an irreparable injury will be done to this great institution.



## A LESSON IN WORLD POLITICS

By SHUTARO TOMIMAS, M.A. (Columbia)

THE partition of Czechoslovakia brought about a world-wide consternation. Its immediate reaction on the American mind was presented in the recent editorials of the daily papers. As the first shock has subsided, the publicists have begun to discuss the question; some of them making a prediction as to the probable outcome of such a settlement in the future. At this juncture, it might be appropriate to make a brief survey into the fundamental lesson in world politics.

Within the recent past, Germany has been engaging in the work of repudiating certain provisions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, prejudicial to her national existence. So far, she has been successful in freeing herself from some of the shackles imposed upon her. At the same time, Europe has been overwhelmed by the fear and apprehension of another war with Germany.

The popular notion that the Treaty of Versailles took the Sudeten areas from Germany is erroneous. The territory in question did not originally belong to Germany but to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore, it is proper to view the present partition of Czechoslovakia together with the annexation of Austria last spring as an attempt on the part of Germany at creating a dominant Power overlapping the "Mittel Europa"—an aspiration of the German leaders before 1914.

We are not, however, concerned here with whether Feuhrer Hitler violated Treaty obligations by dismembering the mosaic state or whether Premiers Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini did not violate both the letter and the spirit of the same provisions when they literally became his accomplices in Munich in the annexation of Sudetenland by Germany. Nor are we anxious to discuss in detail the merit or demerit of diplomacy employed by the heads of Governments of the former "Allied and Associated Powers" in seeking peace in Europe from the hands of the bellicose Hitler. Again, we are not interested in questioning whether the British loan of fifty million dollars to Czechoslovakia should be regarded as "bush money." These questions are at present being weighed and discussed in the deliberations in England, France, and the United States.

However, we are here interested in inquiring into the motif controlling political events in Europe in the last two decades from Paris in 1919 to Munich in 1938. As old as the society of nations, this theme is no other than the application of physical force in world politics. It is also to be pointed out that Czechoslovakia, an overnight product of power politics in Paris, was destined to lose her territorial integrity in Munich in a single afternoon under the pressure of the same motif which forced President Benes to take to his heels—a veritable reminder of the significance of the old adage: "Rome was not built in a day".

No American can deny with reason that the Treaty of Versailles was a direct outcome of the victory of the Allies, which was made possible only when they thrust the enormous natural resources on this American continent, including three million soldiers, on the side of the then tottering Allies. After the defeat of Germany, the sum total of international statesmanship exhibited in Paris, including that of President Wilson, produced the Treaty to seal the "War to End War".

Needless to say, it is absolutely incumbent upon the victors to preserve this physical force intact—or at least strong enough to cope with the resurgence of the vanquished—in order to perpetuate peace in Europe under the provisions of the said Treaty. The moment the pressure is removed its reaction manifests itself. This law of physics applies to the domain of world politics without mercy or stint.

Unfortunately, with the cessation of the conflict, this plain truth was totally forgotten either because of false pretence or studied connivance, or both. Added to this ominous situation, with the creation of the League of Nations, a political theory styled as "peace by negotiations" was advanced with both artificial credence and vigor. As a matter of fact, it became rampant in almost all the countries including even the United States which ostracized the League. The consequence was the prevalence of popular notion that the World War was won by the sheer enunciation of moral principles instead of "blood and iron." It was also claimed that international peace could be maintained by verbal phraseology, in spite of

the fact that the last decade was marked by the greatest armament race in the history of the nations, with the total expenditure for this year estimated at over seventeen billion dollars. In retrospect, this was perhaps the age of paradox and decadence in world politics.

The solidarity among the victors of 1918 was soon to disappear with America's retreat from the scene of Europe not long after the Armistice. On the other hand, it took a decade for Germany to nurse her wounds inflicted during and after the Great War. Particularly after the advent of Herr Hitler, she came out boldly to repudiate almost all the shackles of the Treaty and went still further. Thus, 1938 has already witnessed the Reichfuhrer annexing Austria and Sudetenland by simply brandishing his "mailed fists". Today, he has already surpassed the work of Bismarck and the Third Reich is now on the fair road to a Pan-German Empire. Although the Anglo-American mind is singularly, if not lamentably, reluctant to accord a due credit to anything Teutonic, particularly anything Nazi, the French will be compelled before long to compare the achievements of Hitler to those of Napoleon.

Then, what is the secret of Hitler's triumph? It is an astonishingly simple affair, his technique being preying on human fears with the speed of lightning. Each time, he has struck at his object by relentlessly utilizing the fear and apprehension of humanity of the recurrence of another world war, and that actually without courting such a recurrence. Perhaps, the best illustration is his most recent manoeuvrings theatrically staged in Berchtesgaden, Godesberg and Munich amidst the trepidation of the world. At the same time, if he acted on "bluff" in his dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and his annexation of Austria, he might no longer find any necessity for resorting to this particular method of tactics in the future when he once secured, as an unavoidable consequence, the hegemony of Germany in Central Europe.

It should be added here that the German Chancellor, in his blatant onslaught, is acting at present also on his assumption or rather gambling, despite the historical fact to the contrary, that the United States would not align herself on the side of his antagonists. That the predominance of anti-war psychology is manifestly stronger in the United States at present than in the fateful days of the spring of 1917, has prompted him to such a move, there is no question. Had he received from the American President at a psychological moment

the notification of an immediate application of physical strength on the part of the United States to redress the shifting balance in Europe, instead of the Rooseveltian persuasion, both graceful and gracious, the present solution of Czechoslovakia would have been a different one.

Today, no nation either in Europe or any other part of the world would dare to precipitate a world catastrophe again in the full knowledge of America's participation as its enemy. In this sense, it is not too much to predict that, in the final analysis, the future of world peace depends largely, if not solely, on whether the United States can resort to the application of force, as she did in 1917-18, as her part of responsibility for, and contribution to, world peace. If such be the case, it is not necessarily the audacity of the present writer to venture to say that a twenty years' vacillation, on the part of the United States, between an extravagant internationalist and a wild isolationist ideas, failed to accomplish much for the promotion of international peace. Of all the human frailties, the saddest is the satiety and stagnation in the foreign policy of a great nation.

In the face of this situation, what can so-called Western Democracies as well as the United States do? One cannot defend the sovereignty of a modern State or the sanctity of a treaty by simply building the Maginot castles in the air any more than he can maintain world peace by resorting to the mere theory of "Collective Security" of the League of Nations whose utter impotence we have witnessed for the last few weeks. It is nothing short of a height of unsophistication for any nation to indulge in a day-dream in world politics of the present day. During the turmoils of the Manchurian Incident several years ago, the Japanese Foreign Minister cautioned the statesmen of the West with these words: "To face the fact is the first requisite of statesmanship" "Nihil ex nihilo fit." Nothing can come from nothingness in world politics as well as in the Law of Nature.

In an incessant effort of humanity for a permanent peace, to the altar of which we have still to dedicate untold sacrifices, when necessary, the first and foremost lesson is perhaps the realization of the significance of philosophy enshrined in the following stanza from Shelley's ode "To the Skylark":

"We look before and after,

And pine for what is not:

Our sincerest laughter

With some pain is fraught;

Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

## THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN NAKAMURA

By LI NEI-CHONG

CAPTAIN NAKAMURA, officer in his Imperial Majesty's army of occupation in Nanking, received with satisfaction permission to spend a fortnight's leaves in Shanghai. The old Chinese capital was a dull city. There were no comfortable Japanese restaurants where he could discard his rough boots and sit down on a *tatami*, and where he could have good *sukiyaki*, *saké* and *geisha*. Going to Shanghai, gayest of cities in the Far East, was like having a lascivious dream repeated, but with this difference: it would be going back to reality. And now he possessed the means with which to buy the pleasures he was greedily anticipating.

Three fellow-officers travelled with Captain Nakamura in a first-class compartment of the Shanghai-Nanking Express. All of them were unshaven and still in their field uniforms. They did not discuss the war. In their eight-hour journey they exchanged perhaps a score of phrases which were of no importance. They gazed out of the window and saw many untilled fields and partly demolished villages.

When the train drew into Shanghai's North Station, famous in the fighting between the Chinese and Japanese in 1932 and then again in 1937, they mechanically saluted each other and parted. Each had a different rendezvous.

Captain Nakamura kicked the wheel of a waiting rickshaw and stepped into it. The gaunt coolie, drowsing between the shafts of the vehicle, slowly stood up and asked: "Sa di fong?" The officer said: "Chapoo loo." When they reached Chappoo Road, the coolie was ordered to stop outside a Japanese shop. Five coppers, a sum that even a very poor man would be ashamed to pay him for such a run, was put into his hand. He started to protest. Captain Nakamura's right hand touched the hilt of his sword. The coolie shrugged his shoulders, picked up the shafts of his rickshaw and walked away.

The Kobayashis received their friend with many bows and exclamations of joy. They fed him with *muchi* and bowls of pale green tea. They talked volubly and boastfully of the war. After some time a steaming hot

bath was got ready in the family's high wooden tub.

Captain Nakamura slept as soundly and as peacefully as if he had not a worry on his conscience.

The next day at noon, shaved and in a fresh uniform he set out for the home of Mr. Waung Mei-tuk. As an intelligence officer, he had helped to arrange for Mr. Waung, middle-aged son of a statesman famous in the days prior to the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty, to serve as a member of the puppet council of Greater Shanghai, the territory beyond the International Settlement and the French Concession.

Mr Waung had failed in politics and in business as well. He had none of the qualities which enable men to accumulate wealth and to make them successful in the eyes of the world. His was a mediocre brain. And his life of ease and luxury had made him a moral weakling. His vices were expensive. At the time the Japanese had become masters of Shanghai, in 1937, he had run through almost the whole of a vast fortune his father had left him.

He was fond of *mahjong*. He could sit at a table for three whole days playnig continuously except for a few hurried minutes for food and drink. When he was not gambling, he spent night after night in the private clubs of rich merchants, where banquets of forty-eight courses were not infrequent, and where the losers of "guess-fingers" consumed innumerable bowls of wine. And here the city's most noted and expensive *sing-song* girls were invited to entertain them.

The Japanese intelligence service had decided to utilise Mr. Waung only after they had failed to get Chinese of standing to become their marionettes in Shanghai. When he was invited to turn traitor and throw in his lot with the Japanese, he was stricken with two emotions. Shame and fear. His shame he overcame quickly: he had few scruples left. But his fear he found far less easy to subdue. He shivered at the thought of the terrorist's bullets and bombs that had slain so many renegade Chinese.

After several days of indecision, Mr. Waung

succumbed to the Japanese offer of a generous monthly salary of two thousand dollars and a promise to provide for his personal protection. In exchange, all he had to do was to allow himself to be nominated a member of the new government, and sign certain documents the Japanese would draw up from time to time.

Japanese military officers and government officials not infrequently called on him at his residence, so he was not surprised when one of his bodyguards brought in Captain Nakamura's visiting card. Perhaps he had something of importance to tell him? And yet perhaps not. Japanese agents forced their presence upon him for hours at a time, sipping his tea and smoking his cigarettes. They talked in monosyllables apparently about nothing in particular, but actually to try to discover whether he was trying to double-cross them or not. He had grown accustomed to their mysterious allusions and sometimes child-like suspicions, and could wait placidly for them to depart.

Mr. Waung lifted his big, flabby body from his blackwood armchair and advanced a few steps to meet Captain Nakamura as he entered the room. They bowed and exchanged stereotyped smiles and words of greeting. Mr. Waung gestured to the Japanese to take a seat. The waiting servant was sent to bring in tea, sweetmeats and melon-seeds.

After many minutes of polite conversation, Captain Nakamura said:

"Mr. Waung, there is a little matter I should like your permission to speak about."

"Why, certainly, Captain Nakamura, please speak."

"I have two cheap pieces of jewellery. Will you be so kind as to take a look at them?"

"With the greatest of pleasure, Captain."

Mr. Waung began to grow uneasy. This officer had helped to set him up in his present post, and now he had come to demand payment. He, of course, would not be so crude as to ask bluntly for cash. There were other ways of getting it from him. And what was simpler than to insinuate that he should buy, what would actually turn out to be, some tawdry pieces of jewellery for a large sum? If he failed to show himself sufficiently grateful, there would be nothing to prevent Captain Nakamura from framing up something upon him which would bring him, not a Chinese bullet, but a bullet from the revolver of a Japanese assassin.

Captain Nakamura methodically unbuttoned his tunic, and from a cloth body-belt

withdrew a small leather wallet. He opened it carefully and pulled out some object wrapped in a white silk handkerchief.

"Mr. Waung, I invite you to look at what is here."

Mr. Waung slowly unfolded the handkerchief. Two pearl ear-rings lay before him. They were the ear-rings he had given to his little sister.

Captain Nakamura did not see Mr. Waung start, because he did not. And he did not see him turn ghastly pale, for the simple reason that his face was the face of an opium smoker. And Captain Nakamura failed, as was natural, to hear how furiously Mr. Waung's heart was thumping.

For a long time Mr. Waung studied the pearls. He looked at them this way and that way. They were as translucently white, flawless and beautiful as when he gave them to the lovely child a few short years back. The pearl ear-rings had cost him a small fortune, but they were well worth it, if not for their intrinsic value, then for the joy they had given her. In his hands lay once again the two pearl ear-rings.

"Captain Nakamura, these ear-rings are very fine. Will you please sell them to me?"

"What do you think they are worth, Mr. Waung?"

"Ah, that is for you to say."

Captain Nakamura had no idea of their real value. Possibly they were worth a few hundred dollars. But he had come determined to extract at least five thousand dollars from Mr. Waung. He felt sure that there would be long bargaining, over what was ostensibly the ear-rings, but in reality, the sum he calculated Mr. Waung would allow himself to be blackmailed into giving. And that partly depended upon how much his office had fetched him aside from the monthly salary he received.

"Ten thousand dollars, Mr. Waung."

"Captain Nakamura, you are laughing surely! These are very good pearls, but I can not give you more than two hundred dollars for them."

"I took them to a jeweller's this morning, and he priced them at ten thousand. It is because you are, as I happen to know, a great lover of pearls, that I thought I should do you the favour of permitting you to purchase them. You are a rich man, Mr. Waung. I am sure you would like to have them."

"You are most kind, Captain. But you are not altogether right; I am a very poor man

now. I can not afford to offer you, more than a thousand dollars."

"I wish to please you, Mr. Waung. Shall we say nine thousand dollars?"

"Good. Let me double my thousand. I will give you two thousand dollars. A thousand for each ear-ring. This is the very most I can spend, even if the pearls were ten times as valuable."

Captain Nakamura, sure that he had not yet wrung the last dollar from Mr. Waung, quickly retorted:

"No, no, Mr. Waung. I have no doubt you would not want me to go away and take these ear-rings to the jeweller's. I suggest we agree to seven thousand five hundred."

The last words were spoken in a conciliatory tone, but they held a threat.

"I can only meet generosity with generosity," Mr. Waung said. "What do you say to five thousand dollars, Captain Nakamura?"

The faces of the two men were wreathed in smiles as at the conclusion of a mutually satisfactory bargain. Mr. Waung poured out fresh bowls of tea which they sipped in silence. Each was immersed in his own thoughts. Mr. Waung was the first to speak.

"How would you like to have your money, Captain Nakamura?"

"I think it would be most convenient if you were to give it to me in cash."

"I am sorry I can not do so now. Would it be all right to-morrow?"

Captain Nakamura nodded agreement.

"Yes, if it suits you. But it might look a little strange for me to pay you a second visit so soon."

Mr. Waung meditated for a moment. Then he said:

"Captain, I have not been to a Japanese restaurant for a long time. Perhaps you will permit me to invite you to-morrow evening to a little dinner? I could then hand you the money."

"That is not right, Mr. Waung. You must be my guest."

"Very well."

The time and place were soon decided upon. The parting bowls of tea were drunk. The officer stood up. Once again Mr. Waung beaved his ponderous body from his blackwood chair. He towered over his visitor as he accompanied him to the door.

Captain Nakamura, cap in hand, and Mr. Waung, bowed low. Both said:

"Until to-morrow"

Captain Nakamura strode down the long

gravel path in the garden. The sentry saluted but he did not notice him. He went through the side-door of the great iron-gate and out into the street. In his elation, the medley of noises made by the loudly clanging bells of the tram cars, the half-chant of the coolies pulling heavily laden carts, and the tooting horns of motor cars sounded to him like music from one of his favourite plays.

Mr. Waung drank one more bowl of tea. He ordered his servant to bring him his dinner.

On the following evening, at a little before seven, Captain Nakamura arrived at the Golden Chrysanthemum restaurant. It was in one of the alley-ways off Wosung Road in the Hongkew district, the stronghold of Japanese merchants and shop-keepers in Shanghai. He had telephoned the previous day to have the best room reserved for him. The dishes had been chosen with care. And the two prettiest serving girls had been told to hold themselves fresh and sweet to attend to the needs of two very important gentlemen.

At seven Mr. Waung, dressed in his finest blue silk gown stepped out of his limousine. For the first time in many months he did not feel the least apprehension when outside his home. But, as usual, he was escorted by two of his bodyguards. Leisurely they walked down the alley-way.

One of the guards pushed open the wooden gate to the restaurant. A little bell tinkled overhead. The proprietor was expecting Mr. Waung. As he entered the miniature garden with its dwarf trees and tiny pool, he was greeted with much show of respect.

"Captain Nakamura is waiting for you, sir. Will you come this way, please?"

Mr. Waung dismissed his men. The Japanese ordered a maid to take off his shoes and to provide him with a pair of slippers. Captain Nakamura at this moment came down the polished wooden stairs. He was feeling happy and pleased with himself. He welcomed his guest with genuine warmth.

The room he had reserved was the largest in the restaurant. It over-looked the garden. A high wall served as a barrier to the outside world and gave them the promise of seclusion. Silken cushions were carefully arranged on the *tatami*. In one corner a fine porcelain vase held long branches of cherry blossoms, half pink and half white.

The two men sat cross-legged at the low table in the middle of the room. Captain Nakamura clapped his hands and sang out:

"Nai-san : "

One of the two maids waiting to serve them, gave an answering "Hai : " Softly they padded up the steps and into the room, bending demurely, eyes cast down to their white stockings feet.

"Nai-san, bring tea and get the dinner ready."

Presently they brought in on lacquer trays a variety of foodstuffs all chopped or sliced fine, ready for cooking, and dishes of pickles. Two small gas stoves were set on the table. In a few minutes the water in a copper pot was boiling, ready to receive the raw fish. With deft chopsticks the maids prepared the meal. In a large round iron pan they poured oil. When it had become hot, they put in one half small pieces of beef, and in the other slices of chicken. While the main food was being cooked, Captain Nakamura and Mr. Waung helped each other to dainty morsels of fish and sipped tiny bowls of *saké*.

The tasty food, the wine and the presence of the two young women swiftly helped them to abandon the customary formalities. The more they ate and drank, the freer they became in speech and behaviour. They tossed down their throats more wine and gorged themselves with food. They urged each other on to greater effort.

Mr. Waung had no desire for either of the maids. But for the sake of good companionship he, in between each bowl of rice, fondled the one he thought the less pretty. Captain Nakamura was bolder and more frequent in his attentions to the other maid.

When he had all that his distended stomach could hold, he perceived that Mr. Waung was now only making a pretence at eating. He put down his rice bowl and chopsticks. He ordered the maids to clear the table, bring in more wine, fruit, cakes and cigarettes. Then he sent them away. He was half drunk, but he had decided that the night could be best spent with a professional prostitute and not a restaurant maid, however pretty she might be. He had in mind a wanton creature he had met once before in one of the city's most famous Japanese brothels. He would be noble-hearted, and would let Mr. Waung have his first taste of the delights a Japanese woman could give.

Each bowl of *saké* Captain Nakamura had, made him more garrulous. And each sentence he spoke helped make the roscote and merry world he was creating for himself still more entrancing. When he looked at his guest, he saw him smiling and listening attentively to

him. His flights of fancy ceased. He began to talk, as a drunken actor would, of the exploits of the Japanese army. The recollection of recent events now excited him to a frenzy, but at the same time lent power to his wild words.

"You should have been with us the day we captured Nanking. Ah! that was a day. We had lost many of our comrades. We went mad, mad. We killed every Chinese, man, woman or child, who came in our way."

"Yes, that must have been an unforgettable day, Captain."

"We got batches of them, sometimes in tens and sometimes in fifties and hundreds. Then we machine-gunned them. I can still hear the rat-tat-a-tat and the shrieks. That was grand music."

"Yes, that must have been a scene any good soldier would have delighted in."

"You should have seen what we did that night. We had no fire-crackers and lanterns with which to celebrate in the proper fashion, so we tied some of them together, poured kerosene oil over them and then set them alight. But the dogs smelt so, we had to stand yards away from them."

Mr. Waung did not clasp his hands and cry out in approval. He was looking quite serious, a thing unpardonable at a feast.

"Drink, man, why aren't you drinking! Come, let's fill our bowls and drink. We have only one life to live. Let's make it a gay one."

Captain Nakamura finished four or five bowls of *saké* in rapid succession. Mr. Waung vigorously nodded his head as if in agreement with his host's sentiment as well as his power to imbibe so much wine. He did not wish a lull in the talk. A sly grin spread over his face, and he demanded:

"Surely, Captain, you did other things than kill?"

"You wicked fellow! Of course. We had all the women we wanted. We officers generally had the best of them."

"What sort of a woman—or should I say, women?—did you have? You have splendid taste, I know, in such matters."

"You may be sure I have. I believe I had the fairest maid in Nanking. You see, when we were not shooting down the Chinese or rounding them up for work, we went about picking up some of the things that pleased us, and sampling the women who took our fancy."

"Come, Captain, you must tell me about that particular maid, the one you said was the

fairest in the whole of Nanking. You must not keep me in suspense."

They clicked bowls and drank more wine.

"There seemed to be only old hags and young girls who were either too skinny or ugly. They were good enough for the others, but not for me. Shooting I thought much the more exciting sport. I wanted to reserve myself for something really good. What would it matter if I had to wait a day or so? In the meantime there was no reason why I should not spend my time more usefully. I wanted a few trinkets as a memento of our capture of Nanking.

"I came across a house which looked like the residence of wealthy people. There was little likelihood that any of them had remained, but still it might have been a risk to enter alone. I got half a dozen of my men to follow me into the house. It was luxuriously furnished, so there were presents waiting for all of us. We ransacked room after room."

"And what did you find, Captain?"

"Don't be so impatient. When we had gone through every room on the ground floor we hurried up to the second floor. The first door we came to we found locked. It was easily broken open. One blow with a rifle was enough. I entered first. And there, in one corner of the room, I saw the most beautiful Chinese girl I had ever seen.

"Her eyes were brown, like the velvet brown of the gazelle. Her features were dainty, and her skin was the colour of warm creamed-

almond and fine, fine like the best silk. I could swear that only the most famous courtesans in history could have been like her. How I desired her! My men were glaring at her. I shouted to them to get out of the room.

"The girl stood perfectly still. But when I took a step towards her, she screamed and cried: 'Don't touch me! Don't touch me!' When I was about to lift her up and throw her on the bed, she pulled from the lobes of her ears her ear-rings. She wanted to buy me off! Ha! Ha! Ha! But I had her. And you now have the ear-rings."

Captain Nakamura had come to the climax of his drunken recital. He ceased talking exhausted. Breathing heavily, he waited for Mr. Waung to speak. He could sense that he had something to say.

"Captain, you have had many thrilling moments. I almost envy you. And you have been so kind as to try to let me share a part of your good fortune. You have offered me a most precious pair of pearl ear-rings. Will you permit me to give you a humble little present in return?"

Captain Nakamura had listened politely and carefully to the words of his guest. He bowed assent. Mr. Waung said gently:

"Look! Captain."

His blood-shot eyes opened wide. He had one glimpse of the dagger before it sank into his heart.

## THE CASE FOR AN INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT GANDHISM

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

A SMALL thing which is outwardly insignificant may become charged with great significance where the central principles of life are involved. Then the small become great and the big and showy things of life, its outward successes, often dwindle into the merest nothingness.

Such an incident happened in my life the other day. For some years past, I have tried to follow the trend of the Gandhi movement carefully in Bengal. I have seen its living principles degenerate into formalism and a deadness of habit. The same fate which overtook Christianity and Buddhism in their later days

has endangered the Gandhi movement from time to time. I have tried to find out the cause, and it has appeared to me that the danger invariably comes as soon as we allow our intellect to rest, our mind to sleep. As soon as we become self-satisfied with the belief that our path is the right one, as soon as pride invades our heart, our practices invariably tend to become dead like the dead leaves of a rose which has lost its fragrance. Intellect is the perfume which enlivens our actions, without it all becomes trash.

From Gandhiji's writings it has appeared



to me that he too is aware of the same pitfall and has in no uncertain terms warned those who profess to follow him:

"Man alone can worship God with knowledge and understanding. Where devotion is void of understanding, there can be no true salvation, and without salvation there can be no true happiness." (Guide to Health, p. 129). "Truth and non-violence are not for the dense. Perseverance of them is bound to result in an all round growth of the body, mind and heart. If this does not follow, either truth and non-violence are untrue or we are untrue, and since the former is impossible the latter will be the only conclusion" (*Harjan*, 8.537).

Gandhiji may be looked upon as an apostle of love, as a great man of action, but personally there is reason for me to believe that he sets greater store upon knowledge, upon the living realization of unity, than upon action or love as the ultimate value of life. Action and love are valuable in so far as they are the means of that realization, which finally and fully comes in the intellect, but which also covers our heart and our lives in the end.

This being my personal belief for some time past, I have tried to move men of importance in the matter of an intellectual movement to support and energise the political and social movement set on foot by Gandhiji. The response has generally been unsatisfactory. And it was particularly so when, as I said, a few days back I met one who was very closely connected with Gandhiji so far as his economic programmes were concerned in Bengal. I had seen this gentleman twice before with proposals for initiating an intellectual movement of the required kind, but had so far received no favourable response from him. His persistent answer had been that through the intellect, we can appeal to a class who did not matter in the fight for freedom. Those who mattered, i.e., the uneducated villagers, needed no intellectual aid to keep them on their mettle. I had agreed with him so far as the masses were concerned; but then there were the educated political workers who needed this intellectual food so that they might conduct the Gandhi movement as its author desired it to be.

On the third occasion I met him, there were the usual rebuffs and I was feeling like the champion of a lost cause; naturally I was bitter. On his part, too, my leader remained adamant; yet I cherished the hope, Gandhiji-like as he was, he might perhaps step out of his own shoes for a little while, adopt my viewpoint and concede a certain measure of importance to intellect even in a political movement. But the thing was not to be; and in despair I loudly prayed for the day when he would be intelligent enough

to appreciate the importance of intellect in the Gandhi movement.

This was the last straw. He became grave, but fortunately did not show signs of anger just then; because, as he told me afterwards, there was an outsider Congressman in the room. On the following day, I went back to him with a booklet regarding Gandhiji, when, to my surprise, there was an angry outburst against intellectuals of the class to which I belonged, i.e., those who did not lead the life of Gandhi but approached him through their intellect. Apparently much steam had accumulated overnight, and it was all for his good as well as mine, that my leader let it off as he did that day. It was an incident to be forgotten; but what struck me later on was that there had been such a serious lapse from the Gandhian way of life even though the gentleman had consistently practised that life for the last seventeen years. Seventeen years of the life of a no-changer had not made him less sensitive to personal insults, to a charge of dullness on his part, than any of us. He could be as violent in thought and word as we without our Gandhian discipline.

But this can certainly be not said of Gandhiji himself. As years roll by, he becomes more and more tolerant, more appreciative of his opponent's viewpoint than he ever was before. And it is in this large-heartedness, this ever-expanding charity that the proof of his spiritual progress and of his greatness lies. Love expands in his heart, until it embraces all who differ from him and even oppose him.

So when I found the lapse on the part of one who professed to follow Gandhiji in his life, I asked myself, why had it been so? And the only conclusion to which I was inevitably driven was the same as before: unless our practices are constantly illumined by the intellect, they are sure to degenerate into dead habit, however far we might have travelled in our spiritual life. Then a living principle becomes limited into a creed, and the warrant is signed for its death.

The next scene is laid in a small village in a far-away corner of Eastern Bengal. A school for training political workers is held periodically in an Ashram by one of the most devoted disciples of Gandhiji in Bengal. In that school, a few months back, this worker was lecturing to an audience of political workers gathered there for a three-monthly course of training. He was speaking on God and the need of prayer in our spiritual life. A friend of mine, who happened to be there, put in by way of parenthesis that prayer did not

mean that one should necessarily have a belief in the existence of God. Buddha began his day with a few silent minutes; and in the same way a righteous man might begin his day with a brief period of contemplation. It did not matter whether he believed in God or did not. For such a man, my friend implied, right and justice had attained the same status as that of God in a religious man's life. Both were prepared to sacrifice their best for that which they held to be above all. Few could find fault with a statement like this. But the directors of the school, including the original speaker, were gravely shocked by the speech all the same. It was, according to them, leading students away from the true Gandhian path. But Gandhiji himself has said that for atheists like Bradlaugh, Truth occupied the same place as God for others.

Here too were then the signs of the same disease, the fear that freedom of thought might endanger the moral integrity of the Satyagrahi.

The third scene is laid in the hectic days of 1930 when the Civil Disobedience Movement was at its height. The government had forbidden entry into the district of Midnapore and every civil resister who tried to enter the district was forthwith arrested. As the number of the resisters increased, the government resorted to a new expedient. It arrested the men, brought them back to Howrah station and set them free. It meant little expense for them, but for the Congress it meant quite a lot. Railway fares began to cause a serious drain upon the Congress purse, and moreover Satyagrahis in Bengal did not know what to do under the circumstances. If the Government refused to arrest they had to change their tactics and do something other than merely send batch after batch to be arrested in Midnapore and immediately shuttled back to Calcutta. For the moment the leaders of Bengal were non-plussed. One important Congressman suggested hunger-strike in protest. But where were the Satyagrahis to undertake the hunger-strike? At the Howrah station? And then, against whom? On what issue? These were not clear; but still to the leaders that seemed to be the only way open for the moment. It was seriously suggested that the Satyagrahis who were already in jail should resort to hunger-strike, and propaganda carried on in the papers

in order to embarrass the government. Fortunately for the Satyagrahis, the government soon changed their own tactics and the movement went on merrily as before.

But for the Satyagrahis, the situation had come as a great challenge. They had emerged from it unscathed not through their own merits, but through an accidental change in the Government's policy. It was evident however that the heart of the Satyagrahis had not been full of love but full of hatred against the British government instead. Their resistance consequently lost the character of the resistance of love and became indistinguishable from the passive resistance resorted to by the Suffragists of England. But that is far from Satyagraha as Gandhiji understands it. In Satyagraha love is the motive force, not hatred. Evidently the heart of the Civil Resister was wrong, but his brain was wrong too. For he even failed to realize for the moment that he was wandering from his chosen path of love into that of hatred. If his mind had been clear, if introspection and knowledge had been unclouded by the passions of the moment, Satyagraha would have borne a different character in 1931 and 1933 from what it actually did.

These three incidents therefore drive us to the inevitable conclusion that we should not neglect the intellect even when we profess to follow the heart as a guide to our actions. The intellect forms as much a part of life as the heart and actions. We cannot neglect the one without endangering the integrity of the other two. And in this connection, there come back to me the wise words of the Yogavāsista Rāmāyana:

"This human life is for the attainment of knowledge. And if a man always analyses the root cause of everything (*cichara*), his sorrows will become less and less. Remember this and with determination always analyse the root of everything. Never neglect the intellectual approach (*richara*), never minimize its value." (*Mumukshu-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa*, 12/12).

"This constant aid in the shape of *vichara* is an unequalled remedy for the sorrows of life." (*Ibid.* 13/2).

"Rama! It is better to be born as a frog living in the mud, better to be a worm inhabiting a dung-heap, or a serpent confined to the mountain-cave, than to lose one's analytical insight in life. Its loss is the root of all unhappiness. The ages have deprecated its loss, and you should never lose your *vichara* in life." (*Ibid.* 13/46/77).

"For one who is fallen into the dark pitfall of ignorance, there is no means of rescue except *vichara*, the analytical intellectual approach." (*Ibid.* 13/48).

# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE BIBLE:**  
By J. T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D. Revised by Clayton K. Bowen, B.D., Ph.D. Indian Edition, Published by R. Chatterjee, 120 2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta Crown Bvo. pp. XI+290. Cloth, gilt letters With dust cover. Price Rs. 2 The price of the American edition is two dollars.

This book is an exact reprint, word for word, of the American edition. To make it available in India even to persons of moderate means, about one-third the price of the American edition has been fixed for the Indian edition.

Without in any way sacrificing accuracy, it has been written in a popular style by the renowned Bible scholar, Dr J. T. Sunderland. It clearly sets forth what the best Biblical scholarship—a scholarship which is honest, independent, and competent, that investigates to find out the facts and then speaks without dogmatic bias—has discovered about the origin, authorship, growth, real character, transitory elements, and permanent value of the Bible. It is fully documented, and is perhaps the best exposition of the modern view of the Bible which has been published.

It is not Christians alone who need to study this book. The followers of each religion ought to have a general knowledge of the value of the scriptures of every other religion, and guided by such knowledge they ought to study at least the best portions of what these scriptures contain. In this age of parliaments of religions and congress and fellowship of faiths it is unnecessary to dilate on this duty of men of culture.

The University of Calcutta prescribes portions of the Bible for some of its examinations. The students who have to read and the teachers who have to lecture on those portions will find Dr. Sunderland's book of great use and help.

We have read the work from the first line to the last with interest and profit.

Some of its Chapters are: "The Bible among the Sacred Books of the World," "Similarities between the Bible and other Sacred Books," "The Hebrew Land and People," "The Bible as Literature," "Translations: Giving the Bible to the People," "Our English Bible," "The Moral and Religious Progress Traceable in the Bible," "Religious Evolution: An Historical Summary," "Bible Infallibility in the Light of Modern Scholarship I," "Bible Infallibility in the Light of Modern Scholarship II," "The Bible and Inspiration," "The Permanent Value of the Bible."

The Jews and their problems are at present very much in the public eye. Dr. Sunderland's book enables the reader to have an impartial view of the most important aspect of that unique people's history.

**SPEECHES OF BHULABHAI DESAI, 1934-38:**  
Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1938. With a life sketch and a portrait of the speaker. Demv Bvo. pp. 615+X. Cloth, gilt letters Price Rs 3.8.

The biographical sketch which prefaces the book makes interesting reading.

It contains 66 speeches of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. Five of them are General Budget speeches delivered at the Central Legislative Assembly, three on the Indian Finance Bill, five on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Repeal Bill, three on the Insurance Bill, and so on. Most of the speeches were delivered in the Legislative Assembly and prove his ability as a parliamentarian and his copious knowledge of the subjects dealt with in them.

Some other speeches were delivered elsewhere on other subjects. As examples may be mentioned: "We are not faint hearted," delivered at Coimbatore, "India's Mission in the World," at Madras, "Vindicate the Name of Our Motherland," at Bezwada, "Freedom Cannot be Won by Arguments," at Vizagapatnam, "Why is India what she is to-day?" at Nagpur, "In Pursuit of Knowledge," at Nagpur.

The subjects of the speeches show a wide range of knowledge. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai is an eloquent speaker. His diction is elegant and polished, his vocabulary copious, and his manner persuasive. Publicists and students will read these speeches with interest and advantage.

**EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA:** By Jawaharlal Nehru. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1938 Price Rs. 2.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's writings hardly need any general introduction. His "talk" makes its way straight to the heart of the reader, there is a directness, a vigour in it which is irresistible. That characteristic quality, maintained in more than half a dozen volumes already standing to his credit, is present in this book also. It is, as the title suggests, a sort of diary or memorandum, recording the writer's day-to-day impression on ideas and incidents that draw his attention. In March, 1936, he had returned from Europe, and his duties as President of the Indian National Congress made it necessary that he should tour through the country, and we find here the record of a busy life. Sometimes in the moving train, sometimes on the Congress platform, sometimes again from the Congress Chair, Jawaharlal has been urging his countrymen and countrywomen to get ready for the light that is yet to come, suggesting a thousand ways and one for our preparation. It goes without saying that what we have here is in the nature of a miscellany, but however, we may smile at the juxtaposition of incongruous ideas close to one another, there is no confusion.

It had been no doubt a matter of common curiosity to find out how far Jawaharlal is a Socialist, to ask how far he would conform to religion, if at all? He has therefore to give his *credo* to the people, and just as his autobiography is not a record of all the important events but a record of his own thoughts and moods, so the volume under review is a record of views and reviews, more than a history of the times. He has tried, and he has succeeded, in reconciling Congress politics to Socialism. What should be the students' attitude to politics? Normally they should, Panditji says, observe a healthy discipline but as India is always to some extent in an abnormal condition due to her subjection, even in seeking to understand the course of events students are forced to take part in politics in some way or other. The dividing line is bound to be vague and he does not undertake the impossible task of defining it.

His address to the Faizpur session of the Indian National Congress is incorporated in it as well as that to the All India Convention held at Delhi in March, 1937. Both are well worth reading even though their immediate appeal is over. With regard to some other topics, it may be said that events that have taken place all this time have not yet lessened their interest—the Question of Arabs and Jews in Palestine, the Spanish Civil War, Malaya and Indian labour, Congress and the Muslims, etc. The question of language also comes in for discussion and though it is not possible within the scope of this review to criticise it in detail, it is interesting to observe that Panditji does not think the Roman script to be within the range of practicability at least for the present, but he recommends the Devanagari and the Urdu, and if necessary, another for the southern languages.

What is transparent most of all in going through Pandit Jawaharlal's writings is the impression that the writer feels and sometimes explicitly states "We have to be vigilant and ever alert, and not permit complacency to creep in, desending our public activities and gradually crushing the spirit of our movement. It is that spirit that counts and the public activity that results from it, for only that can supply the driving force to carry us forward to our goal, and only on that can we base a structure of democratic freedom." He knows, and may his numerous readers realise, that "Democracy is freedom but it is also discipline."

P. R. SEN

**THE INDIAN STATES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935:** By Sardar Rambar Singh, B.A., LL.B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1938.

This book, written by a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Dholpur, is mainly a legal commentary on those sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, which are directly or indirectly pertinent to the position of Indian States in the proposed Indian Federation; and as such it is markedly weak on the general discussion of the problem of Indian States in Indian politics. In the chapter on "The Future of the States," for instance, the author has not made a realistic assessment of the impact of the prevailing public sentiment in India upon (a) the practical operation of the so-called "safeguards" in the Government of India Act, and (b) upon the possibility of a long continuance of the use of loyalty "binding the Princes of India to the Crown."

On the legal side the book is, of course, stronger. The author is more at home in discussing the legal implications of Indian States joining the Federal Scheme. On the subjects of "The Accession of Indian States," "The Federal Executive," "Administrative Relations," and "The Distribution of Powers," the author has some very interest-

ing and informative comments on the various sections of the Act; and no student of Indian constitutional law can possibly read them without a great deal of benefit to himself.

These comments, however, it must be mentioned, are largely quotations from Professor J. H. Morgan—it is a pity that no references have been given, and they reveal an unmistakable bias in favour of the Princes. The author seems to forget that in its actual operation every constitutional machine works very much as a parallelogram of social forces that give it its living reality. The emphasis of the Government of India scheme is, undoubtedly, in form upon the federating units rather than upon the Federal centre; but no analysis of the position of Indian States in the Federation can be really correct that does not take full account of the social and political atmosphere in which the Federal Scheme will have to work. A purely legalistic survey of the various provisions of the Government of India Act, divorced from the political background in which the Act is to be operative, can serve merely to give a false sense of security to the Princes.

The book is written in a lucid and agreeable style, but is badly printed and full of spelling mistakes. Words like "independently" on page 1, "emancipation" on page 5, "Legislature" on page 37, "compell" on page 60, and "generaly" on page 119, occur rather too frequently and are immensely irritating to the eye.

BOOL CHAND

**THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU CIVILISATION:** By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Pp. XI+468 Benares 1938

A more welcome publication just at this moment can be hardly imagined, when Hindu legislators all over India are engaged in hammering out laws to restore to the women some of the rights and privileges they lost during the Middle Ages. Every Hindu legislator in every province of India should read this book. He will find here not only a succinct and masterly presentation of the facts of past history but also shrewd suggestions for future reforms. That female education, inter-caste marriage, remarriage of widows, etc. were the normal customs of Hindu society in ancient times has been always known, but few have dared to raise their voice against the spirit of reaction born of ignorance still encompassing practically the whole of Hindu society, and none so effectively as Prof. Altekar puts in this book. Those who dare not move in the matter without the assurance of scriptural sanction will find here all they want. The general reader will find the book entertaining. The specialist may demur that many problems of detail have not been discussed at all, e.g., *parititik*, *parititik*, *agradhikar*, *dhikar*. But these omissions are surely intentional, for Prof. Altekar has evidently tried to make his book as non-technical as possible.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

**PROBLEM OF INDUSTRY IN THE EAST:** By Harold Butler. Published in U. K. for the International Labour Office (League of Nations). Pp. 74.

Mr. Harold Butler, until lately the Director of the International Labour Office, toured round the Middle East, during the winter of 1937-38, and gathered personal impressions of Social and Economic conditions.

The present brochure of 74 pages, is a report by Mr. Butler, on the "Problem of Industries in the East," with special reference to India, French India, Ceylon, Malaya and the Netherlands Indies. The author studied the problems of labour and industry of the countries in their relation to world economic conditions, and it will be found particularly interesting to India, where the

labour movement has more often been viewed as political than economic. Although, since the great war considerable changes have been made in the labour legislation, there is still scope for further advancement in the condition of labour in India, such as hours of work and other better systems of bringing about uniformity of conditions throughout the country. There has been a great deal of discontent in the country regarding the relations between the labour and employers, which is engaging the almost care and attention of the government and public leaders.

The Government of Bombay, in order to do away with this unhappy relations introduced recently in the Bombay Legislative Assembly the "Trades Dispute Bill," which has been viewed by the labour leaders with suspicion. Mr. Butler is of opinion that a peaceful atmosphere in a factory cannot be made by Law. It is the product of day-to-day dealings between the management and workers, and it is by those that the flow of production is mainly determined. The Report also points out the backwardness of the Indian States in matters of labour legislation. Mr. Butler also raises the question of regulating small factories, which do not come under the Factories Act. Chapters dealing with wages, efficiency, education, health and standard of living, studied in comparison with the other advanced countries of the world, are of so engrossing interest, that the Government, the Employers and the labour Leaders will find much food for thought and action. The present study and the Report of the Whitley Commission, almost exhaustively deal with the problems relating to industry and labour in India. Labour, health and the allied subjects are now in the hands of popularly elected Ministers, and the whole country is watching with earnest eagerness the ways in which they tackle these all important problems.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

**THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF THE JANJIRA STATE:** By M. G. Bhagat, M.A. Reprinted from the *Journal of the University of Bombay* Vol VII, Part I, July, 1938 Pp 26.

This is a study of the economic and social condition of the Mahars and Chamars living in the State of Janjira, a little south of Bombay. The work has been conducted with sympathy and care; the state of the Untouchables which it depicts is deplorable and calls for immediate legal interference if we are to survive as a nation in the modern world. Thus "in the village of Ursoli, there is a big lake but the Mahars and Chamars are not allowed to take water by all the villagers including the Muhammadans; as they believe that the water will be polluted. For getting water they have to request somebody to pour water in their pots and in return they have to give some firewood or to pay in cash" (p. 17). Similar conditions prevail in other parts of the State also; and our author finally suggests a programme of education and social reform which should commend itself readily to the State authorities.

There are a few minor inaccuracies here and there. For example, on page 7, it is stated that there "is some deficiency of women in general among these classes. This fact is borne out from the table No (5)," although table (5) does not support that contention. The method of arriving at the average expectancy of life employed on page 8 does not seem to be statistically sound. These inaccuracies should not however detract from the value of the book in other directions. It ought to succeed in focussing our attention on one of the darkest spots of our social life.

The Sociological Department of the Bombay University would be pleased for having undertaken work of this kind. We believe if the other Universities also under-

take similar work, they would, in part, be fulfilling the task for which the nation pays much more than a mere living wage.

NINSIAL KUMAR BOSE

**ISLAM IN THE WORLD:** By Zaki Ali (Doctor of Medicine). Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1938. Pp. xi+428. Price not mentioned.

The author is a medical practitioner of Cairo, and an Egyptian and he has dedicated the book to the ex Khedive Abbas Hilmi II. The reason for the book he states in the Preface to be: "In Europe I discovered a deplorable ignorance and misunderstanding of Islam, the religion which I profess, and found that the relations between the West and the Islamic world presented a chronic pathological case very worthy of study and elucidation of its causes with a view to treatment. . . . In producing this work I have had two main objects in view: the first being to place before the readers, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, a concise and comprehensive presentation of Islam; and the second, to depict the salient aspects of the swift and profound transformation of the self-conscious Islamic countries and its bearing upon world affairs."

On a first perusal of the book, it seems that the author has succeeded admirably in his objects. It is an excellent attempt by an educated Muhammadan to sketch the place of Islam in the World of today; and it cannot be neglected if we (Hindus) would understand the currents and cross-currents passing through and forming the Muhammadan thought of today. The first two chapters dealing with Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, and Islam, a Religion and a Social Order,—though informing are uncritical. Perhaps too much in these respects should not be demanded from one who is a Muhammadan.

The next few chapters contain an excellent summary of Arab culture and civilization in the early days of Islam. The chapter on Islamic polity and the Caliphate should be read carefully by everyone in India. But when the author says, "Only once in a long period of fourteen centuries has Islam enjoyed the blessing of the perfect Islamic State, and that was under the single government of the first four Caliphs, the Wise or Rightly Guided, al-Khalafa-Rashidin. Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali; this was the golden age of the Islamic State;" we believe he joins issue with our Shia friends. Again his statement "In our own times the only place in the Islamic world where the theocentric Islamic State is being successfully set up is Saudi Arabia under the mighty Wahabi ruler Ibn Saud" is not quite correct. Even Ibn Saud is administering Muhammadan Law in a modern fashion.

When in 1258 the last Abbasside Caliph of Baghdad was put to death by Hulaku and his all conquering Mongol hordes, for the first time, the Muslim world was left without a Caliph for three and a half years in the history of Islam. Caliphate was then established at Cairo; and it continued till the 3rd March, 1924, when it was deliberately abolished by the Kamalsh Government at Angora. Since then the Caliphate is lying vacant for the second time in the history of Islam. It is to be regretted that he has not discussed the difference between the two vacancies; in one case it was accidental, in the other a deliberate and conscious act on the part of at least a section of Muhammadans.

There are evidences of haste in the book; e.g. at p. 86 he says: "Thus it appears as a misconception to assume that the Sultan Selim I bought the title of Caliph from the last Abbasside at Cairo, or had it left to his house by Will, so that from about the year 1517 the Ottoman chiefs were both Sultan and Caliph. The first diplomatic document known which applies the words Caliph and

Imam to the Ottoman Sultan is the Treaty of Kuchuk Janjari with Russia in 1741." Again at p. 90: "Abdul Majid was the 38th Caliph of the Ottoman Dynasty which held the Caliphate from about 1517 down to the year 1924." These two statements are contradictory to each other. There are other historical inaccuracies, and curious special pleadings, which we have come to associate with the Ahmadiyya movement. It is, however, in the Chapter on "Statistics of Islam" that there are gross exaggerations. The author gives the total of the Muhammadans in the world to be 400 millions (p. 418). The World Muslim Conference at Jerusalem in 1924 estimated the number to be 234 millions. In 1929, the number was estimated by competent statisticians to be 246 millions. The Encyclopædia Britannica in its 1933 Year Book estimates their number to be 209 millions. Even allowing for an abnormal natural increase it surely cannot be 400 millions. In India the total of Muhammadans is 78 millions in 1931, but the author says 82 millions, and he excludes Baluchistan from India. He takes no account of the degrowth of Islam in Russian Turkestan. He forgets that "the Bolsheviks have demolished the minaret of the great mosque of Samarkand and erected in its place a huge statue of Lenin with the inscription: 'No more will the Muezzin call the Faithful from the top of the minarets, but . . . Lenin!'" (p. 358). In some places he contradicts himself. In Albania "today more than two-thirds of the total population are Muslim" (p. 318). At p. 415, he says 80 per cent are Muslim.

The book is both a disappointment and an attraction. It is a book, however, which cannot be neglected.

J. M. DATTA

**HISTORY OF HINDU MATHEMATICS. PART I—NUMERICAL NOTATION AND ARITHMETIC.** By Bishunbhusan Datta, DSc. and Anandh Narayan Singh, DSc. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Lahore. Price Rs. 6 (India), Sh. 10/6 (Foreign).

The achievements of the early Hindu mathematicians and our indebtedness to them are little known to present-day historians of mathematics. Though it is now admitted that the decimal place-value system of numerical notation was invented and first used by the Hindus, it is not yet fully realized to what extent we are indebted to them for our elementary mathematics. This is due to the lack of a reliable and authentic history of Hindu mathematics. The authors' object in writing the book under review has been to make up for this deficiency by giving a comprehensive account of the growth and development of the science of mathematics in India from the earliest known times down to the seventeenth century of the Christian era.

The authors have decided to publish the book in three parts. The first part deals with the history of the numerical notation and of arithmetic. The second is intended to contain the history of algebra, a science in which the ancient Hindus made remarkable progress. The third part is meant to devote to the history of geometry, trigonometry, calculus and various other topics such as magic squares, theory of series and permutations and combinations.

Part I of the book, which is now under review, contains two chapters. Chapter I gives an account of the various devices employed by the Hindus for denoting numbers. It is interesting to note that for the first time the gradual evolution of the decimal place-value system of notation has been traced and all evidence relating to its use in India collected together in this book. We hope that the facts set forth in this chapter will finally set at rest the controversy about its place of

origin. Chapter II deals with arithmetic in general and gives details and illustrations of different methods of performing the arithmetical operations of addition etc. on a *patti* (board), as followed in India from the fifth century onwards. It has been shown in this chapter that our present methods are simple variations of those of the ancient Hindus. Thus the importance of Chapter II cannot be over-estimated.

It is for the first time that a detailed history of Hindu Mathematics is going to be published and the first part which is now before us shows what a vast amount of laborious research has been undertaken by the authors. Dr. Datta and Dr. Singh have proved themselves thoroughly competent for such a difficult task, and the amount of scholarship and critical insight that they have brought to bear upon their work cannot but be admired by any one going through it. It is impossible to give a survey of the work in a few lines and it will be sufficient to say that the authors have fully succeeded in their laudable endeavour. We anxiously await the publication of the second and third parts, which will be equally valuable for all those interested in research work on any branch of Hindu Mathematics. The printing and go-up of the book leave nothing to be desired. We hope that a copy of this interesting and instructive work will be preserved in the library of every educational institution in India.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**INDIA'S LIVING TRADITIONS:** Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 113+XIII. Price annas eleven. Post free.

This interesting and instructive book has been compiled from the works of various authors, such as, Sister Nivedita, E. B. Havell, Anne Besant, Will Durant, J. M. Macphail, H. G. Rawlinson and others and is composed of excellent essays on Indian traditions of nationality, art, education, womanhood, marriage, government, city and village life, etc.

G. S. Arundale, President of Theosophical Society in a short exhorting foreword rightly remarks that India, the land of the world's larger hope, is today, like the whole world, at the parting of her ways. Hence, it is high time to hold up before the Present the cultural traditions of her glorious past, for a knowledge of which very few will have the time and patience to read through so many authors. Hence the usefulness of this small book that will acquaint the reader with some of the authoritative views of the writers mentioned above. We ought to know something of our country's great past and in that end this choice collection of extracts will serve as a good introduction.

Cultural ideals of ancient India are not dead but dormant awaiting favourable atmosphere and environment for unprecedented manifestation. India can, under no circumstances, forego her past and build a future hitherto seen. Sister Nivedita with a historical insight observes that the future merely repeats the past, in new combinations and in relation to changed problems. This chaotic and confused condition of modern India is due mainly to the fact that she is, as Nivedita pertinently points out, now in the throes of a passage from the medieval to the modern. A great thinker has truly said that even if it be possible for the Ganges to go back to her very source, it is impossible for India to do away with her past ideals and adopt new ones for the future. India of great past will have a still greater future if she can live up to her ancient ideals in the present age.

About the bright future of national life in India Nivedita has prophesied thus: what any one of a nation's

**SONGS IN EXILE (POEMS):** By Joseph Furtado. Published by C. P. Works, Poona. Price Rs. 6

Mr Furtado's misgivings about his own "old-fashioned" verses are no more justified than his irritation at what he calls the "ultra modern pseudo-Muse of the Waste Land." Quite a number of the *Songs in Exile* have an exhilarating freshness, particularly where there is a twinkle of naughtiness behind the author's apparently artless naïveté. *The Mullah's Daughter* and *Brahmin Gurls* are typical examples. The more serious of the lyrics have often an epigrammatic quality which enhances the pathos. The collection presents a delicious blend of the irrepressible *joie de vivre* of an ardent nature and the dignified reserve of a strict Catholic discipline.

With regard to the price, Mr. Furtado appears to follow Ruskin's dictum.

**THROUGH EASTERN EYES (POEMS):** By Nand Qamar. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Illustrated. Price Re. 1.

Neatly got up and highly unsold, this volume is a thoroughly pretentious "modern poetic survey...of the world today."

S. H. V.

**HINDUSTHAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1939:** By S. C. Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., 14, Collego Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1/4

The 1939 edition of this valuable year book excels its previous issues in usefulness and variety. The supplement has some useful notes on the European situation, including an article from the pen of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

P. B. S.

**THE TREASURY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE:** By Ram Lahraya, B.A., and Jasjit Ram Goid, B.A., LL.B. Published by Messrs. Ram Lal Suri and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. xix+637. Price Rs. 3-3.

This is a very useful compendium of general information, classified into different chapters—Statistics, Chronicle of Events, Important Dates of History, Famous Battles of Indian and World History, Trade and Commerce, Science, Engineering, World Politics, etc. Data relating to India have been given separately. The work has been carefully compiled but too many printing mistakes, very often serious, and want of an alphabetical index have diminished the value of the book.

SUREN DUTY

**THE LAW RELATING TO PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND AMUSEMENT:** By Mr K. Venkoba Rao, M.L., Advocate, High Court, Madras. Price Rs. 15

The book under review is a treatise relating to the rights, duties and liabilities arising out of the legal relationships of proprietors, artistes, Patrons and others connected with theatres, cinemas, race-courses, clubs, parks, Zoos, inns, etc. Its purpose is to serve as a *tabulae materiae* to lawyers, artistes, proprietors and all others having the management and control of places of entertainment and amusement, so as to enable them, on a reference to it, to find out the law applicable to the point with facility.

It is a complete manual as to the various points dealt therein. The rights and liabilities as also the duties of the Public and Proprietors in regard to places where entertainment and amusement are provided, have been very fully explained and dealt with by the learned author. The book is free from over-consciousness and also free

from superfluous verbiage, which makes the book extremely useful.

The book has elucidated very clearly the law on such points where it is uncertain and has thrown a flood of light on such points where judicial authority is silent. The book has further stated in a masterly manner the law as to libel by sound films, dealing especially with the well-known Rasputin action, which is the leading authority as regards many interesting and important questions in the law of libel and slander.

The book is interesting throughout and breaks new grounds. It will satisfy a professional need. Not only Indian cases have been referred to in this book, but also Scottish cases, Irish cases, English cases, Australian cases, Canadian cases and also American cases have been noted and thoroughly discussed. We heartily congratulate the learned author for placing before the Public and the Profession a book which has classical merit and noted for its thoroughness of research.

**THE YOGA OF THE BHAGAVAT GITA:** By Sri Krishna Prem. Published by John M. Watkins, 21, Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road, W.C. 2, London.

The book originated in a series of articles which were to be written for *The Aryan Path* of Bombay on the significance of the chapter titles of the Bhagavat Gita.

The point of view from which the book has been written is that the Gita is a text-book of Yoga, which is a guide to the treading of the Path of Consciousness, sinking the senses in the mind, the mind in Buddhi, Buddhi in the Great Self and then to go on Beyond, entering the Bliss of the Supreme Eternal.

The author has very clearly explained that by Yoga is here meant not any special system called by that name, not Jnana Yoga, nor Karma Yoga, nor Bhakti Yoga, nor the eightfold Yoga of Patanjali, but just the path by which man unites his finite Self with the Infinite Being.

It is the inner Path of which all these separate Yogas are so many one-sided aspects. It is not so much a synthesis of these separate Yogas as that prior and undivided whole (*Akhanda Yoga*), of which they represent partial formulations.

We agree with the author that the Path of Light indicated in the Bhagavat Gita is not the special property of Hinduism, nor indeed of any one religion only. It is something which is to be found, more or less deeply buried in all religions and which can exist apart from any formal religion at all. That is why the Gita, though definitely a Hindu book, the very crest-jewel of Hindu teachings, is capable of being a guide to all seekers of truth all over the world.

We recommend this book to everyone who wants to tread the Path of Truth, which is not the property of any one sect, community or any one Religion at all, but is the common property of collective humanity.

JITENDRAVATH BOSE

## ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

**PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS:** Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-4.

An excellent handbook chosen not only from ancient literature but also from modern—from the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, the Srimadbhagavat Gita, the Puranas, Agamas and Tantras; classical poetry and the old Acharyas, etc. The credit of the compilation and translation goes to Dr. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., the excellence of which is confirmed by so eminent a scholar as M. K. Sastri, and the book is all the more precious for having received Mahatmaji's.

blessing. Those who are in favour of religious education in schools might make good use of such a book.

P. R. SEN

**THE HEART-DOCTRINE OF SRI BHAGAVAD GITA AND ITS MESSAGE:** By R. Vasudeva Rao. Published by the *Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association*, Myslapore, Madras. Pp 144. Free within India, on application with four annas stamps.

Besides the current text of the Gita which contains 700 stanzas (or rather 701 stanzas if we include the 1st stanza of the 13th Chapter), there are two other versions of the Gita, viz., the *Kasmuri* recension published by S. N. Tadvatrikar of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and the *Suddha* recension published by the *Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association*, Madras. The *Kasmuri* text contains 714½ stanzas, whereas the total number of stanzas of the *Suddha* text is 745. The texts of the current as well as of the *Kasmuri* Gita are each divided into 18 Chapters. While, on the other hand, in the *Suddha* text we find 26 Chapters. In the latter the first and the last Chapters are called *Gatavatanirupanam* and *Brahmasut*, respectively, and the intermediate 24 Chapters are grouped into four *Shatkam* (Sections) of six Chapters each, namely, *Gnana-Shatkam*, *Bhakti-Shatkam*, *Karma-Shatkam* and *Yoga-Shatkam*.

The brochure under review is based on the *Suddha* text of the Gita as interpreted by *Hanyogin* and on the teachings of other *Suddhacharyas*. The one central truth incorporated in it is the attainment of *Brahma prapti* "after having achieved *Moksha* by adjusting oneself actively to the legitimate demands of *Samsar* or *World Process*." Those who are interested in the Gita literature will be greatly benefited in going through this brochure.

ANANGA MOHAN SARA

## BENGALI

**ACHARYA KESHAB CHANDRA:** By Upathay Gour Gobinda Roy. Centenary Edition, 1935. A. C. Saka era 1860. Published by Paritosh Ghosh, from Nababidhan Press, 3, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Size of page, 9 inches by 5½ inches. Three volumes. Total number of pages 2,304+18. A coloured portrait of Keshab in the attitude of prayer and a black and white portrait of the author have been given in the work. Price Rs. 10.

Though Keshab Chunder Sen lived only for forty five years, this extensive biography of him is not at all unnecessary. For he began the work of his life in early youth and was very active throughout his career. The combination in the same individual of a life of devout *dhyana* (meditation) and of active work, such as we find in the life of Keshab Chunder Sen, is not generally met with. He was a devout worshipper of God, a religious reformer, a minister of religion, a social reformer, a philanthropist, a founder and conductor of Bengali and English newspapers and periodicals, a temperance leader and worker, an educationist and founder of educational institutions, the author of a religious and social code, a socio-religious dramatic actor, a great orator, and indirectly a Bengali stylist and litterateur. That a full biography of such a man should fill three stout volumes is not at all surprising.

Those who want to have a full knowledge of the history of the *Brahmo Samaj* cannot do without these volumes. They are necessary also for a thorough understanding of the personality of Keshab Chunder Sen.

This work is useful from another point of view. For

doing his life-work Keshub visited all the main provinces of India. In the course of these mission tours he met persons of many races, religious communities and castes and had conversations and discussions with them on many subjects. An account of these enables the reader to have some idea of the religious and social condition of different parts of India at the time when he visited them. The reader is also placed in a position to know what Englishmen and Englishwomen thought of India and Indians at the time when he visited England and delivered his wonderful speeches there, which were mainly on religious and social subjects but included severe criticism, too, of British Rule in India. One learns from this work also that he was invited to visit America.

When Keshub lived and worked, the influence of the *Brahmo Samaj* was felt in India, particularly in Bengal, and it was an elevating influence. The national movement, in the spheres of politics, social welfare and uplift, woman's emancipation, education, etc., received a great impetus, directly and indirectly, from the *Brahmo Samaj* movement. Sidelines or on references to activities connected with it are to be found in the work.

The detailed contents of the work given in chronological order and extending over 173 pages serve the purpose of a synopsis of the volumes. An alphabetical index would have increased its usefulness and made it easier to consult it.

The cordial thanks of the Bengali reading public are due to Srijet Gyanendra Chandra Banerji but for whose earnest labours this edition could not have been published.

**SHELLEY-SANGRAHA:** By Surendranath Maitra, M.A. (Contab.), I.E.S. (Retired). Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re 1-8.

This book is a collection of metrical translations of most of the best known poems of Shelley. *Prometheus Unbound* is in Shelley's and some of his critics' opinions his best work. This poem has been translated in an abridged form, and a translation of the latter half of *Adonais* have been included in this volume.

Professor Maitra has earned distinction for his skill in metrical translations of English poems and his ability to preserve the emotional appeal and the music of the originals in his Bengali renderings. These qualities are to be found in this book, too.

**NEW EDITIONS OF VARIOUS BENGALI WORKS of Rabindranath Tagore.** Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

(1) **SESHER KABITA** ("POEM AT THE CLOSE"), a Novel. Price Re 1-8.

This novel originally appeared in *Prabasi*. It may be said to have two heroes and two heroines. Both fell in one kind of love with one person and married another under the influence of another kind of love. The book is a great psychological study as well as a picture of a section of Anglicized Bengali society.

(2) **DAK GHAR** ("Post Office"), a Play. Price annas eight.

It has been translated into English and most other principal European languages. The reviewer was present some 13 years ago when it was successfully staged in German at Dresden and Prague and in Czech in Prague.

(3) **KATHA**, (4) **SANKALPA O SVADISHI**, (5) **PRABHAT SANGIT**, priced respectively at 8, 8 and 10 annas each, are extensively read books of poems. *Katha* has poems on heroic and other episodes in Indian history and on other subjects, and many of these poems are recited



at public functions. *Sankalpa O Svadesh* contains poems showing the depth, intensity and purity of the poet's love of the Motherland.

(6) **BYANGA-KAUTUK**, a collection of humorous articles, stories, and a playlet. Price six annas.

Very few, if any, of Rabindranath's humorous and satirical writings have been translated into English. He is, therefore, unknown to foreign readers as a humorist and satirist, and hence they cannot form a correct idea of his personality, unless they possess sufficient knowledge of Bengali to be able to read him in Bengali.

(7) **SISU ("THE CHILD")**, a collection of poems. Price annas twelve.

This book requires no introduction to readers of the poet's *The Crescent Moon*.

(8) **INGREJI SAHAJ SIKSHA ("EASY WAY TO LEARN ENGLISH")**, Part I. Price annas four.

As its name indicates, it makes it easy for Bengali children to learn English. It shows the poet's versatility and his genius as a teacher.

(9) **KANIKA ("PARTICLES")**, a collection of humorous witty, and satirical short poems. Some of them are epigrammatic.

(10) **VISVA-PARICHAYA ("INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIVERSE")**. Price one rupee.

This scientific primer in Bengali by the poet-sage has been printed five times and revised thrice in the course of a year and a half. It has been noticed several times in this journal.

**PRAHASINI ("SHE WHO IS PROFICIENT IN SMILING")**: By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

This is the latest new poetical work by Rabindranath Tagore. And it is remarkable that it shows his undiminished power as a writer of humorous poems. Perhaps it is not remarkable, too. For it is perfectly true, as the poet claims in the introductory poem, that he will never grow so old as to consider laughing, smiling and joking unbecoming and childish on the part of grave elders.

X.

**SANGITIKI**: By Dilipkumar Roy. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1938. Pp. 258.

The author needs no introduction. He is a well-known musician and a frequent contributor to the journals and periodicals on the problems of popular Indian music.

Though an effort has been made in this book to keep an unprejudiced outlook a certain feeling of antagonism towards the classical school is noticed throughout. The classical school, as he points out, lays stress on the tonal effect of composition rather than on language-formation. But that does not certainly justify us to conclude that it fails to appreciate meanings conveyed through the medium of language and the consequent dramatic effect.

There are different ways of thinking and feeling amongst different individuals and there is no reason why all people should be bound down to one set of principles. One need not be unnecessarily dogmatic about the ultimate truth of his own standpoint.

The author deals with the various classes and styles of music both popular and classical and shows the trend of progress and development of vocal music. As admitted by him the book lacks in systematic presentation of materials and hence cannot be recommended as a textbook but the public should be thankful for the publica-

tion of a short treatise like this with an exposition which is sure to create an interest in a lover of music.

M. GANGULY

## MARATHI

**ADHUNIK BHARAT: By Sha-kr Dattatraya Jawadekar.** Published by G. V. Kulkarni, Sulabh Rashtriya Granthamala, Poona 2. Pages 733. Price Rs. 4.

In this immensely valuable retrospective survey of the last hundred years of the rise and formation of Indian Nationalism, Acharya Jawadekar is to be congratulated for maintaining a thoroughly unbiased and balanced viewpoint in judging the various sub-currents in political thought. The book is divided into two parts: the first half deals with the events from 1818 to 1895 A.D., while the latter half covers the movements to this day. Being a discussion mainly about the ideologies and an interpretation of the bearing of personalities and their principles on political periphery, many pages are devoted to subjects like the basis of Indian National Economics, Satyagraha as a revolutionary weapon, the reactionaries and the realists, Indian theological culture and the realistic materialism of the socialists. There are thirteen essays in all and though in the end the Acharya has not escaped siding Gandhian views, yet it is to his credit that only two chapters deal with provincial politics in particular. The book reveals deep learning and a sane valuation of the ideal and the real in politics on the part of the author, and in its lucid expression the book will rank among the first rate critical essays on political theory as practised in modern India.

P. B. MACNEWE

## HINDI

**AITHIHASTIK JAIN KAVYA-SAMGRAHA**: Editors Agarchandra Nahata and Bhambarlal Nahata. Published by Sankardev Subhaskar Nahata, 5-6, Armenian Street, Calcutta.

The volume contains about 200 small poems, mostly in Hindi and published here for the first time, which deal with the life-stories of a good number of Jain Saints, principally of the section known as the Kharataragacchas. The publication is of immense linguistic and historical importance. The poems which cover a period of about 800 years, some of the earliest being assigned to the 12th century of the Christian era, abound in specimens of linguistic changes and peculiarities during successive centuries. The historical information that may be available on a critical sifting of the material embodied here will be highly useful for the reconstruction of the later history of Jainism. Among the contributions of the learned editors for increasing the usefulness of the volume reference may be made to the following: a short description of the source books, especially the manuscript material, wherefrom the pieces were taken; a brief summary of matters of historical importance found in the poems; a short account of the poets; a statement embodying a chronological arrangement of the poems; glossaries of difficult words and technical terms or proper names; and reproduction of illustrative passages from old manuscripts as well as of illustrations and old portraits, contained in them or found elsewhere, depicting a number of sages dealt with in the poems. The editors will be doing inestimable service to Jainology if they would continue their labours in searching and bringing to light similar other poems, of different sections of the Jains which are believed to be existing in large numbers even to the present day but will be lost within a short time.

CHINTANAN CHAKRAVARTI

**MADHYAPRADESH KI MALGUZARI PRATHA :** Translated by Choudhari Kishanlal Amini. Published by the Purogami Vichar Mala Office, Nagpur City. 1938. Pp. viii+79. Price Annas 8.

Land revenue system of the Central Provinces is the subject-matter of this little book. The origin and development of the different systems are traced and the flaws of the Tenancy Act are pointed out. The historical portion as well as the present method in the land system are interesting. The book suggests some timely alterations which will stop the present strained relation between the landlords and tenants.

**PRACHIN JAINA ITIHAS—PART I :** By Baba Surajmull Jain. Published by the Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Surat. Pp. 137. Price Annas 12.

The description of the mythical ages according to Jain tradition differs substantially from that of the orthodox Hindu schools. So the book which gives us the former view is interesting. The great monarch Bharat of the Puranas is claimed by the Jainas as one of their pioneers. There are many other interesting points also.

RAMES BASU

**JYOTI PRASAD :** Written and edited by Mai Deval Jain, B.A. (Hons.), B.T. Published by Lala Johari Mall Jain Saraji, Darsha Katan, Delhi.

For a biography this attempt is too sketchy and in too broad a manner. The subject, a prominent reformer of the Jain community has been treated sympathetically; but with a candidness which is detrimental when the character has not been made to live through the pages. The real worth of the book lies in the appended collection of poems written by the late reformer, which, however, are not great poetry.

BAIJAJ SAKHI

**VISVA PARICHARY :** Translated from Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali book of the same name into Hindi (not Hindustani) by Pandit Hazariprasad Dvivedi. Vishvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

It is a faithful and elegant translation and ought to be studied by readers of Hindi.

λ.

## URDU

**MUSSALMANON KA ISAR OUR AZADI KI JANG :** By Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan, B.A. Published by the Author at 9, Latouche Road, Lucknow. Price Re. 1.

The author professes this book to be a detailed history of Indian politics from the past few centuries to the present day. But the bias with which he approaches the subject is so obvious that it suffers even as propaganda. For example, the author asserts that the Hindi-Urdu tangle would never have arisen had the Moghuls introduced Arabic rather than Persian at Court; that the Congress has the same intentions towards Muslims as Shivaji had towards the Moghul Throne (since they created a Shivaji gate at the Maharashtra Congress !); that for Mahatma Gandhi (Swaraaj) means nothing save crushing the Muslims with the help of the British.

BAIJAJ SAKHI

## GUJARATI

**HINDUONUN SAMAJ BACHANA SHASTRA (THE STRUCTURE OF HINDU SOCIETY) :** Translated from Marathi by Laladhar Jivram Yadorji, B.E. (Civil), Poona. Printed

at the Khadrya Press, Ahmedabad Clothbound. Pp. 582. Price Rs. 5.

Govind Mahadev Joshi's book in Marathi is a scholarly work on the subject of the Structure of Hindu Society. The translator being at home in this somewhat philosophical subject has been able to enter into the spirit of it and present a good picture of it, because the work reads as if it were an original treatise. Social problems such as our caste divisions, our marriage ideals, and the question of the approach of our old philosophers to matters like Eugenics and Genetics—which are being hotly discussed at present—are scientifically treated here. The whole subject is made very interesting and the discussions on every problem is supported by authorities, European and Indian, modern and ancient. Altogether it is a valuable and thought-provoking contribution on a vital subject.

**VADNAGAR :** By Kanayalal Bhaishankar Dave Patil. Printed at the Arjundaswaraj Press, Baroda, Thick Card-board, 1937. Pp. 160. Price Annas 8.

Vadnagar, formerly Anantpur, has played a great part in the history of old Gujarat. It is mentioned in the Skand Puran and finds a place in copper plate inscriptions of the Maurya dynasty. Everything relating to old and new Vadnagar has been collected by Mr. Dave in this little book. There is a dearth of such manuals giving the history of well-known towns in Gujarat; any effort therefore in that direction is welcome and deserves encouragement.

**MAHENDRA KUMAR :** By Manrangiriji Jivan Gurji, Baroda. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Ahmedabad Clothbound 1935. Pp. 378. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a novel of the ordinary type. It upholds the flag of orthodoxy and side by side gives glimpses of state intrigues. Ordinary people would like to read it.

K M J

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**ORDINARY FOODS :** Compiled and Published by J. C. Barak, 363, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta. 1937. Price Annas Four

**SHELLS FROM THE SEA SHORE :** By K. R. Menon, Ph.D. Published by The Greater India Publishing House, 60, Wilkie Road, Singapore. 1938. Pp. 68. Price \$1-00

**SIRAGIRI :** By C. Valupati Muttattiru, Ceylon.

**THE HUMAN SOUL :** By Wilton Hack, Bharati Brothers Bombay. Pp. 91. Price Annas Eight.

**LOVE AND MARRIAGE (THREE ESSAYS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES) :** By Anil Gopal Deb Jowdari, Professor, Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow. Pp. 43

**SUFISM—LIFE OF SAJJAD BACHAL SHAHI :** By Dawan Lalchand Naratkar, M.L.A. (Central), Advocate, Sind. 1933. Pp. 125

## HINDI :

**SAKUNSIDHANTADARPAN :** Edited by Sri Pandit Sumerechandra Jain Naratirha, Sahityaashraat. Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Surat. Pp. 56. Price Annas Five

**BACHOO VINOD :** By Sri B. Bachoo, 27, Arjan Road, Curo Amor, P. O. Mayville, Darban, Natal (S Africa) 1933. Pp. 31.

**JDUBAN-TARANG :** By Mahavir Prasad Dadhich, B.A., LL.B. Published by the Author from Round Building, Kalya Devi Road, Bombay 2. Pp. 40. Price Annas Five

## THE LEGEND OF "THE WANDERING JEW"

By HETTY KOHN

### THE LEGEND AND ITS ORIGIN

The legend of "The Wandering Jew" is known in all the countries of Europe. The expressions "Wandering Jew" and "Eternal Jew" have found their way into the every-day language of all these nations, and the theme of the legend has inspired poets and prose-writers, play-wrights and painters.

In view of its prevalence, it is somewhat astonishing to note that the legend of "The Wandering Jew" is not an ancient legend based on oral tradition. As a matter of fact, the story was not known until the latter half of the 16th century or even as late as the beginning of the 17th century A.D.

The Jew Ahasuerus was a cobbler living in Jerusalem at the time of Christ. When Jesus on His way to Golgotha leaned against Ahasuerus's house to rest, Ahasuerus protested, whereupon Jesus said "I will stand and rest, but thou shalt go." Since then Ahasuerus wanders on and on through the world, without rest and unable to die. In another version Ahasuerus is supposed to have taunted Jesus saying, "Go quicker"; whereupon Jesus replied: "I go, but thou shalt wait until I return."

The source of the legend is probably to be found in the words of the New Testament, where Christ says:

and printed by one Christoff Crutzer, but no such author or printer is known. Was the whole affair a myth?

Nevertheless, the story met with ready acceptance. Eight editions of the pamphlet appeared in 1602, and the 40th edition before 1700. It was translated into various European languages, and was known in England before 1625. It was a great success in the Netherlands, and found its way into Denmark and Sweden.

The expression "Eternal Jew" passed into the Czech language. In Southern Europe little is heard of the story in this version, but a parliamentary advocate of Paris, in 1604, speaks contemptuously of the popular belief in "The Wandering Jew" in Germany, Spain and Italy.

In most Teutonic languages, the stress is laid on the perpetual character of the punishment (i.e. the expression in German is "Der ewige Jude"—"ewig"="eternal"). In the Romance languages, the usual form has reference to the wanderings (the French rendering is "Le Juif Errant"—"errant"="wandering"). In Spanish writings there are but few references to "The Wandering Jew"; when he does appear, his name is not Ahasuerus, but Juan Espera en Dios (John whose hope is in God).

there are several kindred stories sufficiently similar in substance as to warrant brief mention before we follow the "Wandering Jew" further on his strange wanderings through literature.

Nearly four centuries earlier than the famous Pamphlet, a similar story appeared on English soil in *Flores Historiarum*, a work published by Roger of Wendover in 1228 A.D. An Armenian archbishop told the monks of St. Alban's that he had seen Joseph of Arimathea in Armenia under the name of Carthaphilus, who had confessed that he had taunted Christ. This Carthaphilus had afterwards been baptised under the name of Joseph. Matthew Paris (died 1259) in copying Wendover, reported that other Armenians had confirmed the story on visiting St. Alban's in 1252. A similar account occurs in the chronicles of Philippe Mouskes (died 1243).

In other variants, namely by two Italian writers of the 15th century, the astrologer Guido Bonatti of Forlì and Sigismondo Tizio, a chronicler of Siena, not known until recently, the hero is called John Butta Deus (because he struck Jesus). Buttadeus is said to have appeared in Forlì in 1267 and at Siena in the 14th century, also at Bologna in 1415.

Another similar legend is that of Malchus. Malchus struck Jesus on the face, and was therefore condemned to await the Last Judgment in an underground chamber in Jerusalem walking to and fro all the time (according to another variant, always standing). The latter also occurs in an entirely isolated tradition (in a 17th century book) about a Jew John Roduyn who told Christ to move on, and who is preserved in Jerusalem within nine doors. Some of these legends became confused with that of Joseph of Arimathea and the Holy Grail.

We now return to the legend of "The Wandering Jew," which retained such a hold on the popular imagination that impostors could still utilise it and pose as the Wandering Jew until the 19th century!

### 3 "THE WANDERING JEW" IN POETRY AND FICTION

Here is a fairly literal rendering of an old French ballad (*Le Juif Errant*):

In all the world what can there be  
So touching as the misery  
Of the eternal wandering Jew?  
His fate how sad, his joys how few!  
In Brussels town he once was seen,  
Folks greeted him with civil mien,  
A man with such long beard, as yet  
These citizens had never met.

Once seen he would be known again;  
The garb he wore was mean and plain:  
A simple tunic, nothing more—  
Thought they: He comes from distant shore.

They said to him: Good master, stay,  
Now hasten not so soon away—  
But rest awhile, retard your pace,  
Do not refuse us, of your grace.

"Good Sir, misfortune is my share—  
I never linger anywhere:  
In rain and sun, by day, by night,  
I wander on without respite.

Just Heav'n! How weary is my path  
Round and round this mighty Earth!  
In turn death comes to each man's door,  
But I live on for evermore.

Sea, river, forest, endless plain,  
I cross them all again, again—  
High mountains, valleys green and gay,  
I pass them all upon my way.

No wealth have I, no house, no home,  
These coppers few are all I own.  
In every place, at every time  
These coins are all I can call mine.

Good Sirs, time presses, fare you well!  
For your good will I thank you all.  
Tis torment when too long I stay  
In any place—I go my way."

and there are fifteen more stanzas.

The next quotation is a free rendering of a quaint passage in archaic German, quoted in *The Jews of Zürdorf*, a rather weird novel by Jakob Wassermann (1918):

"The Jew Ahasuerus known from ancient times  
Now wanders through all countries and all climes:  
All tongues he speaks, for wealth he does not care;  
The sunshine scares him, torments he must bear.

Dispute him not, but let him go his way,  
For God has put it in his mind to say  
No ill of Christ.  
Whatever be thy view, do not presume  
To judge this man whom agonies consume  
Tis known to God he walks in grief arrayed,  
And God alone can read the human heart."

A poem by Adelbert v. Chamisso (1781-1839) makes use of the theme of the wanderings of Ahasuerus. The poet, whilst reproaching a lady for forgetting how he had loved her in early youth, compares himself to the Wandering Jew.

Ahasuerus cannot die, nor find rest. Decades seem minutes to him, and yet minutes weigh on him like decades. The old torment remains in his heart; the cold hand of fate never departs from him. After each hundred years he feels impelled to revisit Salem (Jerusalem), his old home. Romans, Saracens, Franks in turn departed, temples and altars crumbled, walls and palaces were demolished. Rivers changed their courses, new gods, new tongues arose. The wanderer, a stranger in his own home, ponders over unknown ruins, trying to collect his thoughts, no one cares to reply to his questions; the son of sorrow stands, as though turned to stone, on the grave of his life.

More striking than the last-quoted, is a poem by Nicholas Lenau (1802-1850), also in German.

The poet wandered in the mountains, a vulture reminded him of death. A torrent of rain deepened his melancholy. He took refuge in a friendly huntsman's hut, where the huntsman and his son welcomed him. The housewife was preparing the evening meal, eagerly awaited by the children. Among the treasures which the housewife proudly shows the guest, is a leaden medal of Christ on His way to death, bearing the cross and seeking a moment's repose. No elaborate painting by famous artists had affected the poet so realistically as this simple likeness stamped on grey metal.

The storm abated, and the moonlight shone into the humble room, illuminating the medal in the poet's hand. It seemed to become alive in his hand, and the poet felt himself out of place in the wild scenery. He seems to see the poacher stealthily carrying his booty on secret pathways; the hunter bears heavy footsteps approaching, and suddenly a tall old man stands before him. "Halt," the old man calls to the hunter in a voice that scares away the chamois, and makes the mountains resound more loudly than before. In anger the old man swings his club. Threateningly he stands there, and the hunter grasps his gun in defence. "Shoot me, or die!" screams the old man, who longs for death. In horror the hunter aims at the old man's heart—in vain, the bullet glances aside. The hunter falls to the ground through fear. The old man glides on; his distant curse still reaches the hunter's ears, until it ceases in the wind.

"The Wandering Jew cried: 'Only I alone,  
Unhappy, never can find rest on earth,  
O would that I could die with morning breeze,  
And like my wailing fade among the hills!  
I am my shadow that outlives me still,  
My echo chained fast to the solid rock,  
A blade 'neath grass down beaten by the hail,  
A fleeting ray of light walled into stone!'"

Then the hunter arose and went to the awful spot where his bullet had struck, and he picked up his flattened lead from the ground. Trembling he approached the poet and handed him the disc; it was stamped like a medal, and embossed thereon the agony of the Wandering Jew could be seen! Then the poet's kind hosts woke him and called him back into the room. When he awoke, his hand still grasped the magic picture, illumined by the moonlight.

Most probably it was the poet Goethe (1749-1832) whose interest in the legend of "The Wandering Jew" influenced at least a

few of the many poets and novelists who drew inspiration from this theme. Goethe himself was deeply impressed in his youth by the story of "The Wandering Jew" in the popular tales (*Volksbuecher*). He conceived the idea of working the theme up into an epic poem, thereby giving himself an opportunity of presenting the salient points of the history of Christianity and the Christian Church.

Goethe tells us in his Autobiography (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*) that he took his Dresden cobbler as his model, endowed him with a sense of humour, and portrayed him as enabled by a hking for Christ.

The cobbler Ahasverus liked to talk to the passers-by. Folks enjoyed standing near his workshop. Though the cobbler's mind ran mostly on the things of this world, his admiration for Christ induced him to try and convert the latter to His own way of thinking.

The cobbler therefore bagged Christ to make an end of His meditative way of life, and not to wander about the country with a band of idlers, enticing men from their work to be his disciples, because no good could come of such assemblies of excitable persons. Though Christ by way of parables tried to convince Ahasverus of the beauty of the higher life, the cobbler could not bring himself to agree. When more and more was heard of Christ, Ahasverus became bitter and said that nothing but riots could be the outcome of Christ's preaching and that could certainly not be Christ's desire. What was Ahasverus's excitement when Judas Iscariot burst into his workshop and related, in despair, how he had betrayed Christ!

When Christ is led to death past the cobbler's workshop, Ahasverus comes out and repeats all his former warnings, which he now turns into violent accusations; he feels that, owing to his affection for the sufferer, he is justified in thus reproaching him. In so doing he acted like so many people who feel no sympathy when they see a fellow-creature suffering through his own fault; in fact, actuated by an ill-timed sense of justice, increase the misery by reproaches—add insult to injury.

Christ does not answer. A few moments before, He had fallen under the burden of the cross, and Simon of Cyrene had been compelled to carry it. Now Veronica covers His face with her kerchief and when she takes the cloth away and holds it aloft, Ahasverus beholds thereon the Master's face, not with the expression of His present suffering, but transfigured with divine light. Dazzled by this vision, Ahasverus averts his eyes, and hears

the words: "Thou shalt wander on earth until thou seeest me again in this form". Thunderstruck, he only regains his presence of mind after some time has elapsed; he sees that everyone has gone to the place of judgment, and that the streets of Jerusalem are deserted. Restlessness and remorse urge him away, and he starts on his wanderings.

Actually Goethe wrote only a very short fragment of the proposed work (in 1774)—the beginning, isolated passages, and the end. He found no time for the exhaustive studies which he considered essential for the epic treatment of the theme.

There are many other poems dealing with "The Wandering Jew"; the majority are by German poets, but there is an English poem by Robert Buchanan, a Dutch one by Heijermans and a French one by Grenier. A very imposing list of the poems, novels and dissertations which have been written on this legendary personage is to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Among earlier works in English literature, the theme occurred in ballads in Percy's "Reliques" and Shelley introduced it into "Queen Mab". George Croly published a book entitled *Salathiel* in 1828, which has since been republished under title *Tarry Thou Till I Come*. Among the novels there is one by the famous French novelist Eugene Sue, written in 1844, and the fairy-tale writer Hans Christian Andersen wrote about Ahasuerus under the title of *Angel of Doubt*.

#### 4. "THE WANDERING JEW" IN DRAMA

"The Wandering Jew" has not failed to play his part in drama. On 31st May 1797, there took place at Drury Lane Theatre, London, the first representation of a play entitled *The Wandering Jew* by Andrew Franklin. This legendary figure had been introduced two years earlier in a sensational novel *The Monk* by Lewis, and there was a belief that the mysterious visitant had been seen at Newcastle in 1790. The author of the play was an Irishman and the editor of the *Morning Herald*. He treated the subject in a farcical spirit. In the play, the lover of the heroine gets the following paragraph inserted in a newspaper:

"The Wandering Jew is certainly at this moment in London. The existence of this wonderful man is well known throughout Europe, but what is most extraordinary is that he predicts the hour of his dissolution to be within a twelve-month, and that the object of his journey to London is to wed some British beauty by whom he may leave an heir to his wealth and his longevity.

He lives in Old Street, and is accompanied by an aged servant within a century or two as old as himself."

The play was performed only a few times. The two ancients are impersonated by the characters in the play, who pile on reminiscences of past centuries, in order to dupe the guardian of the heroine!

In France the theme had been introduced on the stage—a *siéce*. The novel by Eugene Sue, written in 1844, was dramatised in 1849, and revived in 1873, when the 21 scenes took till 2 a.m.

After this, many "Wandering Jews" appeared on the English stage, one by Leopold Lewis (1873), another by George Lander, a third by T. G. Paulton. These were melodramas—the Jew is depicted in a tabernacle, as wandering over the Frozen North, and the like.

A far more recent and more artistic production was that written by E. Temple Thurston and produced by Matheson Lang at the New Theatre, London, in 1920.

The Jew is first shown as being accused on the day of Christ's Crucifixion. He is not merely a wanderer through the ages, he is a transmigrated soul, with inexplicable permutations. In one of his lives, he lives as a Crusader, amorous, Christian and chivalrous. In the last Act he finally meets death (and salvation) in the flames of the Spanish Inquisition.

As an ultra-modern, 20th century version of the Wandering Jew theme, we would mention a brilliant and biting satire against anti-semitism, entitled *The Eternal Jew* by Lion Feuchtwanger, the author of *Jew Suss*. This sketch, a weird piece of work, was suppressed by the German Government during the world war. It beings:

"About a year ago I met the Eternal Jew in Munich. He was sitting in the Cafe Odeon reading the 'Frankfurter Zeitung'. He was elegantly although not too fashionably dressed. . . . There was something strangely familiar about the man. I must have seen him often at first nights at the theatre, in the restaurants. . . . However, there was a remarkable burning intensity in his eyes and a certain characteristic trick of moving his hands which quite gave him away."

This man says, he is the Wandering Jew, and that he is necessarily anti-semitic, because "the Wandering Jew, who is everywhere a stranger, who never feels at home anywhere, is undoubtedly an anti-semitic phantasy. The growth of civilisation undermines my *raison d'être* and diminishes hatred for the Jews." . . . "I wish to remain an honest ghost! I am determined to establish an anti-semitic news-

paper." Some 100 per cent high-brow Teutons join him on the committee of his anti-semitic paper. Two of them marry, and the Eternal Jew is invited to the christening ceremony of their twins. He blames them for having chosen the name Marie for the girl. "Marie" says he, "it is nothing but a derivative of the Hebrew name Miriam! Why couldn't you have chosen a fine all-Germanic name like Frigg?" The common German name Hans has been selected for the boy, but again the Eternal Jew is not satisfied, because, as he points out, this is derived from the Hebrew name Jochanan. "Teut" would have been more suitable! "If the Jewish and the German are so well tangled together, who can possibly unscramble them again?"

A large and beautiful, though rather terrifying engraving, entitled "The Destruction of Jerusalem", familiar to the writer since early childhood, depicts the havoc wrought in the Holy City by Titus and his soldiers in 70 A.D. Above, the prophet, seated in heaven, with angels hovering—below, smoke and flames, people being stabbed and trampled to death, a priest stabbing himself, women trying to

protect their infants, old men rending their garments. In the right-hand corner of the foreground a man with a long beard and a terrified expression is seen in the act of running away—that, said the writer's parents, is the Wandering Jew!

The legend of Ahasuerus was the theme of some designs (in 1856) by Gustave Dore, the French painter who illustrated the entire Bible, the Old Testament and the New Testament, with his wonderfully impressive pictures and designs.

The story of the "Wandering Jew" is, then, a mere legend, but it is a legend with tragic symbolical significance, for the wanderings of the Wandering Jew are by no means ended yet.

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 Lenau's Works  
 M. J. Landau—*The Jew in Drama*  
 Leo W. Schwarz—*The Jewish Caravan* published by  
 Arthur Barker Ltd. London (for Lion Feuchtwanger's  
*The Eternal Jew*).

## A TRUE DAUGHTER OF THE VIKINGS

From India to Bali in a small motor boat six yards long

AINA CEDERBLOM came to India in 1935. She is not altogether an unknown personality here. For a whole year, Aina Cederblom worked at Tagore's University, in Santi-

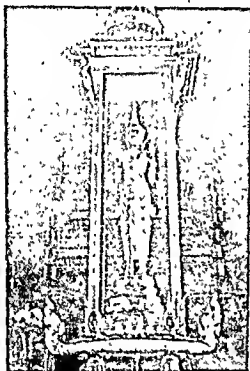
niketan, teaching students weaving with modern tools patterns of old Indian designs. Her class progressed and flourished. She is an expert in weaving, but her activities are not confined



"Rusepiggen III" in Tonka, Siam

to this art only. She is also a poet and a writer, and above all the ancient Viking blood that runs in her veins, always brings her back, somehow, to the hobby of her life on the sea. In her little motor boat six yards long, this

once more taken to her life on the sea, on her *Rosepiggen III* from Vizagapatam, crossed over the Bay of Bengal to Burma and sailed to Siam, Singapore, Bangkok and Saigon, to land quietly, one morning, in front of the ruins of Angkor, the great city of the ancient and glorious Khmer Kingdom. Then, afterwards,



The golden statue of Buddha in the Royal Chapel, Phnom-Penh, Cambodia



In Cambodia along the river—a little girl

good sailor sails on the perilous sea visiting on her way ancient cities in ruins and modern towns.

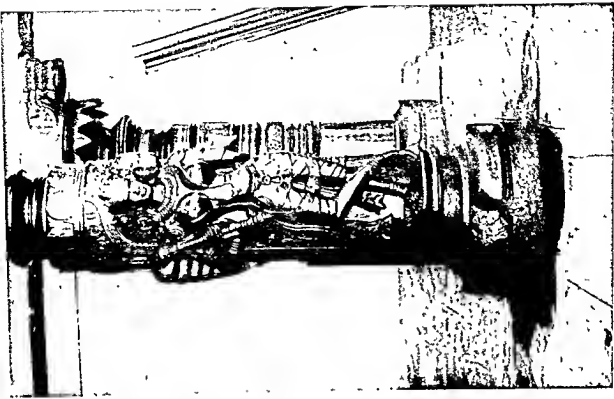
While in India, Aina Cederblom was, for a time, like a wandering pilgrim visiting different parts of the country; but one day what happened? One heard that the Police was in search of a harmless European woman who had crossed quite alone through the Tibetan Frontier.

But Aina Cederblom went on wandering, very quietly, till one day, one heard she had

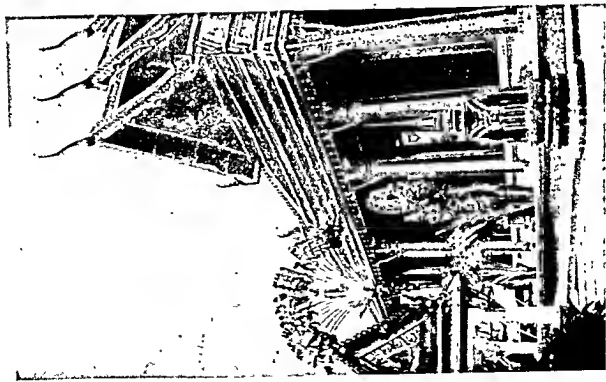
Aina Cederblom landed in Phnom-Penh, the garden city of the modern Cambodian Kingdom, where she repaired her boat before sailing straight away to Java and Bali. Wherever she goes, Aina Cederblom, brings with her that great unconventional spirit of freedom and truth, which opens to her the heart of the different people she meets; and this cordiality on both sides gives the go-by to Kipling's narrow-minded appreciation of the relation between the East and the West.







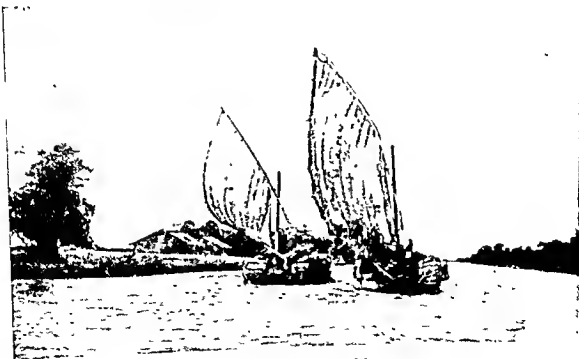
Near Viragapattam. A carved pillar



Bangkok Royal Temple



A Pagoda in Rangoon



Up the river from Hien to Saigon

misnomer, Mr. Shende states that (1) tracts of land which exhibit a majority of speakers of other languages have been included in the proposed province, that (2) Kannada speakers constitute only 50 per cent of the total population; that (3) that only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total Kannada speaking population in British India have their homes in Karnatak; that (4) the Kannada language belongs to the Dravidian stock and its speakers hail from the Aryan race; that (5) the language as spoken by the people of the proposed province is not pure Kannada and that finally (6) the people of the northern part of the proposed Karnatak are racially and culturally Maharastrians.

With regard to the first three points I have to say that as shown above, the figures quoted by Mr. Shende in support of his thesis are grossly inaccurate and therefore unreliable. Those supplied by him in respect of Talukas cannot therefore be evidently relied upon unless Mr. Shende quote the page and Volume of the Census Report on which the figures appear. Moreover, the figures, even assuming them to be genuine, relate to conditions existing nearly four decades ago and cannot be such as any practical politician can depend upon. What regard to the fourth point, I fail to see the possible connection which he suggests between the Unification of Karnatak and the origin of the Kannada language. In disposing of the fifth point, I have to say that the putty

or otherwise of the language spoken by the people of the proposed province can have nothing to do with the move for unification. No reasonable man would admit that differences in dialect should be any reason for the exclusion of tracts in which the dialect prevails. Will Mr. Shende concede that the districts of Colaba and Rainagiri where the inhabitants speak Marathi, definitely inferior to that of Poona proper, or in his own words, Marathi which "does not possess the grace, beauty and elegance of the classic Marathi" should be excluded in the formation of a separate Marathi province whenever that may be? Lastly, the writer should have realized that it is the language spoken by the people, rather than their ancient race or their present culture that should determine the inclusion or exclusion of tracts in the formation of linguistic provinces. Mr. Shende has unnecessarily taken upon himself the onerous burden of examining the racial and cultural antecedents of Kannadigas and of pronouncing judgment thereon, which should have been better left to the care of the experts in the field.

The "flat refusal" of the Governor of Bombay and the "negative answer" from the Secretary of State need not deter us, Kannadigas, in the persistent reiteration of our just demand. Instances of attempts such as that of Mr. Shende, at throwing in obstructions in the way of our achievement are not few in the history of our struggle.

V. M. ISANDAR

## CORRECTION

In the last January number of "The Modern Review," on p. 105, the following paragraphs should have been inserted after the words "to the extent of one-third of their dues." We are sorry these paragraphs were omitted through oversight:

In October, 1935, a Committee consisting of Khan Bahadur J. B. Vachha, Commissioner of Income-tax, Bombay, and Messrs. C. W. Ayers and S. P. Chambers of the Board of Inland Revenue in the United Kingdom was appointed by the Government of India to make an investigation of the Indian Income-tax system in all its aspects and to report upon both the incidence of the tax and the efficiency of its administration. This Income-tax Enquiry Committee submitted its Report in December, 1936.

Early in 1937, an Amending Bill was passed to give effect to one of the recommendations of the Income-tax Enquiry Committee. The chief provision of this Act was to include in the computation of the total income of any individual so much of the income of a wife or of a minor child of such individual as might arise directly or indirectly from her or his membership of a firm or association, or from assets transferred directly or indirectly to the wife or to a minor child. This Amending Act was expected to yield an immediate improvement in revenue to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs.

Towards the end of March, 1938, a Bill embodying most of the remaining recommendations of the Income-tax Enquiry Committee was introduced in the Legislative Assembly.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Foundations of European Peace

Sir Norman Angell, in an article in the *Aryan Path*, presents to the nations of the world the problem which European civilization has to solve or perish:

The millions of Europe, the peoples, ardently desire peace. Why then do they get war?

If it be replied that dictators or capitalists or armament makers force them into it against their will, it is clear that we have not examined the meaning of the words we use. A single dictator or a group of twenty, or two hundred, or even two thousand capitalists or armament makers cannot "force" millions. The force is on the side of the millions, not on the side of a dozen or a few score elderly, obese gentlemen. That the obese gentlemen for their own purposes may desire a nation to go to war and tell it so to do, is conceivable. But why does the nation obey, since the power is on the side of the people? The explanation is that the mind of the people has been captured by certain ideas and values, by belief in the advantage of conquest, or in glory; or in nationalism, or patriotism; or in the suppression of this or that race or class or party—ideas which the few or the one may exploit. But it is, in the last analysis, by manipulating those things of the mind that men are brought to wage war. In so far as force enters to compel them, the force which coerces the people is supplied by the people themselves as the result of persuasion; of capturing their will.

But for the existence of a certain set of ideas in people's minds, special interests would be powerless to push whole nations to war.

If, for instance, the building industry (even more considerable than the armament industry) could bring about the destruction by fire of some great city like London, or Birmingham, or Bombay, all concerned in that industry—the manufacturers of bricks, cement, steel glass and the rest—would make perfectly enormous profits and those who own shares in such industries would make great fortunes. But if the capitalists controlling this industry were to ask the citizens of London or Bombay to burn down those cities, would it be done? It would not. The capitalists in that case are quite impotent to impose their wishes, however ardent those wishes might be. But they are quite successful in imposing their will about the blowing of cities to pieces with bombs, or in inducing the public to buy the instruments for the purpose of doing that thing. How do we account for the fact that in the one case it is so easy to bend the will of the people to the desires of a small minority (of that is the explanation of war) and in the other case, where the economic motive is just as great, it is not possible at all?

Success of the minority depends upon reaching the public mind.

When Adolph Hitler started his political career his following numbered about ten persons, and it would have

remained a party of ten persons unless he had been able to appeal successfully to certain passions of the public—mainly the pugnacities, animosities, hates, desires related to nationalism, passions so strong that those who yield to them become oblivious of where they are being led, what they are sacrificing.

The most deeply rooted of all impulses or instincts is, of course, that of self-preservation since without it living things could not have continued to exist. And if we analyse a little objectively the motives which have induced millions in Europe to follow a path which leads to their own destruction, we shall find, despite the apparent paradox, that the first and dominant motive has its roots in self-preservation, defence.

We know that the impulse of self-preservation, obeyed without regard to change of external circumstance, without intelligent recognition of that change, can operate to our destruction. When the passengers of a ship, in case of collision, make a panic rush for the boats, they are obeying an instinct of self-preservation which might have been preservative when it prompted an animal or a herd to take to flight when danger appeared. But panic, disorderly flight in the case of passengers on a ship, will end by destroying them. So in the case of the nations.

Every nation in the world, is adopting a method of defence which, when adopted by all, ends by making the defence of any impossible.

What is the essence of that method? Each great power broadly takes the line: "If we are to be secure, we must be stronger than any likely to challenge us." It proceeds to make itself thus stronger than a potential rival as the indispensable condition of defence. What becomes, in that case, of the defence of the weaker? If superiority of power is indispensable to defence, the weaker has no defence.

Clearly that method starts with a violation of right and ethics in that the stronger denies to the weaker that right of defence by superior power which the former claims.

## Industrial India

The new constitution has transferred certain hitherto reserved powers to popular control and direction and it is but natural that the people of the country should look up to the new administrators for making planned efforts for the development of industries. *Observes Science and Culture* in its January issue:

We are glad, however, to be informed that the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress is seeking, and has already been able to secure the help and co-operation of non-Congress provinces and of Indian States.

We note from the programme published by the National Planning Committee that the industries as given in the list appended at the end, have been included in the category of "Mother" Industries regarding which the Committee is expected to formulate schemes.

We have to consider first the industries which are connected with power generation and power supply. It is evident that supply and availability of cheap power are vital factors for the growth of industries. The extreme backwardness of cheap power supply in this country may be gauged from the fact that in India the consumption of energy is only about 100 units per head per year—(and most of this is derived from man power)—while the corresponding figure in European countries is about 1,800 units. Not only is power undeveloped, but price of power is nearly four times larger than in other countries with the result that industries cannot grow.

Enquiry is also to be made on the manufacture of machines, machine tools, etc. The need of this enquiry is obvious. In case of interruption of communication with foreign countries due to war or to any other causes, import of all machineries will cease and with that will inevitably come the collapse of the manufacturing industries of the country which are always dependent on the regular supply of necessary machineries. Some people are of opinion that high-class machinery cannot be manufactured in India in the near future. But this is a mistake. There is no dearth of raw materials (mostly iron and steel) and no lack of men of the foreman class. The various ordnance factories of Government of India manufacture guns and munitions with the aid of Indian craftsmen, under the supervision of European Engineers. Machineries for the manufacture of textiles, jute fabric and sugar have also been manufactured in India entirely by Indian workmen under Indian management. With State aid, all these factories may be multiplied to produce machines of economic utility not hitherto produced. Further, to increase technical efficiency, we require a good standardization laboratory.

Next there are the other key industries on which the National Planning Committee is also asked to enquire and report. They are Fuel Industry, Metal Production and Chemical Industry.

### The Indian Christians of Bengal

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

One of the results of the last Great War was a general economic distress which became so acute that almost every progressive country of the West tried to meet it by 'planned' economy. 'Planned' economy means taking stock of the possibilities of a country or a community and making the best possible use of them. It further implies the detection and recognition of its shortcomings and the contrivance of means for meeting and remedying them. A survey of one's resources resembles the annual scrutiny of accounts in business houses. In order that this scrutiny may be accurate, it is necessary that it should be based on accurate figures. Fortunately, such figures are available in different publications issued by Government from time to time.

It is well known that the Government holds a decennial census. The last census was held on 26 February, 1931, when it was found that the population of Bengal was 50,114,002. Among these 21,570,407 were Hindus, 27,497,021 Muslims and 183,148 Christians. The figures for other religions and tribes are not given as they are not necessary for our purpose. The Muslims numbered 54.87 per cent, the Hindus 43.04 per cent and

Christians only 3.6 per cent of the total population of this province. The Christians in Bengal included 22,955 Europeans and 27,573 Anglo-Indians. The Indian Christians numbered roughly 1,33,000. These Indian Christians belonged to 35 different tribes and races, and of these 29,457 were either converts or descendants of converts from aboriginal tribes.

A reference to previous census reports shows that Christians have been steadily increasing in number.

The following statement shows the increase for the last six decades :

Year	Number	Percentage
1881 .. ..	72,289	20
1891 .. ..	82,839	21
1901 .. ..	1,06,596	25
1911 .. ..	1,29,746	29
1921 .. ..	1,49,069	31
1931 .. ..	1,83,148	36

It is evident that from 20 in every 10,000 we have risen in number to 36 per 10,000.

Coming to the Christians of purely Indian extraction who numbered roughly 1,33,000, we find that 45,248 were esroets while 86,904 were nonworking dependants. In other words, every earner has to provide for himself and for two others who either do not or cannot earn their bread.

All the Christians of Bengal are either converts or descendants of converts.

The non-Christian youth is generally a more qualified person than the Christian youth seeking appointment. It must also be confessed that very often he is not only more efficient and hard working but also willing to serve on a lower salary. On top of that, the Muslims, who form about 55 per cent of the population, are demanding their share of Government posts and what is more, they are going to have it. The Hindus forming 43 per cent of the total population occupy more than their share of Government posts and they cannot be ousted by Muslims without a hard struggle.

Even if Muslims get 55 per cent of the total number of Government posts, the Hindus may naturally elaim their 43 per cent. The Anglo-Indian community has at last come to recognize the competition it has to face and, during the last six years, six colleges meant exclusively for Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Muslims have been started. Here the youths of this community are preparing themselves to enter the field so long occupied by others. After the Hindus and Muslims have had their shares of Government posts, only 2 per cent will be left of which the Anglo-Indians are bound to occupy their share, if not more than their share. Service under Government therefore can no longer be relied on to provide a means of livelihood for any appreciable number of people in our community.

Roughly 26,000 Bengali Christians live in towns. These figures include both earners and dependants.

In Bengal, out of every 1,000 people, 73 live in towns. On the above basis, the Bengali Christian population of 1,33,000 should not have more than 9,709 persons actually living in towns. To put it in a slightly different way, among Bengali Christians it is found that in every 1,000, 200 people and not 73 as in other communities, are town-dwellers.

### On Milton's Sonnets

R. P. Chopra gives a short critical account of Milton's Sonnets in *The Twentieth Century*.

The love of Petrarch for Laura inspired a series of poems which tell us the story of the writer's affection. Many poets in Italy followed in his footsteps and the Sonnet became a favourite form of love poetry. But imitation led to a certain artificiality as well. On account of dearth of genuine sincerity of feeling and poetic conception, certain conventionalities were established. The poet sang of his love, of his beloved lady's cruelty, reflected on the quickly fading nature of beauty and on the vanity of life. All this had no basis in personal experience. Petrarchism, as we may call it, became just a mode of feeling. The sonnets written on this tradition were, more or less, intellectual exercises in verse with strained and artificial imagery.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Sonnet grew and developed in Italy alone. But the Shakespearean form, in general, became a settled English adaptation of the Sonnet in the Elizabethan age. About the close of Elizabeth's reign the fashion of writing sonnets declined. It was Milton alone who "cultivated the Sonnet in the middle of the seventeenth century". He wrote in all twenty-four sonnets.

Milton's sonnets are remarkable at once for their "conservatism" and "originality," and they occupy a most important place in the history of the English sonnet. In form, his sonnets are known for their conservatism. Well-known English sonneters like Shakespeare stuck to the couplet at the end and it became a fashion to print sonnets with the last two lines coupled together. Milton freed the English sonnet from the peculiarity of the final rhyming couplet. He thought of his attempts in the sonnet form as Petrarchian and actually called his first sonnet "a composition in the Petrarchian stanza." He parts company with Petrarch, however, in one particular. An important principle of Petrarch was to preserve a rhetorical pause at the exact conclusion of the Octave, "indicating a shift of view or thought or of outlook or a transition from a wider to a narrower outlook in the Sestet." Milton employed great freedom in making the transition in the subject-matter independent of the division between the Octave and the Sestet. Milton, to quote Landor, "gave the notes to glory" and to other things and struck a new note of lofty dignity, simply justifying Wordsworth's eulogy.

with a never failing variety of shades and tones." Milton's imagination, however, "could not dwell in the borderland of half-realized and half-acknowledged emotions. There is nothing vague or undecided in his sonnets. The purpose of each line or half line is clear. There is a perfect adequacy of expression to thought."

### Shelley's Epipsychidion

Dr P. N. Roy in making a study of Shelley's *Epipsychidion* gives in some detail the life-story of the beautiful creature who inspired the poet to write one of the greatest lyric poems of the world. He observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

In November, 1820, Shelley writes to Peacock, "We are now in the town of Pisa." This sojourn at Pisa was a fateful thing for Shelley.

Here the fates conspired to put across his way a creature from whom he derived the inspiration for that splendid poem, *Epipsychidion*, one of the finest love-lyrics of the world.

The creature who inspired the poem was called Teresa Viviani, the only Italian girl for whom, Shelley says, he felt some interest.

Who was this Teresa Viviani? All the biographers of Shelley mention her but no one throws much light upon her life. The utmost they say is that she was a noble and unfortunate lady who was confined in the convent of St. Anna at Pisa by a cruel father and a jealous step-mother.

This is all that we till now knew about her. But at last, after about a hundred years, a descendant of the Viviani family has written a life-story of the unfortunate lady, based on documents of the different archives of Italy, from which we can gather more details than it has been hitherto possible.

The writer then comes to the details of Teresa Viviani's life.

tum e qualita." He was loyal to his Sovereign and good-natured, but he was too much under the influence of his wife whose only passion in life was to spend money thoughtlessly in the pursuit of pleasure (piacere e folleggiare). And both of them exerted their will like tyrants upon their children, who had to submit blindly to their dictates.

Teresa was finely gifted with the qualities of the head and the heart. But she lived a very lonely life in the family. She was eager to love and to be loved, but she did not find affection anywhere.

The father's nature was good, but the springs of his affection were somewhat dried up by the worries of life. The mother was given to pleasure. Nor did she find any affection in her brother Antonio who was of a brutal temper and her sister Ferdinanda who was insincere and vain. She was thus compelled to satisfy her heart by loving flowers, plants and other inanimate beings. Moreover, eager to learn, with an open and uncommon intelligence, she tried to exploit the few means she had at her disposal to quench her thirst for knowledge.

Teresa was beautiful. Medwin described her as "indeed lovely and interesting. Her profuse black hair, tied in the most simple knot, after the manner of a Greek Muse in the Florence Gallery, displayed to its full height, her fair brow, fair as that of the marble of which I speak. She was also of about the same height as the antique. Her features possessed a rare faultlessness, and almost Grecian contour, the nose and forehead making a delightful straightline." But her beauty was a curse for her because, it is said, that it aroused the jealousy of her pleasure-loving mother who decided to confine her in the Convent of St. Anna. The biographer mentioned above also gives another possible reason for this imprisonment, that of the birth of a brother to Teresa, Leopoldo, on March 27, 1817. Whatever may be the reason, the fact is that she was put into the Convent at the express desire of the mother and without any opposition from the father. The other sister, Ferdinanda, was put into the Convent of St. Silvestro.

It was in the beginning of 1818, that Teresa finally entered the Convent of St. Ann. When Shelley made her acquaintance, she had already been there for nearly three years, with her former health shattered by seclusion and lack of fresh air.

It was one of Shelley's Italian friends, Prof. Francesco Pacchiani, known as "the Devil of Pisa" on account of his sharp tongue and irregular life, who introduced him to Teresa. The story of the girl was told by Pacchiani to the poet with much emotional exaggeration and mining of facts. Perhaps he, it was who gave currency to the story of an unsympathetic step-mother putting the girl into the prison. The precise date of the first visit of Shelley to Teresa is not known. The first reference to her occurs in Mrs. Shelley's diary on November 29, but we find an entry in Clara's diary on November 29, 1820, in which there is mention of a visit by her to the Convent in the company of Pacchiani. So the acquaintance must have begun some time in November and from the December onward there are frequent references to the new acquaintance in the diary of Mrs. Shelley and in the letters of the poet to his friends.

To the students of Shelley Teresa Viviani is known as Emilia.

"Emilia" was perhaps an appellation invented by the poet. There are other examples of Shelley's making use of special names for special persons. Elizabeth Hitchener, of whom Shelley once felt some attraction, was named by him "Portia." Lord Byron was called by him "Don Juan" and the Williams were called "Ferdinand" and "Miranda." For some reason or other Shelley perhaps felt some ideal element in the name "Emilia" and liked to call Teresa by that name.

## The Future of India

The world is now dominated by a new type of "civilized barbarism." India's national regeneration must come as a part of universal harmony and restoration of the disinherited. Recalling the ideal of "the future of India" cherished by Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

It is impossible for any one to be a follower of Swami Vivekananda and not to cherish "patriotism"—a very high type of patriotism which Indian politicians should consider deeply for their political salvation. Swami once spoke of patriotism in the following way:

"I believe in patriotism, and I also have my own ideal of patriotism. Three things are necessary for great achievements. First, feel from the heart. What is in the intellect or reason? It goes a few steps and there it stops. But through the heart comes inspiration. Love opens the most impossible gates; love is the gate to all the secrets of the universe. Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming companion with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that? That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step. . . . You may feel, then, but instead of spending your energies in frothy talk, have you found any way out, any practical solution, some help instead of condemnation, some sweet words to soothe their miseries, to bring them out of this living death? Yet that is not all. Have you got the will to surmount mountain-high obstructions? If the whole world stands against you sword in hand, would you still dare to do what you think right? If your wives and children are against you, if all your money goes, your name dies, your wealth vanishes, would you still stick to it? Would you still pursue it and go on steadily towards your man goal? As the great king Bhartrihari says, 'Let the sages blame or let them praise; let the goddess of fortune come or let her go wherever she likes, let death come today, or let it come in hundreds of years; be indeed is a steady man who does not move an inch from the way of truth.' Have you got that steadfastness? If you have these three things each one of you will work miracles. . . ."

This is the type of patriotism that will bring about true awakening of India. This type of patriotism cannot but be rare—as qualities of true leadership are rooted in the spiritual life of a leader who can become selfless for

the promotion of a cause which will bring true freedom for many.

### Adult Education in Rural Areas

If we can make our masses literate it would be a very great social advance. But even if we do succeed in doing so the problem of adult education will still remain. Observes Purshotam Trikamdas in *The Rural India*:

The problem before us briefly stated is that, we have in India millions of men and women who never got a chance to become literate and who are past the school-going age. What kind of education shall we provide for them? A determined Government with ample resources can undertake to make these literate also. This was done in Soviet Russia when grand-parents attended school along with their grand-children or took lessons from their grand-children. We have neither the determination nor the resources which were at the disposal of the Soviets. Therefore any suggestion for the liquidation of mass illiteracy must for the moment be discounted. We have certainly one responsibility to discharge. This is to prevent the future generation of school-going age from growing up illiterate.

The problem of making primary education compulsory should be undertaken without delay.

As I have already stated even if we succeeded in making everybody literate, the task of educating them would still remain. Literacy is merely a key to the acquisition of knowledge. The acquisition of this knowledge however requires certain mental curiosity and persistence. How many of our graduates even can boast of this?

Visual instruction can be imparted through the cinema or through the magic lantern.

To educate the masses the best means would be visual instruction supplemented by a few explanatory remarks.

It may be that it would require some time to get or prepare the suitable films. The Epidiascope, which is a magic lantern which can project not merely slides but any picture or object placed under the lens, could be used in the meantime.

After the beginning has been made a village library of gramophone records would be very useful.

In the radio we have a very powerful means of spreading knowledge. A special board appointed by Provincial Governments should be placed in charge of this work. It cannot be left to the stray efforts of those in charge of radio stations.

The radio can only supplement the efforts described above, and can never replace them. The living presence of somebody, the picture before the eye and the collection of the village folk in one place would always be necessary.

## BENGAL WRESTLING CHAMPIONSHIP

Organised by Simla Byayam Samity

The Simla Byayam Samity of Calcutta organised successfully the Bengal Wrestling Championship for the year 1938-39. The competition was opened on the 25th December, 1938, at the Samity ground at Simla, Calcutta, and continued up to the 2nd January, 1939. The prize distribution ceremony was held on the 2nd January. The Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. A. K. M. Zakariah, presided and distributed the prizes.

The prize-winners are as follows:—

- 7 Stones Group—  
Winner—Moni Das (Simla Byayam Samity).  
Runner-up—Sham Adhuary (Simla Byayam Samity)
- 8 Stones Group—  
Winner—Balai Dey (Tarun Sangha).  
Runner-up—Ram Dey (Simla Byayam Samity)
- 9 Stones Group—  
Winner—Sunil Dutt (Tarun Sangha).  
Runner-up—Nilmoni Das (Luxmi Sammulani).
- 10 Stones Group—  
Winner—Upen Dalui (Nebutola Kapati Club).  
Runner-up—Dhiren Dey (Nebutola Kapati Club).  
(This was decided by toss).

- 11 Stones Group—  
Winner—Ghanosyam Das (Simla Byayam Samity).  
Runner-up—Netai Das (Bazbazar Jatiya Sangha).
- 12 Stones Group—  
Winner—Moloy Ghose (Nebutola Kapati Club).  
Runner-up—Bibhoty Sil (Simla Byayam Samity).
- Heavy Group—  
Winner—Mazari Bose (Simla Byayam Samity).  
Runner-up—Khitish Chakrabarty (Unattached).
- Best Physique—  
Winner—Ghanosyam Das (Simla Byayam Samity).
- Club Championship—  
Winner—Simla Byayam Samity.

- Best fighters amongst the losers in various groups were:—
- 7 Stones Group—  
Paachu Mallick (Vivekananda Byayam Samity).
- 8 Stones Group—  
Kanaai Pramanick (Simla Byayam Samity).
- 9 Stones Group—  
Krishna Banerji (Unattached)

AMARENDRA NATH BOSE  
Secretary



It is miseducation regarding sex, not native ignorance of it, which is the source of youth's confusion. Deliberate untruths and deceptive half-truths are luring to destruction thousands of young people for every one who may take a misstep through ignorance based on innocence, rather than inculcated "enlightenment."

The one thing which has given modern youth confidence in entering into sin, and complacency in remaining in that state, is the false sense of security, the "know-it-all attitude," bred by the miseducators, in and out of our schools, who stupidly imagine that modern man has risen above the moral laws of God, has overcome the rules of his own being, established by his own Creator, has outwitted nature, nullified the consequences of sin, and exiled the voice of conscience from the life of civilized humanity.

### Meredith, Hardy and Stevenson

In the course of an address on the English Novel delivered to the Royal Society of Arts and published in the *Journal of the Society*, Frederic Thomas Blanchard says:

Meredith had agreed with Browning that God was in his heaven and all was right with the world. Even the theory of evolution was not, to him, a godless doctrine that robbed men of their Christ, but rather a gradual and glorious *magnificent*. Science, to be sure, had fitted mankind with monkeys' tails and had done little for the betterment of the soul. But then, why should one expect too much of it?

To Thomas Hardy, God might be in his heaven, but all was wrong with the world. As the result of his questioning, man, in the scheme of things, became pitifully small. Outlined on a dark hill at dusk (in *The Return of the Native*) a human being lost all his godlike attributes and resembled, grotesquely, nothing more than a fly on the head of a negro. Heredity and environment—since Darwin—had become fatal limitations. There it was that bounded on either side the limits within which little man might exercise his tiny talent of free will. Eustacia Vye, "queen of night," splendid enough to serve nectar and ambrosia on Olympus was, by a series of malicious mischances, allowed to perish in the weir like a drowned animal. Why? Was the Divine Being unkind, indifferent, or simply incompetent? Whatever might be the answer, Hardy's sympathies were for little man.

Certainly this was a gloomy picture. Necessary too it, to be sure, was Fielding's scope, and his essay too; but the part of comedy was diminished and restricted to the pathetic predicament of country yokels. For the purposes of such a pessimistic philosophy, Hardy very wisely chose a rustic setting, which, though at times picturesque, was accommodately sinister. Like the Zolaesque naturalists, with whom he has not a little in common, his business evidently is one of special pleading, of details carefully chosen to bear out his dismal theory. On the other hand, being both an architect and (in spirit, at least) an artist, he achieved extraordinary effects in design and colour. No one can forget the Reddlemas, weaving like a scarlet thread throughout the author's most artistic story. Stark realist as Hardy has been termed, the elements of romance appear to be even stronger in him than in the optimistic Meredith.

With the naturalists (and even with the colourful Hardy) the pitiful status of humanity had not merely touched bottom; it had stayed there. So thought

Stevenson, our last author, who, classing himself as a "little Romantic," set about the task of piping the English novel out of the slums. Precluded by ill-health from the possibility of ever attempting the epic magnitude of Scott and Fielding, he focussed his attention upon themes of lesser scope, admirably fashioned as in the stirring *Kidnapped*, exquisitely modulated as in his best short stories. Not his to people an immense world of the storied past, but to reveal, as the painter may, the glories that everywhere surround and invest us. To him, more than to any other, we owe the marvellous creation of atmosphere, and an economical technique which, at its best, even Flaubert and Maupassant might envy.

### On Journalism

The following observations are reproduced from *The Living Age*:

In so far as the intellectual is concerned, journalism is an adaptation of thought to contingent events, to fixed space and time, these factors which are beyond a writer's control and of which he must take account as of a new medium. It reduces the limitless time and space at the disposal of a free lance intellectual to their normal proportions and obliges him to translate his ideas into a language understandable by all, in journalism, the intellectual becomes a producer like others, subject to the general rhythm of the working world.

Much evil has been said about journalism, and perhaps wrongly. Through journalism, the thought becomes a visible and tangible thing. An intellectual's thought is not always quite clear even to himself. When that is so, he tends, by a defensive reflex, to complicate it still further; thereby, he thinks he progresses in his thought, whereas he is merely quietly drowning it in vague emotion. So-called 'death' in a literary work is often a sign of inadequate mental process, a complacent submergence in a thoughtless mimicry of self. On the contrary, when one wants to communicate a thought to someone else, one is forced to decant it, to reduce it to its essentials. I myself have understood the absurdity of an idea that was dear to me by trying to explain it to a child of fifteen.

At any rate, journalism is a test in which one succeeds or fails. It demands the austere precision of a physical exercise, of a sport. Politics is more ambiguous. An intellectual journalist is expected to be a good journalist. But an intellectual who lends his name to a party is expected not to meddle in politics or at least to be accommodating. Journalism throws the intellectual brutally into a cold bath of reality, while politics threatens to remove him completely from reality. The greater part of intellectuals who have lately gone into political life are remarkable in their ignorance of politics—it almost seems a condition of their participation.

It is possible that journalism and politics, undertaken at first by the intellectual as a material necessity or a vague and ambiguous moral obligation, will end by reforming the intellectual and helping him to adjust himself to his times. Both he and his contemporaries will gain by this.

### Kemal Atatürk's Successor

Harry N. Howards writes in the *Asia*:

The new President was born in Izmir (then Smyrna) in 1880, and was given a military education. Like Atatürk, he was an able soldier, demonstrating his qualities of leadership both in the Balkan Wars and in the World War. He

emerged from the great struggle a Colonel. As early as the Sivas Congress in 1919, at the very beginning of the National Movement, he joined forces with Atatürk, and with some rather minor exceptions he followed him to the end. He was one of the triumvirate of Atatürk, İnönü and Fehri Cakmak, the present chief of the general staff, that directed the destinies of the republic. During the Greco-Turkish struggle of 1919-1922, İsmet İnönü was chief of staff of the Turkish armies in the field, being second only to Atatürk himself. His surname derives from the great victory which the Turkish forces under his leadership won over the Greeks in the Battle of İnönü in the winter and spring of 1921.

His victories achieved on the field of battle, Atatürk selected İsmet Pasha, as he then was known, to represent Turkey at the Conference of Lausanne, 1922-1923, which was called to settle the Greco-Turkish War. And he proved as able a diplomat as he was a soldier.

In the end the Turks, under İsmet Pasha's leadership at Lausanne and Atatürk's at Ankara, achieved a brilliant victory. For they obtained not merely the right to return to Istanbul and Europe but a genuine independence within their homelands, free from the hated financial, economic and judicial capitulations which had been in existence since 1535. They succeeded in making a negotiated treaty of peace.

The new President is known by some as a veritable martinet in the matter of military discipline—and, after all, he is a soldier. On the other hand, some who have served under him have told me that he is a born leader of men, who inspires confidence, a quiet kind of confidence. It has been said by some too that, although he is an able administrator, he is too rigid, and lacks a fundamental knowledge of economics—a quality, which, if it is true, is not unique among executives!

In foreign affairs President İnönü may be expected to follow the general lines of policy which have been laid down in the past, since he himself had a great deal to do with the orientation of his country during the long period in which he was Premier. That policy was one of peaceful collaboration with all the neighbors of Turkey, and it looked in the direction of both the Balkan Entente and the Asiatic Pact of 1937.

He has not, however, been too fond of the Russian connection. This may be at the bottom of the shift in the Cabinet and the resignation of Dr. Tewfik Rıza Aras, Foreign Minister since 1925.

necessary to secure the services of the Government in settling disputes; but special governmental bodies for mediation and arbitration are available, when the need arises, in the conciliation committees established by the Minister of Labor, the industrial court, *ad hoc* boards of arbitration, individual arbitrators and special courts of inquiry. The Government encourages the settlement of disputes through industrial machinery and intervenes only upon request of one of the affected parties in conciliation cases. Under the arbitration system both parties must consent to submit their differences and must agree upon the terms of reference before the governmental agency may act. Although there is no obligation under existing law to accept awards, the moral obligation to abide by their terms is strong, particularly since arbitration can take place only with the consent of both parties. In practice it is well understood that recourse to arbitration implies equal agreement to accept the awards and in some cases such a clause is included in the terms of reference. To establish a court of inquiry the Government does not require the consent of parties to a dispute. Such a court has as its purposes the supplying of Parliament and the public with facts on a difficult case where settlement seems unlikely.

#### JOINT INDUSTRIAL NEGOTIATION

Many agreements between employers and employees contain provisions for the settlement of differences arising in the process of establishing and enforcing working standards. The normal practice is to attempt informal mediation of disputes. They may be considered in the shop, then locally, next in the district, and if still unsettled may go to a central authority provided within the industry. Machinery for mediation varies with the industries and different localities.

Prior to the war it was more common than at present to include in agreements definite terms for arbitration. The tendency of late years has been, however, to omit such provisions and to depend upon joint voluntary negotiations. In practical experience the presence of an arbitration clause in an agreement has sometimes been found to nullify preliminary negotiation. The parties to a dispute may be less willing to compromise if they know that arbitration is a possibility, fearing that by so doing they may weaken their position when a final award is made. This view is held by both employers and employees, and it is further believed that (1) the growth of regulation by an independent authority tends to weaken the position of organization both as regards membership and policy making, (2) claims are likely to be pressed farther than is justified, (3) discontent is encouraged; and (4) the parties involved tend to become litigants rather than co-operators.

## THE DUN EXPRESS DISASTER

By K. N. CHATTERJI

FIVE train disasters have followed each other on the E. I. Ry. Much loss of property, public and private, a very considerable loss of life and, as the natural consequence of the first two, a sense of insecurity in railway travel has been the result.

In the latest disaster the loss of life and property are both incompletely ascertained as yet. The official list of casualties is regarded with disbelief by the public as evidenced by the correspondence and editorials in the daily press. Judging from the fact that even a high official of Tipperah State, of imposing physique and in the prime of his life, and a stalwart and highly connected young Bengali are amongst those who are untraced as yet, the public may be excused for their scepticism about the accuracy of the casualty list. Indeed, in some quarters it has been openly hinted that the number of dead and missing should be placed at over a hundred. In any case it is certain that the loss of life has been extremely heavy. The hasty publication of a low casualty list by the authorities at the beginning cannot be commended in any way. It has been regarded as an attempt to minimise a terrible disaster to one of much lesser proportions.

The authorities cannot be commended either for their hasty conclusions about the cause. A sabotage theory has been put forward, a reward for information leading to the arrest of the supposed culprits has been promptly declared and rather hastily enhanced from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 25,000. But the data on which they base their theory, cannot be regarded as uncontroversial unless the full details of the enquiry produce additional and confirmatory evidence. The methods employed and sources tapped in getting all the evidence should have been made public by now. The demand for the immediate publication of the booking lists of passengers in the train has not been complied with as yet. Questions put forward in the daily press have not been properly answered. In short nothing has been done so far to restore the public confidence in the investigating authorities. As a result the demand for an immediate public enquiry has now become insistent and widely vocal. Any further delay in instituting such an enquiry will soon be construed in a manner derogatory to the authorities concerned.

The accident to the Dun Express can be

divided into two distinct stages, namely the derailment and then the fire. The appalling nature of the disaster—so far as the loss of life is concerned—was mainly due to the conflagration. It is now definitely established, from the reports of eye-witnesses, that the fire became visible within a few minutes of the derailment and rapidly assumed the character of a major blaze. Harrowing details have appeared in the press about the heart-rending cries of the victims who were trapped under the burning debris. Very strangely, no determined attempt seems to have been made to put out the fire, which blazed and then smouldered on for nearly 36 hours. The authorities have no explanations ready either for the outbreak of fire, or for this apparent neglect at combating it. It is reasonable to believe that some property of the passengers and may be some lives also might have been saved if the fire had been put out in time. Further it is doubtless that the cause of the outbreak would have been easier to detect if the four bogies concerned had not been allowed to burn to ashes, thereby destroying the major portion—if not all—of the evidence.

Why was there no determined attempt to fight the fire? Is it possible that a major railway like the E. I. R. does not possess any scientific means—like chemical extinguishers—of fire-fighting? The fire broke out at about 3-15 A.M. and the proper authorities must have known about it within an hour or so. If they did not, then there must be some inefficiency somewhere. Fire-fighting squads with proper equipment could have reached the location within three hours of notification from Asansol and much sooner from Dhanbad and Gomoh. Did they do so? If they did then how is it that the fire raged on until it had burnt itself out? Dhanbad is the centre of a colliery area where fire-fighting apparatus is easily available.

Then comes the question about the origin of the fire. How was it that the fire blazed out so suddenly and so fiercely? The usual explanation about electrical short-circuits cannot be admitted so easily in this case. Passenger carriages are built and equipped with an eye towards the prevention of fire. Seasoned timber is used uniformly where wood-work is necessary. Painting and varnishing, both fire-retarding processes, are very carefully done, the

electrical wiring consists of metal covered or conduited sections and in general no material is used that is easily ignited. Moreover, the electric system is low-voltage and therefore no "ares" could have been formed once the engine dynamo circuit was broken after the derailment. Even if the short-circuit started the fire how could the blaze spread so rapidly? The thermal output of a 36-volt short-circuit (or even a dozen such short-circuits) is so low that it is almost ridiculous to suppose that it could ignite seasoned wood to the extent that would produce a formidable blaze within fifteen or twenty minutes of the outbreak. Indeed, from the scanty evidence given to the press, no other explanation seems possible excepting that the train was either on fire, or was heated upto ignition point over an appreciable area, for a considerable period before the actual blaze was seen. In other words, it seems that the fire started before the derailment took place. A large reward should be declared for clearing up the mystery surrounding the fire, for there can be no doubt that the holocaust was caused by the fire to the major extent. And the authorities should explain satisfactorily as to why the fire could not be put out within a reasonable period of time.

Next comes the question of derailment. The Press communique regarding the findings of the Railway Inquiry Committee was as follows:

A Press communique issued in Calcutta last evening by the Chief Operating Superintendent, East Indian Railway, says that a message received from Mr. J. A. Bell, General Manager, E. I. R., from the site of the accident intimated that as a result of an inquiry held, it had been established that the accident was due to malicious tampering with the track.

The inquiry began at Gomoh yesterday morning. The Senior Government Inspector of Railways, the civil authorities, Mr. Bell, and other railway officials, who had proceeded to the scene of the disaster, were present.

A length of rail which is said to have been removed, has, it is understood, been recovered. It is stated that this piece of rail does not show any signs of the Express having passed over it (italics ours).

This finding has been immediately followed by the declaration of a reward—Rs. 5,000 at first, now Rs. 25,000—for the supply of information leading to the arrest and conviction of the miscreant. There can be no question about the promptness of action following the findings of the inquiry. Whether that finding is above question is quite another matter. The reward announced is ample; for Rs. 25,000 in a poor country like India means untold wealth. The Railway authorities have notified that this reward is not available to anyone who is an

offender himself. That is good but not sufficient. Cases where innocent persons have been convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on fabricated evidence are not unknown in India. A striking example was the conviction of some innocent poor coolies who were supposed to have attempted to wreck the train carrying a lieutenant-governor. Such huge rewards are temptations even to the good to say nothing of the wicked. We hope the authorities will guard against the possibility of there being a miscarriage of justice through the avarice of unscrupulous persons, who might risk any punishment for a reward of this magnitude.

Now, as regards the finding itself, we find there is considerable room for doubt as regards its correctness. We do not know whether the committee sifted the evidence correctly, neither do we know whether they have any further support for the sabotage theory. The inquiry was not a public one, neither have the authorities thought it fit to publish the full details about the activities of the committee. We are obliged to examine the theory therefore in the light of what little information there is before us together with deductions drawn from the data of the consequences of the accident and as a result we are not at all satisfied that "it has been established that the accident was due to malicious tampering with the track."

"The length of rail which is said to have been removed" is evidently the one lying half buried in the ballast and loose earth as shown in the picture of the track given elsewhere.

If this rail were removed from the track, there must have been a gap in the lines on one side only. That is to say in the case of any train passing over this spot, one set of wheels would be running smoothly on the hard, polished and level surface of a steel rail, whereas on the other side another set will be bumping against the sleepers, grinding against the ballast and in general skidding and churning up the loose earth. On the steel rail, the wheels would be gliding freely and smoothly along the rail, while on the other side the projecting flanges would bite deeply into the earth, ploughing up the ground, while the flat portions of the tires would bump and jump across ballast and sleepers. Therefore the wheels travelling over the gap would perform both irregular and retarded motion, whereas those on the unbroken track would spin along with far less resistance. The train was travelling at a high speed, therefore such reactions as put down above

would mean immediate and violent skidding and plunging of the wheels resulting in complete derailment almost instantaneously. And yet the engine, the tender and a third-class coach mounted on bogeys passed safely and most inexplicably over the gap, thereby refuting all the known laws of dynamics! So for the present we must either reject the theory of the existence of the gap prior to the engine etc. passing over that spot, or rewrite a whole chapter of scientific laws.

Next it is said that this piece of rail does not show any signs of the express having passed over it. It is not clear whether they mean that the wheels of the derailed coaches have not marked it in any extraordinary manner, or that they mean the rail does not bear any marks of the wheels of the Express travelling in the regular way over them. A question was put in a Calcutta daily asking the authorities to be more explicit, but no reply was forthcoming. It is sufficient to say here that the wheels of the up Bombay Mail and up Delhi Mail most certainly passed successively over the rail in question, the first about two hours and the second about an hour before the Express. And any marks left by them would be indistinguishable from those of the Express that followed at such a short interval. The question here is, what marks did the Committee look for and how did they look for them?

Then comes the question of opportunity for the act of sabotage, that is the removal of the rail.

The maximum time the supposed miscreants had at their disposal could not have been much over an hour. It was a dark night. Further, the supposed act is said to have been done *nefariously* and at the bitterly cold hours preceding dawn. Can a skilled gang do it with regular tools within that short compass of time—between the passing of the Delhi Mail at 1-50 and the derailment at about 3-15—under those conditions? A theory was put forward, in reply to this question, that alternate bolts may have been removed before the Delhi Mail passed and the rest afterwards. But is it at all probable that the gang had the correct watches, knowledge of the time required for such action, remarkable unity of purpose, and proper supervision, as this theory would indicate?

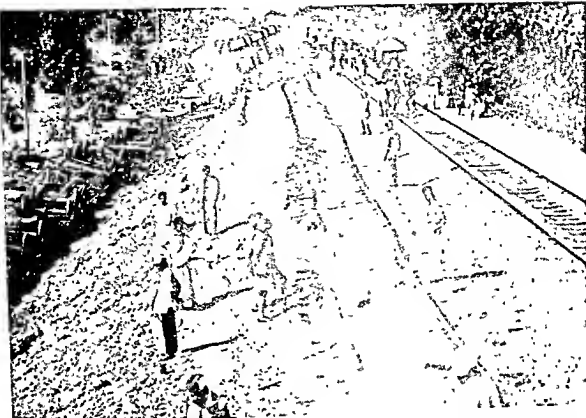
In any case the sabotage theory seems to lead to the presumption that a skilled gang of men with regular tools and flares, came from a distance to that lonely spot, to do this act of sabotage at an hour when the boldest miscreant

would have his vitality flowing at its lowest. And they performed the act with such skill and dispatch, considering the circumstances, as would seem to rule out for ever the theory that they were disgruntled permanent way men dismissed for inefficiency!

It may be asked as to how else could this accident have happened. This question cannot be definitely answered for obvious reasons. Indeed, it cannot be definitely said that this was not the result of an act of sabotage. All that can be said for the present that this sabotage theory would require a considerable amount of further evidence before it can be declared to have been definitely established.

How did the fire start? Through a hot-axle? Could the seizing of the bearings resultant from the hot-axle, or the perishing of the valves governing the air-brakes as a result of the igniting of the under-carriage due to the hot-axle, be the cause of the derailment also? Seizing of a bearing would certainly produce some considerable sidewise drag on to the wheels. Perishing of the valves of an air-brake would jam the brakes on sudden and hard, producing violent skidding as a result, which might lead to derailment.

Further investigation by a public enquiry committee seems to be desirable at this stage. Public enquiry would be beneficial to the railway also as it would put a stop to all sorts of allegations and rumours, thereby making the restoration of public confidence in the authorities an easier task. As matters stand it is incumbent upon the E. I. Railway authorities to clear their employees from the charges of inefficiency and carelessness, that are being levelled at them from all quarters. And this can only be done at a public enquiry. Five major accidents since the Bilta disaster, of a little over a year ago, is an unenviable record for any railway, and so the public cannot be blamed for its growing lack of confidence in the administration of this railway. When men of the standing of Babu Rajendra Prasad openly criticize the sabotage theory as being "the most comfortable theory from the point of view of railway administration" and accuse the railway of preventing would-be helpers from approaching the site, the railway authorities have no way but to invite public investigation. Other persons have made still graver charges. Indeed, Babu Narayanjee who was deputed by the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee to report on the disaster has openly accused the Railway authorities of preventing Congress workers from helping the injured persons. He has further

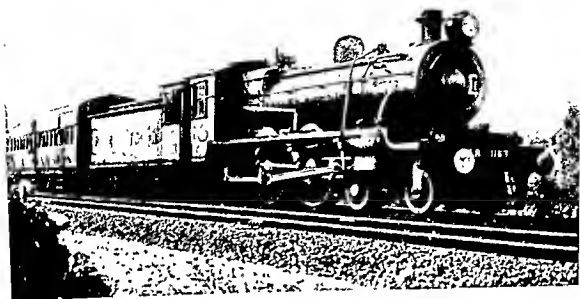


The track after the disaster. The "sabotaged" rail

at the middle distance



Investigation on the site. Examination of the "sabotaged" rail?



The Engine, tender and first Coach of the Dun Express These were not derailed



The debris left after derailment and fire

accused the investigating committee of not properly taking down evidence from a passenger

The Railway authorities have no option but to invite open investigation of all such

charges. Even if the accident be due to sabotage, a great deal of subsequent happenings have to be investigated properly. The only alternative is to bear the stigma of public condemnation, sabotage or no sabotage.

## THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE SCINDIA HOUSE

THE opening of the "Scindia House" at Ballard Estate, Bombay, on the 23rd December, 1938, by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, places another landmark in the history of India's struggle for economic independence. Man's struggle for existence on this sphere is distributed evenly on land, water and, lately, in the air. Every country now is vitally interested in furthering the interests of its nationals in all these spheres of activity and in the removal

of a weak nation's endeavour against the machinations of powerful foreign vested interests. There has been no Government support worthy of mention, only taunting criticisms, or, at best, half-hearted attempts at placating the



Sheth Narottam Morarjee

of all barriers, natural or artificial, towards the full maturing of all enterprises along these lines.

The history of the shipping industry in India has been so far that of heroic struggles



Sir Lalubhai Samaldas

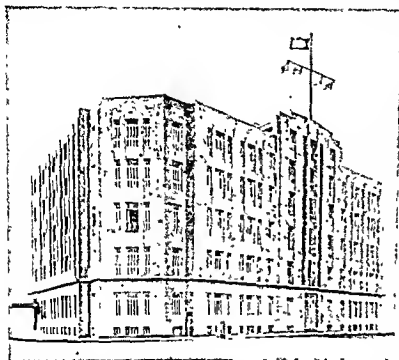
domineering and contemptuous foreigner. Instead of the provision of facilities and of constructive efforts towards helping the development of this extremely important section of the national economic fabric, there has been actual hampering, directly or indirectly, of Indian enterprise



in the name of "safeguards" for non-Indian interests.

The activities of foreign shipping interests in crippling and ruining Indian enterprises have

to a small extent, speaks a lot for the courage, foresight and business acumen of those in charge of its destinies, and in particular of its distinguished chairman, Mr. Walechand Hirachand.



Scindia House

added another sordid chapter in the history of the economic enslavement of India. Their action has been marked by an absolutely ruthless disregard for the principles governing fair and honourable competition. Indeed, it is not much to say that if the Government had been able and willing to look after the economic welfare of its people, it would not have tolerated for a moment the grossly unjust and unfair moves launched by these avaricious and predatory combines. The fact that the Scindia Steam Navigation Company has been able not only to survive the onslaughts of the powerful British shipping combines, but has also been able to expand its sphere of action and enlarge its fleet

Shipping is a key-industry of vital interest to a nation striving for attainment of its rights, inasmuch as it not only provides a wide channel for the influx of wealth through transport and commerce, but it also provides a training ground and a feeder for a really national Navy, which in itself is a most urgently needed first line of defence in times of emergency.

The Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. was ushered into existence on the wave of creative resurgence which came in the wake of the Great War. The men behind the launching of this infant enterprise were the late Sheth Narottam Morarjee, the late Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, the late Sheth Kilechand Devchand, and the present chairman of the company, Mr. Walechand Hirachand. They purchased



The opening Ceremony. Mr. G. L. Mehta addressing the meeting

the SS "Loyalty" in February, 1919, and proceeded to register the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. on the 27th March, 1919. And

from the very start this concern had to face both the open and underhand hostile activities of the forces that want to perpetuate the economic bondage of India. The "Loyalty" involved the new company into serious losses, not because of any inherent disabilities on the part of the ship or its owners, but rather because of the ignorance of the directors of the company of the depths of meanness to which rival interests could descend to in an endeavour to stifle the infant industry at its very beginning. This ship made a profit of nearly a lac of rupees in its first voyage to Marseilles. And then the survey in London took *six months* instead of the normal three weeks!

Since then, the company has been waging a very stiff uphill fight for existence. The only bright spots in its chequered career being that of the indomitable spirit of its direction and the support it received from the Indian Mercantile Community, notably from Sir Abdul Karim Jamal of Rangoon. The concern has faced, and is still facing, direct action from its foreign opponents in the form of freight war, underhand wire-pulling amongst the insurance companies, freight purchasers and other influential parties, and many other open or veiled moves to crush it out of existence.

The company has had tempting offers to sell out and retire from the fight. It has resisted all that. The shareholders have shown a rare spirit of sacrifice and fortitude through all this multitude of troubles, and therefore, they and



Mr. Walchand Hurachand

their direction and administration deserve congratulations from every nationally-minded Indian.

K. N. C.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Azra Hyder

MISS AZRA HYDER has been presented with a special gold medal at the Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh, for topping the list of candidates at the last B.A. Examination. She stood first also in her F.A. Examination. She is the daughter of Sayid Nasiruddin Hyder, Revenue Minister, Tonk.

natives many of the blessings of the Christian way of life—such as the possibility of education, hospitals, organized religion with the joy of hymn singing, and to some extent liberation from the oppressive burden of superstition and the tyranny of the medicine men and the “witch-smellers”—have been either British or American, and they have done a noble work of a high order.

But the colour-bar remains. The white race is in control, the dark races are “depressed,” “kept in their place,” and can only “walk softly” in their narrow, limited round of life. It is a world of beautiful skies and hills and rivers, broad fields and lordly spaces, but it is too a world where fear stalks abroad and across the land, deep-seated hate is much in evidence and involved human problems confront one at every turn.

And yet, in every large centre of population there are groups of the “quiet in the land,” who have conquered fear, who understand the true issues of life, who know “what men live by,” and who are, with the impalpable forces of gentleness and love and truth, pushing back the skirts of darkness and widening the area of light. Persons of this order and of this healing service are not confined to the missionary class. They are sometimes, but none too often, ministers of the gospel. They are as likely—perhaps even more likely—to be university professors, who have caught a larger view of life and greater faith in the gentle forces of friendliness and love. A number of them are “Oxford Groupers” who have got a clearer vision of what the Christian Gospel involves for life among men. But persons of this larger view and truer way of life are to be found in Parliament, in the Cabinet, on the Judicial Bench, among the leaders of thought and among the statesmen of the nation. Light is coming here, as it comes everywhere, slowly, how slowly! but it is coming. There is a rem-

nant that *sees*, and *feels* and *dares*. It is a remnant that is done with fear and hate and that is vocal with the creative, constructive, if impalpable, forces of human sympathy and understanding, stirred by faith that an atmosphere can be produced in which men of differing races and varying shades of colour can live co-operatively, and find a freer, fuller life together.

I have found similar human faces, with similar breadth of spirit, in China, in Japan, in Germany, in Czechoslovakia and in Italy and I should find them in Russia if I once got there. I know many persons in Japan who in their inner spirit are as free from the imperial policy of the military machine as I am and who in spite of the suppression of actual news, and the swirl of propaganda, go straight on exercising their faith in another way of life and breathing a spirit of friendliness and love for the tragically suffering Chinese. There is not much that they can do and there is almost nothing that they can say, but they do preserve in their souls an area of free thought and in their spirits a triumphant attitude which some day will burst into expression and bear visible fruit.

There are no tyrannies that can completely suppress the soul of man. They can control newspapers and printing offices. They can suppress speech and destroy pamphlets, they can put prophets and heralds into concentration camps, or do them to death, but they cannot bridle the human heart or command human sympathies to cease. There never will be complete “totalitarianism” because there will always be “human faces” that will not merge into the “lump”, there will always be human hearts that will not fuse into the “mass”. There are no compulsions which can compel inner states of mind. There are no dictators who can command the secret citadel of man’s free soul.

December 2, 1938



## JUNG ON INDIA

By PROFESSOR K. R. KRIPALANI

*Visva-bharati*

THERE is a saying in my mother tongue which means that when a bull becomes feeble, it must endure the insolence of the tiniest insects. And so we Indians have also grown used to being maligned by all sorts of irresponsible foreign journalists who, after spending a few cold months in Anglo-Indian Hotels in India, consider themselves entitled to air their judgments on every conceivable aspect of our life and culture. We have grown so used to this species of international hawkers of Indian gossip that we have learnt to endure their half-truths and untruths with indifference. After all some of them must trade in this ware to earn their living or please their masters. But it hurts one deeply to have to include in this class a man of the intellectual eminence of Prof. C G Jung, who was one of the most distinguished members of the delegation of foreign scientists who visited India in the winter of 1937-38. His article in the January issue of *Asia*, entitled "The Dreamlike World of India," came to me as a very painful shock. Even those of us who have shed most of our illusions about the wonderful virtues of our Europeans as a race of supermen, still honour their scientists for their objective and dispassionate attitude towards their environments. This honour was lavishly poured on them wherever they went in India, irrespective of the fact that many of them belonged to nations and were associated with Governments, which do not scruple to exploit their scientific achievements to oppress helpless nations like ours. Naive as we are in our faith, we imagined that great scientists did not jump to conclusions without exhaustive enquiry; but here is a case of an eminent psychologist whose reputation is second only to that of Freud, seeing India through the eyes of retired English colonels.

India appears to him a "dreamlike world" because :

eyes, would remain a grotesque dance were it not for the drumming that creates a new reality rising from the bowels."

This interesting psychological explanation is, I suppose, a convincing illustration of the way the European "is used to regarding his head as the only instrument by which the world can be grasped." The following description is of "the life of the Earth," as Hindu, according to the eminent scientist, conceives it, and presumably lives it.

"To be born, to die, to be sick, greedy, dirty, childish, ridiculously vain, miserable, hungry, vicious, to be obvious, unconcealed, self-evident in illiterate unconsciousness, to be suspended in a narrow universe of good and evil gods and to be protected by charms and helpful *mantras*, that is perhaps the real life, life as it was meant to be, the life of the Earth."

After this vivid description of our daily life, it is not surprising to be assured that "one would need some sort of Yoga, if one were trying seriously to live in India."

The writer apparently found time to visit Benares, for he tells us that "even the temples of Benares are small and not very impressive, if it were not for their noisiness and dirt." He does not refer to any other Hindu temple in India which he found worthy of his notice. What impresses him most, great psychologist as he is, is that "Siva, the destroyer, and the blood-thirsty and blood-curdling Kali seem to be in the foreground. The elephant-headed, fat Ganesa is also much in demand to bring good luck." What can be more natural than that the sight of a Hindu goddess should curdle the blood of a European, brought up on the spiritual visions of the Old Testament, and living under the peaceful shadow of the reigns of Hitler and Mussolini? However, after being scandalised at the horrible violence of the Hindu's vision of the spiritual, he goes on to relate how ridiculously incapable the Hindus are of putting up a real fight, perhaps because "the combatants would be trapped in no time by the many circumnutations of their ridiculous sheets" (meaning *dhoti*). He describes a fight between two Hindu boys of about eight or nine years :

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violently, but the dangerous looking fist remained miraculously arrested about an inch from the enemy's skin—and afterwards it was exactly as if they had had a really good fight! They are profoundly civilized. This was in the South; the Muhammedan element in the North is probably much nearer the real stuff when it comes to a fight."

No wonder, he declares, with admirable consistency, that

"In comparison, Islam seems to be a superior, more spiritual and more advanced religion"

It would be unseemly of us to boast that we know how to fight, so long as we remain a defeated people, ruled by a handful of foreigners. (Indeed, the Hindus never boasted of their fists even when they ruled over a great Empire). But it is no less unseemly of a scientist to base his judgment of a people's manliness on a casual street fight between little boys which he happened to witness. If only to verify his theory, he might have provoked some fist to make sure if it always "remained miraculously arrested about an inch from the enemy's skin"

But the strangest illustration of the scientific attitude of the celebrated psychologist is his theory accounting for the "effeminate or babyish" character of the *dhoti* which the Hindu wears—"a long piece of cotton cloth wound round and between his legs." This "garland type," he has somehow discovered, "is chiefly southern, perhaps on account of the matriarchal trend which prevails in the South." Now even a casual observer should have seen that this "garland type" is worn chiefly in northern and central India and that in the South the most common form is a piece of cloth simply wound round the legs from the waist downwards, which is known in the north as *loongi*. But, I suppose, the scientist had to make this minor shift in order adequately to relate the "effeminate or babyish" character of the "garland type," with the matriarchal system in the South. Those who are *psycho*-logical need not care to be simply logical.

We have, of course, no quarrel with the writer when he finds the back of the legs in such a dress "ridiculously uncovered," for it is after all a matter of personal taste, though it is hardly consistent of a European to be scandalised at the Hindu uncovering a part of his

leg, when so many of his kind in India go about in "shorts," and the number of European ladies in short skirts who discard stockings in summer is on the increase. But when he says that "you simply cannot imagine a soldier with such garlands of cloth between his legs," one cannot help enquiring if the test of a suitable dress for daily wear is its adaptability for warfare. I wonder if the sort of dress the ancient Greeks and Romans were would be preferred by a modern soldier.

It is not my purpose here to challenge each one of the writer's opinions: he has himself confessed in the introductory paragraph of his article that, considering the short and hurried nature of his visit, he is not "likely to produce anything more than a mildly delirious phantasmagoria of hasty impressions, snapshot sentiments, and nupatien opinions." It is a great pity that warned as he was by his own better sense of his incompetency for the task, he should still have consented to do such violence to his habit of scientific thinking and his reputation as psychologist. Great intellects do not play with truth so lightly and great minds should be loth to publish anything which is likely to add to the smoke-screens of misunderstanding which are so dismal a feature of the world of today. The tragedy of it is that this thoughtless article of a thoughtful man should have been published in a Journal, which is otherwise one of the finest in the world and which is supposed to interpret the culture, beauty and the significant movements of Asia to the people of the West. The Editor assures us on the cover page of the current issue that the next (February) issue of the *Asia* will contain a second article by Professor Jung, in which "the distinguished psychologist strikes deeply into the thoughts, the way of thinking, of Indian people." Western readers will find in these sympathetic and discerning comments a new point of view toward India, and perhaps also towards themselves. We are rather tired of "new points of views" invented by European philosophers for universal benefit, but let us at least hope the "discerning comments" will be truthful and there will not be the sickening patronizing attitude which sympathy.



PROCESSION OF THE BODHI TREE, CEYLON

By Manandhar-han Gupta

Prithvi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### "Divide and Rule"

The following passage occurs on page 166 of *The Present Condition of India* by Leonard M. Schiff (with a foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru), published by Quahy Press of London on the 20th January last:

"In the earlier days of British rule it was the Muslims who were especially hostile, as was to be expected of a conquered ruling race. A writer signing his name 'Carnaticus' remarked in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1821 'Divide et impera' should be the motto for our Indian administration,' and Lieutenant Coke likewise pronounced that 'our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us, fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them.' Both he and Elphinstone (in a minute of May 13th, 1858) agree with the principle of 'divide and rule.' Then it was the Hindu who had to be cajoled. Lord Ellenborough wrote in 1843 'I cannot close my eyes to the belief that this race (Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus.' Again, in reference to the plan to restore the gates of the temple at Somnath, he remarks: 'Hindus, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of the one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful.' (At the time when this was written British India was a smaller portion of India than now, and of that portion nine-tenths of the inhabitants were Hindus.—Editor, M. R.).

Now it is the Muhammadan who has to be "cajoled" by the British Government—and, therefore, by the Indian National Congress also!

In *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* by Major B. D. Basu, published in 1927, it is stated, pp. 35-36:

He (Lord Ellenborough) wrote to the Duke of Wellington from Simla on 4th October, 1842, after the fall of Cabul and Ghazni—

"I could not have credited the extent to which the Muhammadan desired our failure in Afghanistan, unless I had heard here circumstances which prove that the feeling pervaded even those entirely dependent upon us."

The Hindus, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful."

Again, writing to the Duke of Wellington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said:

"I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Muhammadans) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus."

On pages 74-75 of the same book, *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, it is written:

Nearly four decades before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, a British officer, subscribing himself as "Carnaticus," wrote in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1821—

"Divide et impera should be the motto for our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

Although such was the policy of the authorities of those days in their government of India, yet they did not proclaim it openly. The Indian Mutiny made many of them do so. It was not only the irresponsible British journalists, some of whom did not feel ashamed to advocate setting up race against race, creed against creed and caste against caste, but many responsible members of the bureaucracy also did not hesitate to proclaim such a policy. Thus one Lieut Colonel John Coke, holding the very responsible office of Commandant at Moradabad, wrote:

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us, fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. Divide et impera should be the principle of Indian Government."



Such being the case and such being the opinion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it is to be hoped that he will try to persuade the leaders of the struggle in the States in which the struggle is being carried on or is about to begin, to place before themselves and their followers the immediate goal of obtaining the right to carry on constitutional agitation in all the known ways of doing so, and to tell their Rulers also that that is their immediate objective.

Seeing that the fullest civil liberty is not enjoyed by the inhabitants of "British" India and full responsible government has not yet been won there, the British Government cannot be expected to adopt the pose of unconcerned lookers-on if the States become politically more advanced than the Provinces ruled directly by the British hureaucracy. For every one should know that the States are highly valued by the British Government as foils which by their backwardness make the Provinces seem progressive, though in reality, compared with free civilized countries, they are very backward. The British Government cannot afford to lose the advantage of having these foils. That is one of the reasons why its agents in the States have been taking part in the struggle against the people and sometimes compelling the reluctant rulers, as in Rajkot, not to accede to the demands of their subjects. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is fully aware of all these things. Hence it is that he says that

the conflict in the States is only incidentally with the Rulers. In effect it is with British Imperialism. That is the issue, clear and definite. And that is why the interference of the British power in the States against the people has a special significance. We see this on an increasing scale, not only by the Political Department of the Government of India and its many Residents, but through its armed forces, as in Orissa. This interference in order to crush the popular movement is no longer going to be tolerated by us. The National Congress will certainly intervene with full vigour if the Government of India intervene to crush the people. Our methods are different; they are peaceful, but they have been shown in the past to be effective.

Gandhiji has repeatedly warned the British Government and its agents in India of the far-reaching consequences of this conflict. It is manifestly impossible for the conflict to be confined to particular States and for the Congress, at the same time, to carry on provincial administration involving a measure of co-operation with the British authorities. If there is this major conflict, then its effects will spread to the remotest corners of India, and the question will no longer be a limited one of this State or that, but of the complete elimination of British Power.

Premonitions are already apparent in the rumour that the Bombay Ministry may resign on the Rajkot issue and the news that Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, a U. P. Minister, and

her husband, a U. P. Parliamentary secretary, may join the Rajkot people's struggle at the right time.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thinks that the Congress policy in relation to the States has been vindicated:

The Congress knew well that the backwardness of the States hindered our national progress and that there could be no freedom for India unless the States ceased to be what they were. The Congress was eager to bring about this essential and vital change, and yet it knew that the change could only come about from below, when the people of the States grew self-reliant and organised and capable of shouldering the burden of their struggle. It emphasised this. Not to have done so would have been to mislead and encourage vain delusion, and delay the building up in the States themselves of organisations which would represent the strength and will of the people.

The wisdom of the Congress stands amply justified today when we see the developments that have taken place since Haripura. All the States are astir and in many of them powerful mass movements are functioning. The people of the States are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India, they are no longer a burden and a dead-weight keeping us back. They are setting the pace for India today and our national politics are dominated by their struggle. The time has come therefore for the integration of these various struggles in the States *inter se* and with the major struggle against British Imperialism. There are no longer many different struggles going on for independence, there is only one mighty struggle for India's freedom, though its aspects may vary and though its battle grounds may be many. As Gandhiji has said, the struggle for liberty, whenever it takes place, is a struggle for all India.

The Pandit's characterization of the States is, on the whole correct and fair, though one could wish he had definitely recognized that a few of them are in several respects more advanced economically, educationally, socially and even administratively than "British" India, in the passage quoted below.

There are about six hundred States in India—big ones and small ones and tiny ones which one cannot place on the map. They differ greatly among themselves and some have advanced industrially and educationally, and some have competent Rulers or Ministers. The majority of them, however, are sinks of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power, sometimes exercised by vicious and degraded individuals. But whether the Ruler happens to be good or bad, or his Ministers competent or incompetent, the evil lies in the system. This system has vanished from the rest of the world and left to itself, it would have vanished from India also long ago. But in spite of its manifest decay and stagnation, it has been propped up and artificially maintained by British Imperialism. Offspring of British Power in India, sucked by Imperialism for its own purposes, it has survived till today, though mighty revolutions have shaken the world and changed it, Empires have collapsed and crowds of Princes and petty Rulers have faded away. That system has no inherent importance or strength, it is the strength of British Imperialism that counts. For us in India that system has in reality been one of the faces of Imperialism. Therefore when conflict comes we must recognise who our opponent is.

The President of the States' People's Conference does not want, just as the people themselves do not want, as we have stated in a previous issue, that the States should all be wiped out as distinct units and the Rulers should be eliminated. He has shown that whatever the assertion and pretext of British Imperialists, the States have no independence.

The Political Department of the Government of India pulls the strings and the puppets dance to its tune; the local Resident is the master of the situation, and latterly the practice has grown of British officials being imposed as Ministers of the Rulers of the States. If this is independence then it will be interesting to learn how it differs from the most abject subjection.

There is no independence in the States and there is going to be none, for it is hardly possible geographically and it is entirely opposed to the conception of a united free India. It is conceivable and desirable in the case of the larger States for them to have a great deal of autonomy within the framework of an Indian Federation. But they will have to remain integral parts of India and the major matters of common concern must be controlled by a democratic federal centre. Internally they will have responsible government.

Though the President has said nothing about the position of the smaller States in the federated India of the future, it is conceivable that they may be allowed to combine among themselves for the purposes of enlightened and progressive administration in all department of State.

The authorities in some of the States have learnt some lessons from British Imperialists, one of which is that

they have learnt the art of utilizing communal differences to check popular movements. In Travancore a powerful people's movement is opposed and sought to be discredited on the plea that it is a communal movement, consisting mainly of Christians, in Kashmir the popular movement is called communal because it is largely Muslim in composition; in Hyderabad it is said to be communal because it is predominantly Hindu. The demands put forward on behalf of these several movements might be, as they indeed are, wholly national with no communal tinge or bias in them, but some excuse has to be found to discredit and oppose them and the plea of communalism is a useful one.

Some of the things which the President said of Hyderabad and Kashmir are quoted below:

ly more advanced politically as it has a kind of Legislative Assembly, but this has little power, and the ordinances that obtain there are monstrous in their severity. In Hyderabad we have probably the lowest level of civil liberty in India, and latterly attention has been drawn to the prohibition of even certain religious ceremonies.

For a more comprehensive idea of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address one should read the full text published in the dailies.

### Bratachari Day in Calcutta

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette writes:

A large number of people attended the Foundation Day celebration of the Bratachari Movement at Natore Park, Bellarygunge, on Sunday afternoon (12th February last). The programme opened with an impressive rally of Bratacharis in which about 700 members of the organisation took part.

In the morning Bratachari "squad", equipped with spades, shovels, broomsticks and baskets engaged themselves in bustee cleaning work in north, central and south Calcutta simultaneously. Roads were swept and refuse dumped in dust bins. Leaflets, explaining the importance of clean bustees, were also distributed.

This work lasted an hour and a half, the Bratacharis being assisted by the Corporation Health Department and Ward Health Associations. Mr G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder-President of the Bratachari Movement and Col. A. C. Chatterji, Director of Public Health, Bengal, visited each of the centres where they gave directions and joined in the work.

Addressing the mass rally at Natore Park, Mr G. S. Dutt said that

the celebration of the Foundation Day this year marked a new era in the history of the movement, which was founded seven years ago. The movement had often been mistaken for one of mere amusement, but Bratacharis would now endeavour to prove that it was for individual and national self-purification and service as well as for international fellowship.

It was a movement which, while standing for the preservation of the cultural traditions of the various communities which inhabited Bengal and India, also stood for progress in all directions of life—physical fitness and earnest pursuit of manual and constructive work, regardless of age, rank or sex.

The movement, in short, aimed at expressing the spirit of renaissance India and the essence of constructive nationalism and it sought to work in collaboration and harmony with all political parties in the country for the physical, moral, social, economic and political regeneration of India.

### Bengal Ministry's Baksheesh to "Azad"

In their budget for the coming financial year the Bengal Ministry have provided a baksheesh of Rs. 30,000 for a Bengali Muhammadan newspaper which, very appropriately, calls itself *Azad*, which means "Independent". The Ministers have an official Bengali weekly and an official English weekly of their own. In addition they have decided to stimulate the independence of *Azad* by supplying it with *dāl bhāt* worth Rs. 30,000 per annum.

Has the *Azād* been rewarded for stirring up communal hatred, which has found practical expression in many sinister forms?

If now any newspaper comments favourably on any item in their budget, will the Ministry think that it is trying to qualify for baksheesh as the aforesaid paper has done? If, on the contrary, any paper criticizes the budget adversely, will they think that it has done so because it has not been supplied with *dāl bhāt*?

As for non-journalistic criticism of the budget, even some Muhammadan members belonging to the ministerial Coalition party have indulged in it quite unsparingly.

### *Influence of Religious Men on Language and Literature*

Wycliffe and Tyndale, and the forty-seven scholars whom King James I. commissioned to prepare the "most perfect translation of the Bible possible", are not considered litterateurs in the ordinary sense of that word. But all students of the English language and literature know how Wycliffe's Bible, Tyndale's Bible and the Authorized Version of the Bible have influenced that language and literature. Of Wycliffe's Bible Dr. J. T. Sunderland writes in *The Origin and Character of the Bible*, "It fixed, we may almost say it created, the English language." Of Tyndale it has been said:

"Tyndale set a standard for the English language that moulded in part the character and style of that tongue during the Elizabethan era and all subsequent time. He gave the language fixity, volubleness, grace, beauty, simplicity and dignity."

Similarly it has been said of the Authorized Version of the Bible:

"Its simple, majestic Anglo-Saxon tongue, its clear, sparkling style, its directness and force of utterance, have made it the model in language, style, and dignity of some of the choicest writers of the last two centuries."

We do not know whether any religious influence equal to that of the translations of the Bible on the language and literature of England has been exercised upon the language and prose literature of any province of India. We have some knowledge of the language and literature of Bengal. Perhaps no religious man or band of religious men have moulded Bengal's language and prose literature to the extent and degree that the early translators of the Bible have influenced the English language and literature. But it is true, nevertheless, that preachers and teachers and reformers of religion like William Carey and other English Christian missionaries, Rammohun Roy, Devendranath

Tagore and some other members of the *Tattvabodhini Sabha*, Paramahansa Rama-Krishna, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, etc., who are not generally included in the list of Bengali litterateurs and authors, have exercised in varying degrees some influence on the language and prose literature of Bengal.

### *Gandhi's Advice to Hyderabad State Congress Members*

As advised by Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Hyderabad State Congress suspended their satyagraha for civil and political rights some time ago in order to give the Nizam's government the opportunity to gracefully concede those rights. That government has not yet been in a hurry to seize that opportunity. The people of Hyderabad, of whom the vast majority are Hindus, continue to be without any civil and other liberties as before. So the Hyderabad State Congress, growing restive, wanted to resume satyagraha and approached Mahatmaji for his advice. He has advised them not to resume it. His reasons are in part summarized in the following sentences:

"Two bodies (the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha) are offering civil disobedience for purposes wholly different from yours, however worthy their purposes may be. Therefore, the struggle has assumed a communal colour. If you resume civil disobedience, it will be very difficult for you to retain your nationalistic character. You will expose yourself to needless suspicion."

Whose suspicion? one may ask. Of course, the suspicion of the Nizam and other Muhammadans. When the Congress offered satyagraha for nationalistic purposes, Englishmen suspected and said that that had been done owing to racial hatred. But the Congress persisted in spite of such suspicion and assertion. Now, Gandhiji says that civil disobedience must not be offered in Hyderabad because, if offered, Muhammadans would suspect it to be due to communal hatred. There is little to choose between racial and communal hatred. But, of course, Congressmen must choose between the suspicion of Britishers and Muhammadans. And they may certainly disregard the suspicion of non-Congressite Hindus, many of whom have been openly saving and writing that the Hyderabad State Congress has been advised to suspend satyagraha in order to placate the Muhammadans.

Congress has declared itself in favour of guaranteeing the religious liberties of all communities. If in any State inhabited mostly by Hindus and governed by a Hindu Ruler there

had been any real or alleged interference with any religious right of Muhammadans, would the Congress have assumed the pose of unconcerned spectators on the excuse that otherwise it would incur the suspicion of the Hindus?

Congress claims to represent all communities, and religious rights are important rights. Even in the Stalin constitution of Soviet Russia, where the Bolsheviks, who rule the country, are atheists, the free exercise of religious rights is guaranteed. These are part of national rights. Hence, there is no reason why Congressmen should not participate in any struggle to remove the religious disabilities of any community suffering from such disabilities.

### *President Savarkar on India's Attitude in International Affairs*

President Savarkar of the Hindu Mahasabha delivered an address in Calcutta on the 20th February last on what should be India's foreign policy.

Half-an-hour before the time scheduled for the meeting the spacious hall had been packed to suffocation. Every inch of space on the floor and the gallery above was occupied. People perched themselves dangerously on the windows. And some of the more venturesome and resourceful ones climbed up to the ventilators, smashed the glass panes and made their way through them.

After some preliminary remarks he described and commented on the attitude of most of the articulate Indians towards Japan and China, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and Abyssinia, General Franco and Republican Spain, and the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. He proceeded to observe:

*nation and nation are concerned, it is the natural law that rules the situation. And every nation looks through the telescope of its own interests."*

This is a correct summing up of things as they are. But that does not mean that there ought not to be any morality in international relations. All the while that the British Premier at the head of the British Government has been acting in a thoroughly unprincipled and inconsistent manner, looking only to the interests of his own country as he understands them, some Englishmen, however small their number, have been standing up for the observance of just principles in international relations. It is no doubt true that in the present state of human civilization if the Opposition came into power in Britain, they also would be unprincipled followers of opportunism and expediency, as Mr. Neville Chamberlain is. Whether they would be equally so or to a lesser extent cannot be forecasted. Nevertheless there should be a ceaseless and untiring effort on the part of idealists to make the influence of ethics felt in international law, policy and relations.

As regards the policy to be followed by India, the speaker observed:

*"So far as India is concerned, her sympathies should be directed to only such nations with whom friendship and alliance would appear profitable. The law of self-preservation should be our guiding policy in international affairs. Anybody who would help us to attain freedom, be he a Nazi, or a Fascist or a Bolshevik, we do not care. Whoever does not do so is our enemy."*

mistaken. In matters political, no nation will *practically* help India until and unless India becomes both in name and reality, or at least in reality though not in name, a sovereign power. And if then any nation helps India practically, it will do so *in its own interests at that time*, irrespective of the past attitude towards it of any sections of Indians, however large, influential or vocal.

Instead of showing friendly feelings towards Abyssinia, China, Czechoslovakia,.... if Indians had shown such feelings towards Italy, Japan, Germany,.....perhaps the latter's desire to take possession of India would have been strengthened; they would have thought, "Indians will surely become our *loyal subjects*!" Emancipation of subject peoples is a commodity in which Imperialist nations do not deal. That is outside their line of business. They hold a patent for the enslavement of peoples.

When one nation enters into some agreement with another, whether it be called a treaty, a pact, or a convention, it is the Governments of the two countries which do so, not the peoples. It is only when India comes to have a National Government of her own, wielding sovereign power, that the question of any foreign nation's alliance or friendship with India can arise. Till then there would be no complications if Indians individually or in groups gave expression to their opinions on International questions freely and acted according to those opinions. The belligerent countries, peoples and races of the world ought to have sufficient 'real-political' sense to understand that at present no organization in India can be taken as equivalent to a sovereign Indian National Government.

### *British Government Practically Backing Out of The League of Nations?*

A Reuter's telegram dated London, February 16, 1939, reads:

London, Feb 16

A *White Paper* announces that the British Government has informed the League of Nations that it cannot in future undertake to be bound in wartime by the general Act for a pacific settlement of international disputes as decided on February 26, 1933, but will continue to subscribe fully to it in peace time.

"The changes which have occurred in regard to the League of Nations and the position of its members in relation to their obligations under the Covenant" are mentioned among the principal reasons for this decision. It is added that the British Government is ready to consider any proposals which might seem likely to secure general acceptance for the revision of the Act so as to bring it in conformity with the present conditions.

Well informed quarters attach no undue significance

to this decision. It is emphasised that war is not envisaged as an immediate possibility. The British Government merely does not wish to be bound by any undertaking which it might find impossible to keep under the changed circumstances now obtaining in Europe. It is noteworthy that the Act has never actually been appealed to.

A message from Geneva says:

Communications similar to the one received from the British Government have been received by the League also from M. Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, the New Zealand High Commissioner in London and Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India—*Reuter*.

The above-mentioned White Paper is rather funny. It says in effect that in peace time, that is, when there are no "international disputes," the British Government will be bound by the general Act for a pacific settlement of those (non-existent) disputes, but that when such disputes actually arise and war breaks out or is about to break out in consequence, the British Government will not be bound by that Act!

### *Professorship of Botany in Bethune College*

We understand, a professor of botany is to be appointed shortly in Bethune College, which is the only college for women maintained by the Government in Calcutta. We learn there are two candidates for the post. One is a non-Indian lady, and the other, an Indian lady. The latter, Dr. Mrs. Kamalā Rāy, was formerly a student of the school department of Bethune College, and is a D. Sc. in botany of a French University. So far as we are aware, she is the only Indian lady who has won a doctorate in botany by presenting an original thesis. The other candidate does not possess any doctor's degree; she is an ordinary M. Sc. As the Indian candidate holds the higher degree and her mother tongue and nationality are also the same as those of most, if not all, the students she will have to teach, and as, moreover, being a former student of the institution, she is familiar with its traditions and atmosphere, there can be no question that she should be appointed to the professorship.

That she is a married lady is an additional qualification. When the Governing Body of the college selected the present principal of the college, who is a married lady, they did quite the right thing.

### *Bengal Provincial Conference*

The last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, held at Jalpaiguri last month,

evoked great enthusiasm. More than four hundred delegates and fifteen thousand visitors, hailing from different parts of Bengal attended this session. A special feature of this session was that it was attended by more than the usual number of Moslem and lady delegates and visitors. Both Dr. Charu Chandra Sanyal, chairman of the reception committee, and Sriji Sarat Chandra Bose, president of the conference, discharged their duties ably and to the satisfaction of all present.

Quite a number of important resolutions were passed by the conference. Among them the longest and the most important was that rejecting the federal part of the Indian constitution as provided by the Government of India Act of 1935 and supporting the proposal of framing a constitution by convening a Constituent Assembly. The Conference recommended that this resolution should be moved at the Tripuri session of the Congress for its acceptance.

Some of the other resolutions related to the demand for the release of the political prisoners still in jail, the tenancy and land revenue commission, the Jute Ordinance (since withdrawn), grievances of the people of the excluded and "backward" areas, appreciation of the Assam Ministry, grievances of the tenants in municipal areas, need of learning Hindustani, demand for the withdrawal of the ban on the Communist party, and improvement of agriculture in Bengal.

### *Amelioration of the Condition of Bengal Ryots*

Parts of two of the resolutions passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference related directly and indirectly to the amelioration of the condition of the ryots in Bengal. One asked that the demands of the oppressed and poor tillers of the soil should be met and their grievances removed and that the Permanent Settlement and the Zamindari system should be done away with by giving reasonable compensation to the Zamindars.

Not being Zamindars ourselves (nor owning even a square yard of agricultural land), we do not know the exact condition and desires of that class as a whole. But from what we have read and heard we think they or most of them should be glad to part with their estates in lieu of reasonable compensation.

If the Permanent Settlement and the Zamindari system be scrapped, all the estates

will become Khās Mahals directly owned by the Government and the ryots will become tenants under the Government. The question is, will that better the lot of the farmers and peasants?

A part of another resolution passed at the same Conference was to the following effect:

Whereas in the other districts where there are Khās Mahals, or Government reserve forests and tea gardens, the ryots of the Khās Mahals, the people dwelling near the reserve forests and the labourers and lower officials of the tea gardens have been undergoing endless miseries and sufferings, owing to the rigors of the existing laws and regulations or owing to the absence of proper laws and regulations, this Conference demands that the rules and regulations relating to the Khās Mahals and the forest laws be specially amended and altered and new rules and regulations be framed for the tea gardens, in order to remove the grievances of and giving suitable rights and opportunities to the persons concerned.

This demand shows that the ryots of the Khās Mahals are no better off than those of the permanently settled estates.

So the scrapping of the Zamindari system alone will not do. The Khās Mahals also require to be ended, or mended beyond recognition. What is the third alternative? So long as Purna Swaraj is not won, land nationalization proper or collective farms of the Russian type are out of the question.

### *Bengal Provincial Conference and Illiteracy*

The Bengal Provincial Conference passed a resolution asking all Congress members to learn Hindustani, as the speeches in the Congress sessions are generally made in that language and proceedings carried on in it. That is a cogent reason.

But we wonder why the Conference had nothing to say relating to the liquidation of illiteracy in Bengal. All provinces governed by Congress ministries have gone in for the removal of illiteracy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's U P Literacy Day message includes the following sentences:

All our progress, political, social and economic, ultimately depends on the level of real education reached by the masses of our people. If illiteracy is not removed, our people remain blind men groping in the dark, swept hither and thither by waves of sentiment and often exploited by others. Every reform will founder on this rock of illiteracy. Therefore, I hope there will be the fullest co-operation between . . . all people, whatever their political views might be, in this campaign against illiteracy. This is a common platform in which all must join.

Mahatma Gandhi also has recently declared himself in favour of universal literacy. He has written in *Harijan* (11th January, 1939):

I have myself hitherto sworn by simple adult franchise. My observation of the working of the Congress constitution has altered my opinion. I have come round to the view that the literacy test is necessary for two reasons.

### **"Women's Awakening" in Bengal and Illiteracy**

We have read in several issues of a prominent Bengali weekly of the awakening of women (*Nārī Jāgaran*), the reference being to the awakening of women members of the Congress. It is to be regretted that, so far as we have noticed, in not a single meeting of these ladies has there been any resolution advocating the removal of illiteracy among women. Not that every resolution is given effect to. But such a resolution would have at least shown that Congress women in Bengal are alive to the need of literacy.

### **Consequences of the Clash of Cultures**

Since last year we have been receiving almost every week some Bulletins published by the China Information Committee. Formerly they used to come from Hankow. For some time past they have been coming from Changsha. A Bulletin dated November 7, 1938, contains an article on "The Cultural Problem of China." We read therein:

"When two entirely different cultures meet and clash two things may happen to the one which emerges second best from the contest. First it may cease to grow and perhaps even go out of existence, or it may re-orientate itself and carry on to a greater future. The latter process requires a great deal of cultural vitality and an abundance of willingness to unlearn and learn."

This Bulletin from China says that the meeting and clashing of Occidental and Chinese cultures has not led to the extinction of Chinese culture. On the contrary, China seems destined to have a greater cultural future.

Such has been the case with India's culture, too. The clash with Hellenic culture in some of the northern and north-western parts of India did not result in the ruin of Indian culture. The clash with Islamic culture could not deal a death blow to Indian culture. And lastly, British culture has not destroyed Indian culture. Out of every conflict Indian culture has emerged with new strength, proving its immense vitality.

### **Salaries of Public Servants in India and Abroad**

Congress Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries have voluntarily accepted a lower scale of salaries than what many of their official subordinates enjoy. In some provinces attempts are being made to reduce the salaries paid to other public servants. Even in Bengal, where the theory seems to be, not that the Ministers and their Secretaries exist for serving the people, but that the people exist for the Ministers and their Secretaries, there may be a show of reduction of Ministerial salaries. At such a time, and when the central and the provincial as well as the railway budgets are being discussed, it would not be inopportune to tell the public again what salaries are given to public servants in Japan and some other countries, which are richer than India; for salaries form a substantial portion of all our budgets. In some previous years and issues we gave such statistics. Let us now quote some passages from the book, *The Present Condition of India*, by Leonard M. Schiff, received last month.

#### **"A Rolls-Royce Administration in a Bullock-Cart Country"**

"First let us take for purpose of contrast an Asiatic country—Japan," says Leonard M. Schiff in his book, *The Present Condition of India*.

The Prime Minister receives Rs. 622 per month; the Premier of Bengal, which has less than half of the population of the Japanese Empire, gets Rs. 3,000.

Other Japanese Ministers receive Rs. 440 and secretaries Rs. 375; the Chief Secretary of Orissa, in India, receives Rs. 2,150, and of Bengal Rs. 5,333.

The Governor-General of Korea gets Rs. 440; the Governor of Punjab Rs. 8,333. A Japanese official may receive Rs. 334; a district magistrate of Bombay, Rs. 1,150. Whatever may be said of Japanese Imperialism, I have not heard that corruption and bribery are more prevalent there than elsewhere.

The author then takes another example, this time from Europe.

Poland is far richer than the Indian province of Behar and its population is considerably less. Yet the President of the Republic receives only Rs. 1,560 monthly, while the Governor of Behar gets Rs. 8,333. Even district magistrates in India may receive a higher salary than the President of Poland. In Poland not more than thirteen officers receive a salary of over Rs. 1,000, while in Behar and Orissa there are as many as 156 officers with a salary of over Rs. 1,000.

The author turns next to the United States of America.

Still more amazing is a contrast between India and U. S. A. America is enormously rich. The *per capita* income is more than twenty two times that of India and the cost of living is notoriously high. If the income of officials should be proportionate to that of the people, Indian salaries should be about one twenty third that of American officials; but what are the facts? Skilled workers in America can demand Rs. 300-450 a month, according to the 1935-1936 statistics . . . Again, the population of U.S.A. is smaller than that of India, while the revenues are ten times as great. It would not be unfair to compare a person so important as the President of the United States with the Viceroy of India. The President draws a salary Rs. 17,062 per month; the Viceroy, Rs. 21,333. An American Cabinet Minister receives Rs. 3,412; a member of the Viceroy's Council, Rs. 6,667. The Governor of New York State receives Rs. 5,687; the Governor of C.P. (India), Rs. 6,000. The Governor of South Dakota receives Rs. 682; the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Rs. 3,000. An American Chief Justice gets Rs. 4,550; a Bengal Chief Justice, Rs. 6,000.

The author has not taken into account the enormous allowances of various kinds which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India receives.

Lastly, the author turns to England. "To clinch these comparisons, let us turn to England," says he :

Its population is 12 per cent. that of India. Its revenue receipts are 317 per cent. higher than the budget estimate of the Government of India for 1936-37. The Prime Minister receives half the salary of the Viceroy. Out of every Rs. 1,000 collected, the Viceroy draws 1 rupee. Out of every Rs. 100,000 collected in England, the Prime Minister gets 1 rupee. On this basis the Viceroy gets ten times as much. The highest salary of an English civil servant is Rs. 3,333 (a very few) and the majority will be satisfied with Rs. 777-1,000. A Cabinet Minister receives Rs. 5,555. Compare these figures to those from India given above. Of course to-day many of these salaries are received by Indians who form about 50 per cent of the I.C.S.

### *India's Defence Budget, Debt Charges, and "Spiritual" Budget*

church almost next-door to his. It had been built for a Scotch regiment (Presbyterian) and as they were no longer there this large building remained disused. An honest man, he told me frankly how he hated the exalted standard of living which was expected of him as a Government chaplain. He travelled first-class with a servant, for which he was able to draw a travelling allowance. He told me that the custom of drawing allowances for unnecessary travelling was far too common.

A senior chaplain draws Rs. 1,450 and a junior chaplain Rs. 800-900. A bishop, I think, gets about Rs. 5,000 . . . But the appalling feature of this aspect of things is that the poor masses of India have to pay for the "spiritual" welfare of English soldiers and this item of expenditure is a "reserved subject" which no Indian minister under the Constitution may touch. Surely it is not unjust to demand that, if England wishes to assure the British soldier the "benefits of religion," she should pay for it and not charge it up to the Hindus and Muslims of India!

### *Resignation of 13 Congress Working Committee Members*

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose had been asked by Mahatma Gandhi and seven members of the Congress Working Committee to withdraw his candidature for the Congress presidentship. He did not withdraw, stating his reasons for not doing so. His statement was taken to cast some reflections on the "Rightist" members of the Working Committee. He was elected president of the next session of the Congress by a clear majority of votes. The defeat of the other candidate, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, has been taken by Gandhiji as his own defeat. Ever since the election of Sjt. Bose, rumours and news were being published in the press that almost all the members of the Working Committee would resign. They have now resigned. This step has had the approval of Mahatma Gandhi. Perhaps it may be said without unfairness that the members who have resigned have acted in compliance with Mahatma's wish or, more accurately, that Mahatma's wish and their wishes have coincided.

The following is the text of the resignation letter addressed to the Congress President by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and eleven other members of the Committee :

Dear Subhas,



members of the Working Committee and we hereby tender the same. We feel that you should be left entirely free to choose your Cabinet that represents your views. We feel that the time has come, when the country should have a clear cut policy not based on compromise between different incompatible groups of the Congress. It is but right, therefore that you should select a homogeneous Cabinet representing the views of the majority. You may trust us to give you all possible co-operation in matters, where we see eye to eye with you in the policies that you may put before the country. In order to allay public suspense, we are sending this letter to the press.—Yours sincerely, (signed): Abul Kalam Azad, Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitarasayya, Shan-karrao Deo, Harekrishna Mehtab, Kripalani, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Jinnah Bajaj, Jaisram Daulatram, the last three persons having authorized us to include their names.—A. P.

In resigning, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has issued a separate statement, which is printed below.

"I have refrained from making statements or saying much about the situation created by the Congress Presidential contest as I wished to avoid doing anything, which might further complicate an already complex situation. Ordinarily in a static period such a contest or its natural consequences would not have mattered much as all democratic organizations have to pass through them from time to time. But the ever deepening international crisis and the rapid trend of public affairs in India towards a deadlock force us to think in other terms. My own mind has been dominated by this thought and I have, therefore, tried in so far as lay in my power to prevent anything happening, which might come in the way of our offering a united and determined front. It was because of this that I was opposed to Subhas Babu's re-election, as I knew the consequences that would flow from it.

"It is difficult and perhaps not desirable to enter into the various reasons, which led me to this conclusion, but I should like to make it clear that they had nothing to do with right or left.

"In the course of the election campaign Subhas Babu made certain statements about his colleagues in the Working Committee, which astonished and pained me. So far as I knew there was no basis for them. If there was any truth in them then those who were guilty of the activities mentioned or even those, who passively supported them were unworthy of guiding the destinies of the Congress. If the statements and allegations were not true, then the least that could be done was to withdraw them unconditionally.

"There was no middle course. It was highly improper for our Congress affairs at the very top to be conducted in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and lack of faith. I suggested to the Congress President that this was the first and most essential point to be considered but no attempt has so far been made to deal with it. I further suggested to Subhas Babu that in view of the vague and unjustified use of the words "Left and Right," it was desirable for him to define exactly in writing, to help consideration and discussion what policy he advocated, both in national and international affairs.

"I had found myself in disagreement with his views in some important matters and I feel that a clarification was necessary. Unfortunately no such clarification has taken place and his sudden and regrettable illness has prevented us from discussing matters with him.

"As there seems to be a great deal of misapprehen-

sion in the public mind and the Tripuri Session is at hand, I feel compelled to issue this statement, especially as the Working Committee has not met and is not going to meet. This Committee has, for the time being, ceased to be and the President, as he probably wishes, has a free hand to frame and put forward his proposals before the Congress in accordance with his desire. No meeting was held here even to transact routine business.

"In view of these developments, I fear, I cannot be of help to him even in my individual capacity. We cannot consider resolutions in the air. We have to see the background and the surrounding circumstances and I find all these factors to be most uninviting.

"There is a tendency also for local Congress disputes to be dealt with not in the usual routine way, but directly from the top with the result that particular groups and parties are favoured and confusion increased and Congress work suffers.

"For many years I have been associated with headquarters office as Working Secretary or as President and have come into intimate touch with its work. It pains me to see that in the very heart of our organization, new methods are being introduced, which can only lead to local conflicts, spread to higher planes. In spite of my long association with the Congress I have never been closely associated with any particular group in it, though I have had the privilege of co-operating with all kinds of people. I have been an individual in this great organization and that is always a difficult task. Often I have felt that I was a square peg in a round hole.

"During the years of my office I have frequently been on the verge of resigning, because I felt that I could serve the Congress better, if I did not have the responsibility of office, but I refrained from doing so as I was firmly convinced that in the dynamic and critical times we lived in, we must present a united front and subordinate our individual opinions, where these tended to impair that front. I have been and am a convinced socialist and believer in democracy and have, at the same time, accepted wholeheartedly the peaceful technique of non-violent action, which Gandhiji has practised so successfully during the past twenty years. I am convinced that strength can only come to us from the masses, but that strength either for struggle or for the great work of building a new world must be a disciplined and orderly strength.

"It is not out of chaos or the encouragement of chaotic forces that we can fashion the India of our dreams. It is true that sometimes even chaos has given birth to a dancing star, but its usual progeny are suffering and degradation and internecine conflict and reaction. Today we have the strength, if we know how to use it, to march in a disciplined and orderly way to freedom. We are no weaklings today, the victims of an ignoble fate. Why then should we not act as such?

"In the past I have often felt that I should not belong to the Working Committee. Under the present circumstances this conviction is all the stronger, for I do not think I can accept the responsibility of this high position in the background and the atmosphere of today, more especially after the presidential election.

"I agree with those, who think that it is only fair that the President should be free to follow his policy and should choose his colleagues from among those, who agree with his policy. As this internal crisis has come upon us we should try to profit by it by clearing our minds and analysing the situation fully. We have had enough of vague phrases and hackneyed words.

"I do not think we need be anxious about the future, if we are wise enough to learn from the present. If a

crisis comes we shall all be prepared to face it together as we have done in the past."—A. P.

It is with some reluctance that we comment on this regrettable affair.

When for the first time Sjt. Bose became a candidate for the Congress presidency, his political opinions were well known. Some idea of them may be gathered from the following extract from his article, "What Romain Rolland Thinks," contributed to *The Modern Review* for September, 1935 :

The failure to win freedom led to a very earnest heart-searching among the rank and file of the Indian National Congress. One section of Congressmen went back to the old policy of constitutional action within the Legislatures. Mahatma Gandhi and his orthodox followers, after the suspension of the civil disobedience movement (or Satyagraha), turned to a programme of social and economic uplift of the villages. But the more radical section, in their disappointment, inclined to a new ideology and plan of action and the majority of them combined to form the Congress Socialist Party.\* \* \*

"What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude," I asked at the end of my lengthy preface, "if the united front is broken up and a new movement is started not quite in keeping with the requirements of Gandhian Satyagraha?"

He would be very sorry and disappointed, said Mon. Rolland, if Gandhi's Satyagraha failed to win freedom for India. At the end of the Great War, when the whole world was sick of bloody strife and hatred, a new light had dawned on the horizon when Gandhi emerged with his new weapon of political strife. Great were the hopes that Gandhi had roused throughout the whole world.

"We find from experience," said I, "that Gandhi's method is too lofty for this materialistic world and, as a political leader, he is too straightforward in his dealings with his opponents. We find, further, that, though the British are not wanted in India, with the help of superior physical force, they have nevertheless been able to maintain their existence in India in spite of the inconvenience and annoyance caused by the Satyagraha movement. If Satyagraha ultimately fails, would Mon. Rolland like to see the national endeavour continued by other methods or would he cease taking interest in the Indian movement?"

"The struggle must go on in any case"—was the emphatic reply.

"But I know several European friends of India who have told me distinctly that their interest in the Indian freedom movement is due entirely to Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance."

Mon. Rolland did not agree with them at all. He would be sorry if Satyagraha failed. But if it really did, then the hard facts of life would have to be faced and he would like to see the movement conducted in other lines.

That was the answer nearest to my heart. Here then was an idealist, who did not build castles in the air but who had his feet planted on terra firma.

This article attracted public attention at the time of its publication. It may be presumed that Mahatma Gandhi read it, as it embodied the views on India's struggle for freedom of M. Romain Rolland, a world figure and the writer, too, of a book on Mahatma Gandhi himself. Possibly, too, for the same reasons, the leading

Congress members, also, read it. It gave clear indications of Sjt. Bose's opinions also.

After his election for the first time, he delivered his presidential address at the Haripura session, in which he did not conceal his opinions on political and industrial and other economic questions. That he was against the Government scheme of federation was clearly expressed in that address.

The views expressed in his Romain Rolland article and in his presidential address did not stand in the way of the lady and gentlemen (who have now resigned) accepting membership of the Congress Working Committee and co-operating with the President for almost one year. Evidently they did not find it difficult to pull together with the President, during that period. There is nothing to show that Sjt. Bose became altogether a changed man just before and after his election for the second time.

Why then have the thirteen members declined to co-operate with the President any longer? One obvious reason may be that when he became president for the first time he was elected unanimously, with Gandhiji's approval and, therefore, with the approval of the thirteen other persons referred to above, but that this time he has become president in spite of their opposition. But a cause possibly of merely personal offence cannot be stated as a decent ground for collective public disassociation from a person with whom there has been co-operation (perhaps cordial co-operation) for a long time. We have said "of merely personal offence," as in continuing to stand for the presidency in spite of the opposition of some colleagues, he did not go against any democratic principle or Congress rule. So another reason has to be discovered. This is that in one of his statements made before his recent election, for the second time, the President said things which were a reflection on most of his colleagues in the Working Committee; and these have either to be substantiated or withdrawn. Neither has been done so far. Perhaps if Subhas Babu had not fallen ill and had been able to meet his colleagues at Wardha, he could and would have tried to satisfy Gandhiji and these colleagues. If after meeting them, he failed to satisfy them either by substantiating the offensive part of his statement or by unreservedly withdrawing that part, he should have resigned. But illness has prevented him from meeting them.

Having stated the case from both points of view, we cannot help expressing the definite

opinion that the resignations have been precipitate. There was not the least urgency for the members to resign immediately. The President has been lying seriously ill. In that condition it was and is impossible for him to do anything displeasing to or disapproved by the Working Committee. The members could, therefore, have safely waited till his recovery, and taken action after hearing what he had to say. Their resignation after hearing him and after failing to obtain satisfaction would have been entirely unexceptionable.

We must also say that their precipitate action, taken just now, has been lacking in humane consideration for his weak condition. We hope his illness will not take a turn for the worse, delaying his recovery. If, unluckily, it does, Subhas Babu's friends and well-wishers may not be unjustified in attributing it partly to the anxiety caused by the action of the Working Committee members. (Written on the 23rd February, 1939).

### *Possible C. W. C. Resignation Repercussions*

WARDHA, Feb. 22

With the resignation of the majority of the Working Committee members a crisis unprecedented in the history of the Congress awaits the Tripura session. Since the Parliamentary Committee is a Sub-Committee of the Working Committee it follows that with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad resigning from the Congress Cabinet, the Parliamentary Committee goes out of existence, until a new Committee is constituted. Political circles here feel apprehensive that these resignations may have repercussions on the Ministries in the Congress provinces.—U P

That is to say, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee being taken to be *functus officio*, the Congress Ministries in the different provinces may resign, and that would precipitate a crisis.

It is earnestly to be hoped they will do nothing of the kind.

### *The Congress Socialist Party's Resolution*

The resolution of the Congress Socialist Party, known as "leftists," on the situation, passed two days before the resignation of the 13 Working Committee members, shows no inclination on their part to "capture" the Congress and monopolize all power. They are for a united front, as all Nationalists ought to be, and are prepared to co-operate with and seek the co-operation of those who are known as "rightists." We may state here that we do not know what *exactly* constitutes or constitute

the difference between rightists and leftists in the Congress, assuming that there are two such clearly demarcated parties in it.

Lucknow, Feb. 22.

Acharya Narendra Deo contradicts press reports that he has expressed his inability to serve on the Working Committee of the Congress if invited by Sri Subhas Chandra Bose. He states that as a loyal member of the Congress Socialist Party he will be guided by the mandate of the party. He will act according to the resolution adopted at the meeting of the party executive recently held at Allahabad.—A. P.

### *Is There Pro-federationism in the Congress?*

Being outside the Congress, we cannot definitely answer the question either way. We can only mention indications.

In the Madras Assembly and, if we are not mistaken in at least two other Assemblies, in all of which the Congress party forms a majority, resolutions were passed in favour of working the Government federal scheme after some change had been made, though the Congress in full session and its committees had unreservedly and unconditionally opposed that scheme.

After Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's visit to England last year it was there asserted in some quarters, so prominent a name as that of Sir Frederick White being associated with the rumours, that Mr. Desai's visit was connected with negotiations for obtaining changes in the scheme to make it workable. This was denied.

Recently the Congress President had to pull up a prominent Madras member, warning him not to carry on any propaganda in favour of the scheme.

The following Reuter's telegram appeared in Indian dailies last month.

LONDON, Feb. 20.

Mr. Rushbrook Williams in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* declares that during the last few months of last year there was a definite progress by the right wing elements of the Congress High Command towards a position, in which Mr. Gandhi would have found it possible to approach the authorities with suggestions in relation to the Central Government, roughly corresponding to those which he so successfully carried through in connection with the Provincial Governments.

What was then regarded as the approach of Federation compelled the Congress to reckon up its forces. It had little Muslim support and without such support, thanks to the Muslim League, and unless it found new allies it will be unable to form a Government in the centre. Therefore, it was necessary to concentrate on Indian States in order to secure that the representation of States should be drawn from elements sympathising with the Congress programme.—Reuter.

We have not noticed any contradiction or criticism of these statements. (26th February, 1939.)

The strictest secrecy was observed in the Gandhi-Muirhead interview, not even Gandhiji's private secretary being allowed to be present. If the Under-Secretary of State for India met Gandhiji for gossiping, or for society talk, or for the exchange of courtesies, no secrecy would be necessary. It is, therefore, a moral certainty, that the interview was in relation to some political problem or problems.

*Harjan* for February 11, 1939, contains a letter of Lord Lothian to Gandhiji and the latter's reply to it. *The Mahatma* says therein :

"The federal structure is inconceivable to me because it contemplates a partnership, however loose, among dissimilars. How dissimilar the States are is being demonstrated in an ugliness for which I was unprepared. Therefore, the federal structure, as conceived by the Government of India Act, I hold to be an utter impossibility."

It is to be noticed that Gandhiji does not here mention any other defect of the federal scheme except that it contemplates a partnership between autocratic and partly democratized units. Now, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said in his States' People's Conference presidential address that, though the ultimate objective of the people's struggle in the States is full responsible government (which, by the by, has not yet been won in British India), the immediate objective is to secure the civil liberty to carry on constitutional agitation. And so far as the federal structure is concerned, Gandhiji's demand would seem to be met if the Princes agreed to allow their subjects to elect the States' representatives to the Federal Assembly and the Federal Council of State. The Princes could be made to agree to such election if the Paramount Power would put a sufficient amount of pressure on them. No amendment of the Government of India Act would be necessary.

Gandhiji's opposition to the Government federal scheme does not appear to us to be as absolute as that of those who swear by a Constituent Assembly, though it is very strong

### "The Slavery of the Kitchen"

Srimati Mridulaben Sarabhai put the following question to Gandhiji :

"The awakening of civil and political consciousness among Indian women has created a conflict between their traditional domestic duties and their duty towards society. If a woman engages in public work, she may have to neglect her children or her household. How is the dilemma to be solved ?"

Gandhiji based his reply on a text of the *Gita* and remarked that

it was always wrong to run after the 'distant scene' to the neglect of the more immediate duties that might have accrued to one naturally. Neglect of present duty was the way to destruction. The question was whether it is a woman's duty to devote all her time to domestic work. More often than not, a woman's time is taken up not by the performance of essential domestic duties but in catering for the egoistic pleasure of her lord and master and for her own vanities. To me this domestic slavery of women is a symbol of our barbarism. In my opinion the slavery of the kitchen is a remnant of barbarism mainly. It is high time that our womankind was freed from this incubus. Domestic work ought not to take the whole of a woman's time."

It is certainly true that domestic work ought not to take the whole of a woman's time. Even in the case of women belonging to families which are not sufficiently well-off to employ cooks and other servants, the kitchen need not take the whole time of the housewife if the preparation of only the necessary number of nourishing dishes were insisted upon, but not more. Gluttony should not be encouraged.

Even in the case of those women who are in a position to employ servants, the aim should not be to secure leisure for luxurious habits and gossiping but only for activities of a socially and politically beneficial character. And in the case of all mothers, whatever their pecuniary circumstances, sufficient time must be devoted by them to the education and upbringing of their children. No political or other activities can be an excuse for neglecting this primary and foremost duty.

Srimati Mridulaben asked :

"At the elections your Congressmen expect all manner of help from us, but when we ask them to send out their wives and daughters to join us in public work, they bring forth all sorts of excuses and want to keep them close prisoners within the four domestic walls. What remedy do you suggest ?"

"Send the names of all such antislavery fossils to me for publication in *Harjan*," replied Gandhiji amidst peals of laughter.

### Chinese General's Victory

CHUNGKING, Feb. 17

General Shih Yusan, the new Governor of Chahar, has reported that he and his troops have succeeded in fighting their way through the Japanese lines and were now entering the province.

General Shih Yusan was in Shantung, some 200 miles from the Chahar border when he was appointed to the post by the Chinese Government and ordered to lead his army to Chahar in an attempt to recover it from the Japanese who had been in control there for over a year. This meant crossing the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and the Yellow River, both held by the Japanese and marching through Hopei Province.

General Shih Yusan states that his troops had almost daily engagements with the Japanese but they made steady progress. The General adds, "We look forward to an early recovery of the lost territories."—*Reuter*

## Domicile Certificates in Bihar

PATNA, Feb. 20.

The following interpellations took place in the Bihar Legislative Council today:

### DOMICILE CERTIFICATES

Rai Bahadur Sate Chandra Sinha: Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether their attention has been drawn to the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Bengali-Bihari controversy;

(b) whether they have already issued or have considered the desirability of issuing necessary instructions to the District Officers on the question of domicile certificates;

(c) whether they have issued or have considered the desirability of issuing instructions to firms and limited companies carrying on business in this province with regard to appointments made or to be made by them on the lines of the Congress Working Committee's resolutions on the subject;

(d) if no instructions have yet been issued will they be pleased to state when they intend to do so?

The Hon'ble Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha:

(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b), (c) and (d) The matter is under the consideration of Government.

### ISSUE OF A COMMUNIQUE

Rai Bahadur Sate Chandra Sinha: Will Government be pleased to state whether their attention has been drawn to the leader in the *Searchlight*, dated the 15th January, 1939, headed "Congress Working Committee on Bengali-Bihari question," if so, whether they have considered the desirability of issuing a *communique* on the subject?

The Hon'ble Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha: The answer to the first part is in the affirmative, so far as the second part is concerned the matter is under consideration.

No comment is necessary.

## Total Eradication of Opium Evil in Assam

SHILLONG, Feb. 20

"Opium must be banished from Assam within two years from April next. It is a very tremendous task for the Government and that is why I have come here to seek your help and co-operation to make the scheme a success. You should therefore be determined to root out the opium habit from the people and seal the possibility of smugglers to carry on their illicit traffic among them," said Hon. S. J. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam at a public meeting at Sivagar in explaining briefly the Opium Prohibition Scheme of the Government.

Hon. Bahu Akshay Kumar Das, Minister of Agriculture and Excise who presided over the meeting also impressed upon the audience to avail themselves of the scheme and utilize the huge sum of money to their best advantage. He further said that no such attempt for total prohibition of opium was ever made by any previous Governments. The present Scheme he said, has been taken up only because there is the Congress Coalition Government in this Province.

If the Assam Ministers' attempt succeeds, and there is no reason why it should not, it will be a most beneficial and glorious achievement.

## Sayajirao Gaekwad

A prince among men has gone to his rest. Sayajirao Gaekwad, with all his faults, was a prince among men both in name and in reality. Though distantly related with the ruling house of the Gaekwads in Baroda, the boy Sayajirao was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. At the age of twelve he was adopted by the widow of the Maharaja whom he succeeded on the throne of Baroda.

He was possessed of an alert intellect, high spirits and a wide range of knowledge. He was an extensively travelled man and, latterly, spent much of his time abroad. But unlike the breed of princely nincompoops who waste the substance of their subjects mostly in vicious luxury, he devoted much of his energy and leisure abroad to gaining knowledge and experience for the benefit of his people. He gave them the advantage of his extensive experience in various directions. He was liberal in his religious opinions. The separation of judicial and executive functions, though discussed for decades, has still to become a reality in British India; but Sayajirao effected it long ago. In seeking to put a stop to child marriages and in introducing many other social reforms Baroda took the lead years ago. Sayajirao took all possible steps for the spread of education in his State. The scheme for visual instruction was one of them. He made great efforts to eradicate illiteracy. The Library Movement in Baroda has long been a model for other regions in India. The foundation of model villages, or the reconstruction of already existing villages to make them ideal places to live in, was one of his ideas, which materialized in some cases. He did much for the industrial progress of Baroda and its economic advancement in other directions. The *antayajas* ("untouchables") and aborigines received special attention. Though he died before he could give sufficient political rights to his subjects, political reform was not entirely neglected by him. It was not merely the industrial arts which received encouragement at his hands. The fine arts, too, had their share of attention. By the publication of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series many rare Sanskrit works have become accessible to the public. Under his long enlightened rule of 63 years Baroda made more progress in some directions than British India.

He was above all a social reformer. That means that he paid particular attention to the Woman's cause and the cause of the depressed classes.

He did not like to look at and at the

nate like most other bejewelled princes of India, but dressed simply and plainly. He could mix and talk with unaristocratic people as easily as if he was one of them, and could set them at ease.

In addition to utilizing the State funds for the betterment of the condition of his subjects in all directions, he donated from his private purse on one occasion one crore of rupees and on another one crore and many lakhs, the object of one of the donations being the lightening of the incidence of taxation on his people. He did not confine his beneficence to his own State, but took part in some all-India movements, such as the movement against untouchability, and gave pecuniary help to causes and institutions outside his State also.

In the choice of the highest and high officers of his State he often looked abroad and selected men from different provinces of India. Similarly, he invited scholars from different parts of India to deliver lectures in Baroda for the benefit of the educated classes of his people.

Born in other climes and times and under other circumstance, he might have been the liberator or one of the liberators of his people.

### Pope Pius XI

His Holiness Pope Pius XI, who died last month, was a great personality. We take the following extracts from an editorial on him in *The Guardian*, a Christian weekly of Madras.

No Pope of recent times has had to face the troublous times which occurred during the reign of Pope Pius XI. He was elected to the Holy See in February 1922. It was the post-war period during which the Church was in eclipse and when numerous ideologies were replacing religion and challenging Christianity in the lands of its greatest growth. Owing to its unique place, the Papal See was not free from political entanglements. There were issues not directly political in which the moral authority of the Pope was tested. Pope Pius XI used them to the full to uphold a position that truly reflected the Christian teaching.

In regard to Abyssinia and Italian politics, the Pope for long remained a passive spectator and there were a few occasions when his attitude seemed even amounting to support of what world public opinion condemned as wrong. An open conflict with the Duce might have led to a crisis for the Papacy endangering its very existence. Pope Pius was cautious and the Lateran Treaty of 1929 was a diplomatic success which ended a sixty year old dilemma and the return to the Papacy of its temporal possessions named subsequently the Vatican City. Italy accepted Canon Law in regard to marriage for the whole country, the clergy forswore politics and religious teaching was made compulsory in all elementary schools. This did not leave the Pope in peace, for many subsequent battles had to be fought over the control of the schools, clergy and the youth.

In Spain and Mexico, predominantly Catholic countries, the Church was in disrepute and popular

revolutions had as one of the major objectives, the control of the political influence of the Church. Presumably on the principle that the Church as such should not be subject to temporal circumstances, the Pope championed the cause of the Church and thus became wholly hostile to its opponents. In internal commotions such as have occurred in the two countries, right is not all on one side and wrong on the other. Recognition of this fact was absent in the Pope's championship of the Church as a persecuted body. Probably purification of the Church after it had survived its ordeal was in the Pope's programme. He did not live to see that part of his work.

No single party has had the task that the Pope had in facing Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. In opposing them both in defence of the faith against their attacks upon it, Pius XI proved a man of immense courage and an upholder of Christian teaching against the concentrated gospel and strategy of materialism.

It was perhaps an even more delicate and difficult ordeal to counter Signor Mussolini's recent creed of racism borrowed from the neighbour. On this the Pope did not mince words and was rewarded with the strongest vilipendation in the Italian nationalistic Press.

Pope Pius XI did not have any direct conflict with Bolshevism in his home.

The wider implications of the Christian faith were zealously propounded in the numerous Encyclicals the Pope issued on economic and social problems. Some of these were: On Christian Marriage, in view of the present conditions, need, errors and vices that affect the family and society (1930), on Reconstructing the Social Order and perfecting it conformably to the precepts of the Gospel (1931), Catholic Action (1931); On the acute Economic Crisis, the distressing unemployment of large numbers, and the ever-increasing output of weapons of war (1931), On the Use and Misuse of Films (1936). Through the great organization and the efficient Press that the Catholic Church has, these messages reached the furthest corners of the earth and supplied a steady stream of thought to the people who were tossed about by conflicting ideas.

For the internal reorganization and quickening of the life of the Catholic Church, Pope Pius did much. He was no nominal head of an institution, but a vigorous personality who proved what a world power the Catholic Church could be.

### Vamanrao Patvardhan

Mr A Vamanrao Patvardhan, whose death was reported last month, was a foundation member of the Servants of India Society. According to *The Servant of India*, his major work consisted in the management of the Aryabhushan Press and general supervision over the other printing presses and newspapers of the Society. That weekly rightly observes:

A consecrated life, always difficult, becomes bearable to many if it enables them to be much in the public eye; a consecrated life in a humbler sphere, where your lot is to do your daily drudgery without anyone taking any notice of you, is indeed a hard life. Mr. Patvardhan did not lack the intellectual qualities which are essential in a public worker, as the term is usually understood; but circumstances conspired to assign to him extremely prosaic and unexciting work, and his chief merit lay in doing this work, not only cheerfully but with the utmost

enthusiasm and energy. He did not consider that personal sacrifice was justified only if one could thereby have some glittering piece of work to one's credit, he was conscious that greater sacrifice was really required if one was to spend all one's waking hours in a work that is little thought of, but that is still important and necessary in the interest of the brotherhood through which one has taken a vow to serve the country. He did not look with the slightest tinge of envy upon those whose work lay in a supposedly more alluring field and whose way many public honours came; he never expressed a desire for a change in the task given to him, but he did it with a truly religious zeal, bringing to bear upon it all his intellectual and moral qualities which were of a high order.

### Death of Lord Brabourne

Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, had become popular with all who knew him personally for his courtesy and gentlemanliness and his liberal views. He was comparatively young in years. His untimely and sudden death away from his native land is universally and deeply mourned.

His popularity with the public was due to his having played with propriety the part of a constitutional Governor in two provinces and for months that of a constitutional Viceroy and Governor-General.

### President Savarkar's Khulna Address

The speech which President Savarkar delivered at Khulna as president of the Provincial Hindu Conference was a fighting speech like all his other speeches in Bengal. That was quite natural. For Hindu Bengal has been suffering from the aggressive attitude of the British Government, displayed in the Communal Decision and the Government of India Act of 1935. The majority community in Bengal, artificially placed in power by the British Government, has also been aggressive for years. In fact, the whole Muhammadan community all over India, barring a small minority who do not count, is in an aggressive mood.

Speaking *ex tempore*, the president opened his address with a strong criticism of the policy of the Congress Governments of placing Muhammadans, at the cost of the Hindus in all the provinces where the latter are in a majority.

In all these provinces an abnormally high percentage of public services, he said, had been given to Muhammadans by Hindu Ministers, who had been returned by Hindu voters. In Bengal and the Punjab, the Muhammadan Ministers were unwilling to the fullest the advantage of their position at the cost of the Hindus. Mr. Savarkar did not blame Muhammadans for that, because they were true politicians. The Congress Hindu Ministers were playing false with their voters. They were sacrificing the interests of those by whom they had been returned. He advised the Hindus all over India to exercise their votes in future for those only who would look to

the Hindu interests first. When the constitution itself was communal, there was, he said, no harm in having communal interests in mind. He urged the Hindus to be united and form a strong organization all over India to safeguard their own interests. Muhammadans were determined to be separate from Hindus culturally, politically and linguistically. No question of compromise can, therefore, arise at this stage.

The president exhorted the caste Hindus to remove untouchability, and to bear in mind that the interests of the caste Hindus and the so-called depressed classes were the same.

He set an example in this direction at Khulna. A Namasudra gentleman having invited him to dinner, he accepted the invitation on the condition that men of all castes, including *mehthars* (scavengers), would sit with him and take meals with him. And before beginning to taste the dishes he saw to it that gentlemen of the *muchi* (shoemaker) and *mehthar* castes sat next to him and were served like others.

Mr. Savarkar went on to say that it was now quite clear that the Muslims in India did not want to be united into a common nation with the Hindus. Every day that passed, every attempt on the part of the Congress to placate the Muslims by giving more and more vantage points to them only widened the cleavage that already existed between the Hindus and Muslims.

It appeared to Mr. Savarkar that Muhammadans were determined to form a nation by themselves in India. He said that such a responsible body as the Muslim League and the Muslim Leaders had declared openly that they should divide India into two Federations—a Muslim Federation and a Hindu Federation. When they said things like this, the speaker did not think that there could be any discussion for any compromise. He wanted Hindus to realise that Muslims were determined to form themselves as a nation apart from Hindus—linguistically, religiously and politically. He only hoped that the Congress realised the truth of it. "But what is the Congress doing? It is putting the telescope on the blind eye," he said.

It required two to make friendship, the speaker proceeded. But as long as one party did not like the friendship, no attempt on the part of the other would bring about friendship. The Congress policy might succeed in bringing about unity, but he thought, "it will be the unity between a tiger and a cow, drinking together."—A. P. I.

### Fans in Third Class Carriages

BANGALORE, (By Mail).

A scheme for providing fans in all third class carriages of the Mysore State Railway has been approved by Government. The work will be spread over a number of years. Government have also sanctioned Rs. 30,000 for other improvements on the railway.—A. P.

### What Third Class Passengers Pay and Get

The debate on the Railway Budget has brought out the facts that last year the railways in India carried some 400,000 first-class, some 4,200,000 second-class, 11,300,000 intermediate-class and 505,300,000 passengers.

Thereby the railways got Rs. 79 lakhs from the first-class, Rs. 144 lakhs from the second-class, Rs. 122 lakhs from the intermediate-class and Rs. 2,762 lakhs from the third-class passengers. Year after year it is the third-class passengers who have been contributing most to the coffers of the railways. But their needs and comforts are the least attended to. The installation of electric fans in third-class carriages has been discussed many times. It has been said that would involve a capital expenditure of Rs 2 crores and annual recurrent charges of Rs. 30 lakhs. But a capital expenditure of Rs 2 crores and an annual expenditure of Rs. 30 lakhs would be a good investment for customers who contribute Rs 28 crores annually.

### *Allahabad Demands At Least Equal Status With Lucknow*

In spite of Allahabad having been the real capital of the United Provinces for a long time and in spite of its still being the nominal capital, its status is being steadily and continually lowered in the face of past definite assurances to the contrary. Therefore its citizens have submitted a long memorial to the Government demanding just treatment. It has been signed already by 10,000 persons, with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at their head. We have read it from the first line to the last and think that the facts and arguments it contains are unanswerable.

### *Colonel Muirhead's Indian Tour Impressions*

Giving his impressions of his recent tour of India and Burma, at the East India Association meeting in London on the 16th February last, Col Muirhead, Under-Secretary of State for India, touched upon the political field

There seemed a tendency, he said, on the part of both those in office and those in opposition to consider that what was the case now would be the case always. The Opposition seemed to be weighed down by the fact that they were in Opposition and that the other person was in power.

They did not seem to appreciate that one of the main features of democratic Government was the changes and chances which brought fluctuations of fortune to political parties often unexpectedly, and in a short space of time.

The people in India should realize that it was the essence of democratic Government that there should be majorities and minorities, not necessarily permanent ones, and it was no argument for a party to use against a particular form of constitutional advance, such as Federation, that it might at the outset put the majority in power into the hands of somebody other than itself.

Colonel Muirhead gives himself superior airs and talks as if Indians were children in politics having no knowledge of the character and ways of democracy. Why does he forget or pretend ignorance of the fact that what Indian Nationalists complain of are the fixed communal majorities in the Provincial legislatures and the fixed anti-Nationalist majority in the Federal Legislature? The forces of democracy and nationalism may be able to unsettle these majorities and frustrate the plans of British Imperialists, but it must be admitted by them that they have tried their utmost to stem the tide of democracy and nationalism in India.

An opinion most strongly expressed throughout the length and breadth of India was that the antagonism between Muslims and Hindus was an antagonism which, he was led to believe, was much on the increase. This antagonism seemed to go far beyond the bounds of mere religious feeling.

Col Muirhead said that he discussed with an official the possibility of trouble arising in a certain part of India and asked him on which of several lines of cleavage the trouble might arise. The official replied: "On whatever lines the trouble may start, it will be on a communal basis in 48 hours."

Having regard to the repercussions of this within India itself as well as the Muslim world as a whole, none could lightly disregard it, declared Col. Muirhead.

It would be too much to expect that Col. Muirhead or any other British official would admit Britain's share of responsibility for the increasing communal antagonism in India.

### *Savarkar's Reply to Address of Welcome*

Mr V D Savarkar, the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, was accorded a very enthusiastic reception by the Hindu public of Calcutta at a crowded meeting held at the Town Hall on the 16th February last, organised by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha and the different district Hindu Sabhas of the city.

Replying to an address of welcome presented to him, Mr. Savarkar denied that he was a communalist.

Communal questions, he said, were national questions so long as they were not aggressive, so long as they aimed at removing wrongs from which a community suffered and so long as their activities made for the greater solidarity of the nation.

In India, said Mr. Savarkar, Hindus were the real nation, because they were the original inhabitants of the country, and the land was called Hindustan. Other people were welcome to live in the country provided they loved this land and so long as they were willing to be a part and parcel of the nation. Otherwise they would be looked upon as foreigners, just as Englishmen and Frenchmen and other Europeans were. If these other



people looked upon India as their real motherland, they would have equal rights and privileges with the Hindus.

#### Continuing Mr. Savarkar said that

it seemed to him that now-a-days, to be in a majority was a great crime. Everywhere they heard, "Since you are in the majority, you must satisfy the minority." The Hindus were in a majority not by the sufferance of anybody, but they were in a majority because in their struggle for existence they had proved themselves to be the fittest to survive.

In conclusion, Mr. Savarkar urged the Hindus not to yield an inch to the clamour of other people, but to stand up for their just rights.—A. P. I.

#### Manufacture of Matches as a Cottage Industry

Mr. Sri Prakash's resolution recommending

that with a view to encouraging the manufacture of matches with the aid of hand appliances as a cottage industry, the rebate on hand made matches be enhanced and that the licence fees on such producing concerns be reduced,

has been carried in the Central Assembly in spite of Government and European opposition.

Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan has made the manufacture of matches as a cottage industry a business proposition, as he showed in an article in *The Modern Review* some time ago. It was due to his efforts that the resolution was moved. Reprints of his *Modern Review* article had been given to M. L. A.s (Central).

#### The Anti-Hindu Imperialist Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill

The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill follows the imperialist policy of reducing the power and influence of the Hindus, which is evident in the Communal decision and the Government of India Act of 1935. It is not to any fiat of any Government or to any adventitious circumstances that the Hindus owe their power and influence. They owe it to their numbers, their education and intellectual standing and their public spirit. In spite of these, in the Federal Legislature they have been reduced to the position of a minority. In the Bengal Legislature they have not been given even the number of seats which they can justly claim on the ground of their numerical strength alone, and an excessive number of seats has been given to Britishers. In the Hindu majority province, the number of seats to which Hindus would be entitled on the strength of mere numbers alone has been reduced in order to give weightage to Muhammadans. In the public services everywhere, Muhammadans have been given posts at the expense of Hindus.

Though in Bengal, Muhammadans are the majority community, in Calcutta they are a minority, and in education and in the total amount of taxes paid to the Corporation, they are far behind the Hindus. So no specious plea can be discovered for giving them more representation in the Corporation than the Hindus. Hence, other anti-Hindu devices have been resorted to in the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. One of these is to give excessive representation to Britishers. Separate electorates, dividing the Hindus into the scheduled and non-scheduled caste groups, the provision for ten nominated Councillors, and greatly reducing the number of Hindu seats are other devices. In consequence, though the Muhammadans will not be able to rule the roast by themselves, the Britishers will be able to hold the balance and keep the Hindus at bay. The main object is to spite the Hindus and make them powerless.

The Bill has been condemned by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference and various Hindu Sabhas, by the Hindu scheduled castes, by many citizens' meetings organized and attended by persons of all communities, by Indian Christians, by Anglo-Indians, and by the Bengal Muslim Progressive Party and Bengali Mussalmans generally.

#### Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference Resolutions

Numerous resolutions have been passed at the Khulna session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference. The political resolutions condemning the Communal Decision, the Huq Ministry, and the Bengal Congress Assembly Party, on various grounds, are important. But more important still are the resolutions bearing on social problems. The provincial Hindu Sabha and the many district Hindu Sabhas should make the greatest possible efforts to give effect to them.

It is certainly necessary to put a stop to child marriages. At the same time vigorous and unremitting efforts should be made to bring about marriages between young men and girls of and above the legal age of marriage. It is an undesirable feature of modern Hindu society in Bengal that the number of unmarried young men and young women has been increasing. This is due partly to economic causes—for example, increase in the number of unemployed young men (and of young women also). These causes should be tackled. New avenues of employment should be created for young men and

young women, and those among them who take to some industry or trade should not lack customers. Another cause is the exorbitant dowries demanded by the bridegrooms' families. All legal and extra-legal remedies for this evil should be explored and adopted. Young men, who are generally of a romantic, revolutionary and chivalrous temperament ought to scorn to demand a price for agreeing to marry their beloved. Among certain castes, lower down in the social scale, a price is demanded for brides by the brides' families. This leads to many men remaining unmarried or marrying late in life. In the latter case, the result is that many young wives become widows before becoming mothers. In order to prevent consequent evils, these widows should be married. That will be also a remedy for the enforced bachelorhood of many men.

Widow-marriages among all castes should be approved and promoted.

Women's and girls' education of all kinds, including vocational and physical education, should be promoted.

There should be inter-caste and inter-sub-caste marriages.

"Untouchability" should be removed entirely, and all conventions and customs which make some people caste-proud and others feel humiliated and despised, should be scrapped.

The Conference has passed resolutions in favour of all the suggestions made above.

It has been said above that the increase in the number of unmarried young people is due to increasing unemployment. To this cause must be added the more expensive style of living prevalent among those who can afford it. This is emulated or aped by others who cannot afford it. The undesirable result is that many young men and women do not want to marry unless they have an income which is far above the average income *per capita* in the country. There should, therefore, be a determined effort on the part of all who wish well of the country to introduce a simpler and less expensive style of living, which is quite compatible with a high standard of health and usefulness. Rich and well-to-do persons should set an example in this matter.

Among the many advantages of Mahatma Gandhi's Khadi movement one is that it makes for a simpler and cheaper style of living. By discouraging and preventing ostentation on the part of the rich and the well-to-do, it makes it possible for poorer people to mix with richer persons without any sense of inferiority.

## Meeting Ground of Muslims and Hindus in Bengal

The resolution in which the Bengal, Provincial Hindu Conference drew attention to the meeting ground of Muslims and Hindus in Bengal was very important. It rightly stated that the two communities in Bengal were one by race, that they had the same mother tongue and literature, that their history has been the same for centuries, and that their economic interests in the main avocations of life were identical.

## Railway "Safety Squad" Responsible to India Government to Be Appointed

NEW DELHI, Feb. 24

The proposal to bring into existence a self-contained cadre of inspecting officers who would be something in the nature of a safety squad on railways and would be responsible not to the Railway Board but to the Government of India was announced by Sir Thomas Stewart, Communications Member, in his reply to the debate on Mr C C Miller's *cut motion* on the subject. Sir Thomas said he had asked the Railway Board to put up for his consideration proposals for the creation of this cadre.

The motion was passed without a division.—A. P.

## Unrest in Burma

RANGOON, Feb. 24.

There has been no appreciable change in the present unrest in Burma since the fall of Dr Ba Maw's government and the formation of a new Ministry by U Nu. In Rangoon an agitation is continuing to launch a constitution wrecking movement, the initiators being women, student strikers, Buddhist monks and Do Ba Ma (Burma for Burmese) Party.

Unsuccessful attempts have been made by the monks to incite dock labourers in Rangoon to go on strike. So far no strike has occurred and the work in the port is going on as usual. Only about 200 Burmese labourers have downed tools.

As the result of stoning the tram, bus and trolley bus services in the city remained suspended until yesterday. They have now been resumed. The picketing of schools in Rangoon and in other parts of Burma has not subsided, though it is less vigorous.—A. P.

## No Indian in Burma Ministry

There is no Indian in the Burma Ministry, though Indians are the largest minority there and are noted for their intellectuality, business enterprise and public spirit.

## No Bengali in Bihar Ministry

There is no Bengali in the Bihar Ministry, though in literacy the Bengalis are among the most advanced linguistic groups in that province and though they have done much for its educational and economic progress.

## The Separation of Chota Nagpur

The Adivasis (aboriginal populations) of Chota Nagpur and many other inhabitants of

the area who are not Adibasis, including some Biharis, want it to be made a separate province. The demand is opposed by the people of Bihar proper, some calling it a conspiracy (1). A resolution in favour of it moved in the Bihar legislature made the Bihar Prime Minister so angry that he used minatory language. Quite irrelevantly he argued in effect that, if Japan could annex China, why should Chota Nagpur object to remaining a part of the province of Bihar. Assuming without admitting that the Indian National Congress, while opposing real British Imperialism, would support imitation Indian provincial sub-imperialism, the fact would have to be faced that the Bihar Congress Government never conquered Chota Nagpur either violently or non-violently (by means of wordy warfare).

Those who object to the constitution of Chota Nagpur into a separate province say that such a province cannot be self-supporting. That, however, is the look-out of the Chota-Nagpuris and of the Government of India, which meets the deficits of Sindh and N.-W. F. P. It has been asserted but has never been proved that Chota Nagpur is a deficit area. We have heard contrary assertions from responsible persons. If Chota Nagpur were really a deficit area, it would be good for Bihar not to have to meet its deficit.

Another assertion made by way of objection is that the vast majority of the people of Chota Nagpur are Hindi-speaking. According to Census reports that is not a fact. But if it had been a fact, that would not have proved that Chota Nagpur should remain part of Bihar. If it be unobjectionable, from the linguistic point of view, for the Hindi-speaking districts of C. P. not to be amalgamated with Hindi-speaking Bihar or with Hindi-speaking U. P., it should also be considered linguistically unobjectionable for Hindi-speaking (?) Chota Nagpur also to have a separate existence.

Another objection brought forward is that the aborigines of Chota Nagpur speak, not one, but many languages. But the aborigines of Assam speak very many more languages. Moreover, by being and remaining a part of Bihar, it has not and does not become monolingual. By remaining a part of Bihar it would not be less multilingual than it would become by separation from Bihar.

Among the Adibasis and other permanent inhabitants of Chota Nagpur there is a sufficient number of capable and public-spirited men to carry on its administration.

## Government of India and League of Nations

NEW DELHI, Feb. 24

An indication of the Government of India's attitude on the resolution for withdrawal from the League of Nations passed by the Assembly was given during question hour today in the Assembly. Sir N. N. Sircar said that a copy of the resolution had been forwarded to the Secretary of State for India and the Government do not propose to take action as recommended in the resolution—A. P.

If India had been a free and democratically governed country its government would have had to carry out the Assembly resolution, and some lakhs of rupees would have been saved every year.

But if India had been such a country, it would have derived from its connection with the League of Nations advantages similar to those which other countries which are its members derive. The League of Nations should certainly satisfy India's demands so far as its internal organization and the personnel of its staff are concerned.

## Indian Goods in Britain and British Goods in India

LONDON, Feb. 23.

Mr. Herbert Williams at question time in the House of Commons drew attention to the rapid increase of import of manufactured goods from India in recent years and asked for an assurance that steps will be taken in any trade arrangements to ensure regulation of imports of competitive Indian manufactured goods.

Mr. Ronald Cross, Parliamentary Secretary to the board of trade replied giving an assurance that the question will be kept in mind in the negotiations but at present he was unable to make a statement as regards the contents of any agreement that may be concluded—*Reuter*.

Is there or will there be any law, convention, agreement, or understanding setting a limit to the import into India of each and every class of goods manufactured in Britain?

And is there any law restricting the starting of factories in India by Britishers and other foreigners?

## Indications of Subhas Chandra Bose's Programme

The first indication of the directions in which the Congress President's plans are maturing, following the resignation of thirteen members of the Working Committee, has now (25th February) been made available to the Associated Press from what is claimed to be an authoritative quarter.

co-operate wholeheartedly in those items of the programme with which they agree, remaining aloof on matters to which they are unable to give their support.

The members who have resigned have themselves said so in effect.

There are three main points in the President's programme. They are the stiffening of opposition to Federation, the reconsideration of Congress policy towards States' agitation, and the raising of a Congress volunteer corps to be ready in the event of widespread civil disobedience movement in protest against Federation.

As regards the first point, it is stated :

The attitude of the Congress President to Federation is that the scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act must be abandoned entirely, without talk of compromise. The President, it is stated, feels that a Federation of autonomous provinces, however limited the autonomy may be, and of autocratic States is neither feasible nor desirable.

Furthermore the States representatives would be nominated by the rulers, and not elected by the people, and as such would be expected to support the reactionary elements in the country.

Further objections to the Federal scheme, as envisaged in the Government of India Act, are that it gives India no voice in matters of defence or foreign affairs.

In short, the President feels that the prospect of a dyarchy, already condemned in the provinces as unworkable, being imposed on India in the Federal sphere, cannot be tolerated. Under the scheme the people of India, he maintains, will have no voice in the expenditure of approximately eighty per cent of India's revenue and talk of representative Government in such circumstances is unreal.

Unreal his attitude on this line of ideas, the President's programme will be aimed at the complete abandonment of the scheme, rather than the adoption of what is described as a "nibbling" policy of partial acceptance.

A new scheme, he feels, must be adopted, and it must necessarily be framed by the people of India themselves.

The defects of the Government federal scheme pointed out above have been many a time pointed out by others, including both Congressites and non-Congressites, and by the President himself. So no comment on this analysis is required. There is no novelty also in the proposal or suggestion that a new scheme must be framed and adopted by the people of India.

Regarding the second point it is stated :

It may be anticipated that the whole question of the Congress attitude towards the States' people's agitation will be revised during the coming year of S. J. Bose's tenure of office. So far the attitude of the Congress has been one of non-participation in the struggle, other than giving moral sympathy and support.

S. J. Bose, it is understood, now feels, however, that the British Government are supporting the Indian States in a policy of repressing the States' people's movements.

In consequence the question to be considered is whether the Congress should now take up direction of these movements in the States as part of the larger movement for complete independence.

This question is expected to be one of the most prominent before the Tripuri session and a large degree of support to S. J. Bose in his attitude is anticipated.

It is believed that the President, subject to the decision of the Congress on its policy towards the States, is considering the possibility of requesting Mahatma Gandhi to organize a non-violent civil disobedience movement in the States.

In the case of this second point also there is nothing that has not been already stated by Mahatma Gandhi and by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his presidential address to the Indian States' People's Conference at Ludhiana.

These, it is learnt, will be the three main points to come before the Tripuri session, and it is considered not improbable that the only resolutions to be passed during the session will be in this connexion.

We do not find anything particularly or peculiarly "leftist" in the first two points. As regards the third point, viz., the raising of a corps of Congress volunteers to be ready in the event of a widespread civil disobedience movement in protest against the Government scheme of federation, there is nothing startlingly new or "leftist" in it. The "rightists" may say that the President has stolen their thunder, but let them! What will reassure all un-heroic people, is that

It is confidently maintained that there is no question of a split in the Congress as a result of the resignation of thirteen members of the Working Committee, though it is possible that they may not again take office.

It is added :

Neither is there any basis, it is stated, for talk of a political estrangement between Mahatma Gandhi and the President.

How can there be any estrangement so long as S. J. Bose does not do anything which Mahatma Gandhi does not like?

It is hoped that Gandhi will actively support the terms of the President's programme with which he is in complete agreement, leaving the President a free hand in the development of those other aspects of the programme with which he feels he cannot associate himself—A. P.

But what are "those other aspects of the programme"?

### *A Hindi Scientific Academy*

It is a pleasure to note that the "Vigyan Parishad" or Hindi Scientific Academy has passed 25 years of its existence and celebrated its silver jubilee in Allahabad last month under the presidency of Babu Sampurnanand, the education minister of the United Provinces. He observed in the course of his speech in Hindi that the Parishad occupied a unique position and had done solid work as "the single institution of its kind in the field of science." We are not aware that any other province in India has such an institution.

Regarding the Secretary Dr. Gorakh Pra-

sad's intimation that an encyclopædia of formulae was under preparation which would incorporate formulae of many useful things, the education minister observed :

That enterprise, said the Minister, was very useful indeed, but a far more useful thing, in his opinion, would be a dictionary of technical terms which could be understood in all the provinces. Differences in technical terms, as used in different provinces, would create a chaos, and present obstacles in the progress of unity. He hoped that the members of the Vigyan Parishad would try to bring about unity in technical terms. Without unity in technical terms, a person of one province would find the literature of another province as difficult as German or French.

What Babu Sampurnanand said is quite true. In order to prepare a dictionary of scientific technical terms, which would be understood all over India, glossaries of scientific words already in use in different provinces should be collected, and additions made by an interprovincial board of scientists, the new words required being coined from Sanskrit roots.

### *Ban on Subhas Bose's Book Cancelled*

It is satisfactory to learn that Government have decided to cancel the ban on Sj Subhas Chandra Bose's book on the Indian struggle.

### *Postage on Books in America and India*

Two months ago, we published in *Prabāsi* the news that President Roosevelt of America had by proclamation reduced the postage on books to 1½ cents (equivalent to 3 pice or ¾ anna) a pound (about 40 tolas). This he has done in the interests of education and enlightenment in a very rich and almost hundred per cent literate country. In poverty-stricken India where 90 per cent of the population are illiterate Government encourages education and the spread of knowledge by levying postage on books at the rate of 9 pice for the first five tolas or under and 6 pice for every succeeding five totals or fraction thereof. So, for a book packet weighing one pound or 40 tolas the Indian post office exacts 4½ annas, whereas in rich America the postage for the same book would be ¾ anna!

But our political demagogues had said: "Education can wait, but..." The Government has exultingly cried ditto all along.

### *Bani Sangha Literary Conference on India's Literatures*

Last month an instructive and interesting conference was held at the Sivanath Sastri Memorial Hall, Calcutta, under the auspices of

the Bani Sangha. Papers were read on Sanskrit, Assamese, Sinhalese, Telugu, Hindi and Bengali literatures by different writers. The President proposed that a year-book of all Indian literatures and languages be compiled by the Bani Sangha members and that this year-book be published on the eve of the international P. E. N. Congress to be held in Mysore in 1940.

At a special meeting of the members of the Bani Sangha after the dissolution of the general meeting, the proposal of the President was cordially accepted.

### *Aligarh University Incendiaries Let Off Lightly*

On the 26th of January last at the Aligarh exhibition there was a clash between Aligarh Muslim University students and the local police. According to the District Magistrate's statement issued that very day, it was the students who had taken the offensive in attacking the police, setting fire to the exhibition and holding up the fire engine. Within two days Mr A. B. Hahm, pro-Vice-Chancellor, issued a counter-statement according to which the students were victims of assaults first by the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts and then by the police, their only active part being a counter-attack provoked by a lathi charge by the police. The sequel shows that the students were the guilty party. For the Vice-Chancellor of the University has expressed regret to the Premier of the United Provinces, agreeing to contribute Rs 2,500 towards the loss sustained by the police and thanking him for his sympathetic regard for the University.

It is to be hoped Messrs Jinnah and Fazlul Huq will not accuse the Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant of having robbed the Aligarh University of Rs 2,500.

### *Cawnpore Bloody Frenzy*

The recent cowardly and mad orgy of murders in Cawnpore, mis-called riots, originated in the accursed and absolutely wrong notion that music played by Hindus in front of or in the neighbourhood of mosques does anybody any spiritual or other harm, or desecrates the mosques, or displeases God. In the interest of the Muhammadans themselves their leaders including the *Mollahs*, should fight against this notion. Those who foment these troubles remain untouched, suffering neither in life, limb or property, whilst their dupes among the Muhammadan mass suffer. It is true Hindus suffer more. But that is no compensation for what the Muhammadans suffer.

Labour strikes and the orgies of frenzied communalists have in the course of the last few years inflicted a loss of several crores of rupees on Cawnpore. Otherwise the Cawnpore municipal corporation could have made it almost a model town.

At the least sign of the goonda element getting out of hand, the executive and the police should enforce stern discipline, and the Ministry should support them.

### **Up-country Muslims Against Bengal Progressive Muslim Party's Opposition to Calcutta Municipal Bill**

CALCUTTA, Feb. 18

An ugly situation was created this evening at Albert Hall which was fixed as the venue of the meeting, convened by the Bengal Muslim Progressive Party to protest against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill now before the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Long before the scheduled time for the meeting the hall was occupied by a large number of up-country Muslims and when the convenors and those having sympathy with them were about to enter it a scuffle seemed imminent. The police officers, who were present there with a large number of constables, dissuaded them from entering the hall.

After the members of the Progressive Party had left, the occupiers of the hall held a meeting there and in the midst of tumult and hubbub several speakers spoke criticising the Congress and supporting the Hing Ministry—*United Press*

The up-country Muslims prevented by similar rowdiness the holding of a meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 27th February by Bengali Muslims for protesting against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

### **Twelve Congress Working Committee Members' Resignations Accepted**

It is understood that Sriyut Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, has accepted the resignations tendered by twelve members of the Congress Working Committee and letters intimating such acceptance were posted to them on the 26th February last in the evening.

It is rather intriguing that, according to an Allahabad message published in the morning dailies of the 27th February, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said that he has not resigned.

It is understood that as the resignations have been tendered after mature deliberations, the President thought that no useful purpose would be served by requesting the members to withdraw them.

In view of the acceptance of the resignations of the thirteen members, including those of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee stands dissolved. Mr. J. B. Kripalani's position as General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee also comes to an end with the acceptance of his resignation.

As a result of the dissolution of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the powers of the Committee vested in the remaining two members of the Working Committee, including the President.

Interim arrangements will be made forthwith by appointing some Congress leader to take charge from Mr. Kripalani of the office of the General Secretary to carry on the routine work of the A.I.C.C. until the Tripuri session of the Congress.

There is a great deal of speculation about the future developments in the country as a sequel to these resignations.

*United Press* understands that political circles claiming to be in close touch with the Congress President are of the opinion that though he deeply regrets the resignations, there is no doubt he will boldly face the situation that may arise and that he will not shirk the responsibility which has devolved on him consequent upon his re-election.

They are further of the opinion that the Congress President has been feeling for some time past that he has been wronged and unfairly dealt with by some of his eminent colleagues on the Working Committee and consequently he has been expecting that some amends would be made by them.

### **Vishvabharati Art Exhibition in Calcutta**

Last month there was a very fine exhibition of the works of art produced at Santiniketan, in the upper storey of Ramesh Bhawan of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. At one extreme there were the works of Rabindranath Tagore and at the other the water-colours of boys and girls of the school department of Santiniketan, aged below 12. These children were not the students of the Kalabhaban or Art School there but were pupils pursuing ordinary school studies. The artistic atmosphere and inspiration of the place had drawn them towards Art, and their works showed distinct promise. The Haripura drawings of Nandalal Bose were also exhibited. There were altogether about three hundred pictures on the walls.

### **A Machine That Can Speak Any Language**

The American journal, *World Youth*, writes:

Nature took hundreds of thousands of years to teach man how to speak.

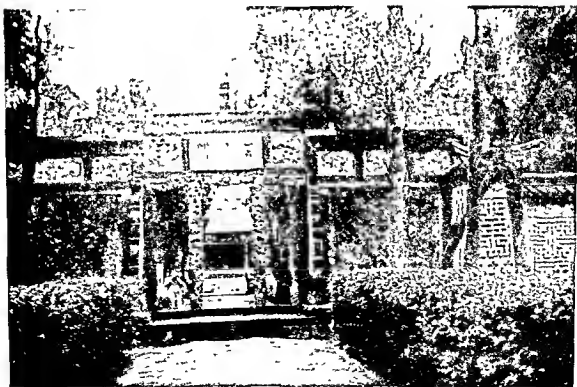
In two years, scientists have taught a machine how to talk, translating into real words and sentences signals punched into its controlling keyboard.

Controlled by a skilled operator who has learned how to mix the sounds the device's two electric discharge tubes produce, it combines varying electric currents that an amplifier turns into real speech. No phonograph records of any kind are ever used. It is the first device that actually creates human speech.

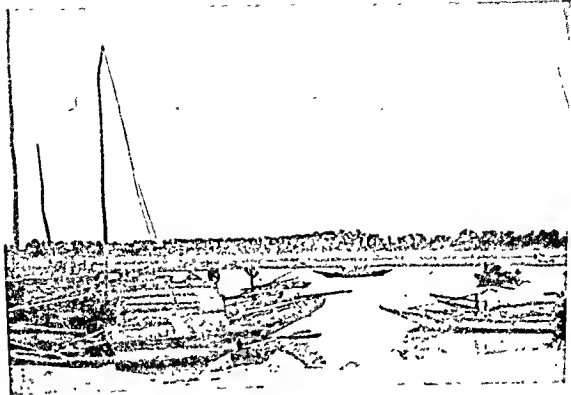
The name of this new robot is the Voder, called "Pedro," by its inventors, after the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro. It is a compact machine resting on a small table, plus as many loud speakers as are necessary to reach the audience. It has a pair of keyboard units, more than a dozen other controls and an electrical circuit featuring a vacuum tube and a gas filled discharge tube.



Temple gate, Yunan fu



Confucian temple, now a school, Yunan-fu



Country scene near Yunan fu



End of a Japanese raider, Yunan fu



## EMERSON AND HENRY DAVID THOREAU

By J T SUNDERLAND

A VISITOR to Concord who stops at the old colonial inn which dates back to Revolutionary days, and who inquires about the history of the inn, will be told that one portion of it was originally a separate house and was the home of John Thoreau, the father of the poet-naturalist. It was here that Henry was born and spent his boyhood. He attended the schools of the village, but from his earliest years nature was his favorite teacher. By the time he was twelve years old it was said of him that he possessed more knowledge of the woods, streams, pastures, hedges, swamps, birds, turtles, and bugs of Concord and vicinity than any other person in the neighborhood. Later he went to Harvard and although he was not a brilliant student, he obtained a good acquaintance with mathematics, Latin and Greek. He was an ardent reader of books of his own choosing, but always a still more ardent student of nature. After his college course was over, he returned to his native village to make his permanent home.

From the first Thoreau was a puzzle to the people of Concord,—he was so different from others, he had such ways of his own, he would not walk in beaten paths. They respected him, they trusted him; no one had a finer character; they admired him for his large knowledge,—seemingly there was nothing he did not know; they admired him for his extraordinary abilities,—seemingly there was nothing he could not do. But why did he not, like other young men, get married and settle down to some regular trade or business or profession? He taught school a while; he made lead pencils (his father's business) a while, he did almost any kind of odd job that offered,—often surveying, at which he was very skilful. But there was no continuity. He seemed to have no desire to make money, or acquire property. His supreme aim seemed not to get, nor even to do, the things that most people get and do, but to see, to think, to understand, to experience, and to live what to him seemed the truest, deepest, richest life possible. He kept a diary. One summer morning he wrote in it: "I wish to begin this summer well, to do something in it worthy of it and of me; to transcend my daily routine and mortal life now in the quality of my daily life."

"May the life of this summer be ever fair in my memory, may I dare as I have never done, may I persevere as I have never done, may I purify myself anew as with fire and water, soul and body."

"May my melody not be wanting to the season; may I gird myself to be a hunter of the beautiful, that naught escape me, may I attain to a youth never attained."

"I am eager to report the glory of the universe, may I be worthy to do it. It is reasonable that man should be something worthier at this season than he was at the beginning."

It was not strange that many found it difficult to understand such a man. But among the few who understood and prized him was Emerson. Soon after Emerson settled in Concord he made the acquaintance of young Thoreau, then recently back from college,—fifteen years his junior. Almost at once a warm friendship sprang up between them, which lasted until Thoreau's death. Charles J. Woodbury in his book "Talks with Emerson," says: "Of no one did Emerson talk so often and tenderly. Emerson made Thoreau; he was the child of Emerson. The development of this sturdy bud into its sturdier flower was a perpetual delight to the philosopher. In Thoreau he lived himself again."

When Thoreau began to lecture only a small group of people went to hear him, but these found that he had something to say that was worth listening to. Later when he wrote his first book it attracted little attention,—so little that the Boston publisher presently told him there was no use trying longer to get sales. Thoreau carried home the unsold copies and calmly made a record in his diary to the effect that he had become the possessor of quite a large library, some eight or nine hundred volumes, all of his own writing. Emerson's popularity as a writer was of slow growth; Thoreau's was slower still. But his books were destined to become known and read (by a select but influential class) in all parts of this country and of the world. At the opening of the Concord Free Public Library at which Emerson gave the address, he spoke of Thoreau as "the writer of some of the best books which have been written in this country, and which,

Found sedge flowers (and eight other varieties of flowers which he designates by their Latin names). From a white birch Henry cut a strip of bark to show how a naturalist would make the best box to carry a plant or other specimen requiring care, and thought the woodmen would make a better hat of birch bark than of felt,—a hat with cockade of lichens thrown in. We will make a book on walking, that is certain, and have easy lessons for beginners. 'Walking in Ten Lessons.'

"May 30. Walked this afternoon with Henry Thoreau. Found the *Uvularia perfoliata* (bell wort) for the first time by Flint's Pond; found the chestnut-sided warbler. Heard the note of the latter, which resembles the locust sound; saw a cuckoo. Found the chestnut-oak in Lincoln. Henry thinks that planting acres of barren sand by running a furrow every four feet across the field, with a plough, and following it with a planter, supplied with pine-seed, would be lucrative. He proposes to plant my Wyman lot so. Henry says that the flora of Massachusetts enhances almost all the important plants of America."

"June 9. Yesterday a walk with Henry in search of *actaea alba* (white baneberry), which we found, but only one plant, and the petals were shed. We found at Cyrus Smith's the *Juglans nigra*, black walnut, in flower. I do not find black walnut in Bigelow. Henry praises Bigelow's descriptions of plants, but knows sixty plants not recorded in his edition of Bigelow."

In Emerson's biographical sketch of Thoreau, he says of him: "He was the attorney of the indigenous plants, and owned to a preference for the weeds to the imported plants. 'See these weeds,' he said, 'which have been hoed at by a million farmers all spring and summer, and yet have prevailed and just now come out triumphant over all yards, lanes, pastures, fields and gardens, such is their vigor. We have insulted them with low names, pigweed, wormwood, chickweed, shad-blossom. They have brave names too,—ambrosia, stellaria, amelanchier, amoranth, etc.'"

Do not perceive Thoreau's voice in Emerson's fine lines:

"Let me go where'er I will,  
I hear a sky-born music still.

'Tis not in the high stars alone,  
Nor in the cups of budding flowers,  
Nor in the redbreast's mellow tone,  
Nor in the bow that smiles in showers,  
But in the mud and scum of thines,  
There alway, alway, something sings."

Emerson declared of Thoreau: "There is not a fox or a crow or a partridge in Concord that knows the woodlands better than Thoreau."

The naturalist had a high estimate of Walt Whitman. Emerson comments on it, saying: "Perhaps his fancy for Whitman grew out of his taste for wild nature, for an otter, a woodchuck or a loon." Emerson said the three men in whom Thoreau felt the deepest interest were his Indian guide in travels through the Maine woods, John Brown and Whitman.

When Thoreau died, Emerson delivered an address at his funeral and in this as well as in the innumerable references to him all through his *Journal*, we discern his affection and admiration for this long-time friend. Here is a sentence from that address:

"Thoreau was made for the noblest society, he had in a short life exhausted the capabilities of this world, wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, be will find a home."

Perhaps no better summing-up of Thoreau's character could be given than is expressed in his own prayer:

"Great God! I ask thee for no meaner pelf,  
Than that I may not disappoint myself;  
That in my conduct I may soar as high  
As I can now discern with this clear eye,  
That my weak hand may equal my firm  
faith,  
And my life practice more than my  
tongue saith."

Students of Emerson and Thoreau have raised the question,—was either an echo of the other? Dr. Edward Emerson in his book "Emerson and Concord" replies: "The charge of imitating my father, too often made against Thoreau, is idle and untenable. It may well be that the young Thoreau, in his close association under the same roof, with Mr Emerson at a time when he had few cultivated companions, may have unconsciously acquired a trick of voice, or even of expression, and it would have been strange if the village youth should not have been influenced by the older thinker for a time, as Raphael by Perugino. But this is the utmost that can be admitted. Thoreau was incapable of conscious imitation." F. B. Sanborn, who knew them both well, says: "Thoreau never imitated anybody. There was nothing but originality in him." Emerson himself, in one of the entries in his *Journal*, writes as follows: "Henry Thoreau does not disclose new matter. I am very familiar with all his thoughts, they are my own, quite originally

dressed. If the question be, what new ideas has he thrown into circulation, he has not yet told me what that is which he was created to say." Again, we find Emerson saying: "In reading Thoreau, I find often the same thoughts, the same spirit that is in me; but he takes a step beyond, and illustrates by excellent images, that which I should have conveyed by a sleepy generalization. He has muscle, and ventures on and performs feats which I am forced to decline. 'Tis as if I went into a gymnasium, and saw youths leap and climb and swing, with

a force unapproachable, though their feats are only a continuation of my initial grapplings and jumps."

To a student of the writings of the two, who tries to be impartial, the truth seems to be that both were highly independent and original in their thinking but that, as the result of their long and very close intimacy, each influenced the other to a very considerable extent, both in thought and in manner of expressing it. Indeed it is difficult to see how it could possibly have been otherwise.

## HOW LABOUR TRAINS ITSELF FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL WORK

Contribution of Ruskin College

By PROFESSOR NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., PH.D

THE British labourites fill today many important and responsible positions in the country. Twice during the last fifteen years they formed the Government and administered the affairs of the nation and the empire from Whitehall. For the last seven years and more they have been out of the Government no doubt but they have shouldered during these years the not inconsiderable responsibility of His Majesty's opposition. Outside Westminster they have made themselves accountable for the administration of local affairs in many parts of the country. In London for instance they have been in a majority in the County Council since 1934 and the manner in which they have discharged their responsibilities has elicited praise from even unexpected quarters. While the administration of the county has been more sympathetic towards the poorer sections of the people, its efficiency has been unquestioned. What is true of their rule in London is true almost to the same extent of their administration of many of the mufussil towns as well. It is not again in running the national government and conducting the affairs of the local authorities alone that the labourites have shown width of outlook, honesty of purpose and efficiency in the performance of their duties. As officials of the trade unions, as workers of co-operative organisations, as secretaries of different branches of Workers' Educational Association and lastly as officers in charge of

the party organisation also, they have evinced equal zeal, shown equal knowledge and ability and gave equal proof on most occasions of their sense of responsibility and their resourcefulness. It is pertinent to ask as to how this ability has been acquired and this success in their work attained.

It is no doubt true that almost from the beginning of the labour movement, a few middle class men with good education to their credit



Ruskin College

espoused its cause and helped in the propagation of its ideals. Then after the war when successes of the Labour Party became rapid and even spectacular, many persons with finished education became associated with it. The debacle of the Liberal Party helped very largely in this walk over to the labour camp. Several

Liberal politicians no longer thought it worth while to remain in a discredited fold where they had no political prospect, and association with which would only mean an eternal exile from the seats of authority and power. They left the Liberal Party as rats would leave a sinking ship and sought asylum in the Labour fold. Young men again with excellent university education and with advanced political and social views now came forward to join the Labour Party. Decades ago they might have passed as radicals

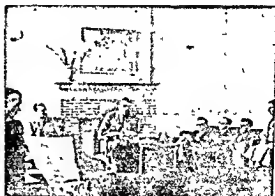


The Library

but would have remained part and parcel of the Liberal Party. Now however they had no hesitation in coming under the labour banner and calling themselves socialists. There can be no doubt about it that the association of these intellectuals with the Labour Party has been a source of great strength and efficiency to the labour movement. Men like Wedgewood Benn, C. R. Attlee, H. B. Lees-Smith and Hugh Dalton are certainly a tower of strength to the Labour opposition in the House of Commons today. Men like Lords Sankey and Haldane had again added prestige to the Governments which Labour had opportunity of constituting in the past.

But although it is no longer unusual for men bred in middle class families and educated in universities to join the Labour Party, the labour movement both in the parliament and outside is manned mostly by people nurtured in the atmosphere of working-class homes and educated only in the elementary schools which they had to leave in their early teens to take up work in field or factory. It is from these men that leaders have sprung up to organise the trade unions and conduct their activities in fair weather and foul. It is from these men again that recruits had to be found for work in the county and borough councils and in the House of Commons. The early education which

they received is certainly not equal to the responsibilities which they have been called upon to discharge. It is too meagre and insufficient. There have been many of the working class leaders who maintained in all circumstances their thirst for knowledge and their hunger for instruction. At odd moments and in peculiarly difficult conditions they kept themselves in touch with books and periodicals and gave themselves an education which may be the envy of men more fortunately placed. Mr J. R. Clynes who from the most humble and unpropitious circumstances rose to be the Home Secretary of His Majesty has given us most graphic details of his struggle for education. He has informed us how he saved a shilling to buy a dictionary and pennies to purchase odd literature. It was by stinting in other things that he could have at his disposal the few books from which he derived his culture and his inspiration. The same may be said of many other labour politicians and officials. But although there were many instances of such heroic struggle for education in the ranks of the labour movement, it would have been unwise and thoughtless to leave these struggling workers to their own efforts alone. A Clynes, a Ramsay MacDonald and a few others may increase their knowledge, add to their culture and give themselves a true and sound education in the midst of the multifarious duties which they have to perform both for their bread and for advancing the labour cause. But most others



The Common Room. Class in session

would certainly fail in this venture. So it was essential that there should be some institutions where men and women who were engaged in social and political work but who had no finished education to their credit might have continuous instruction for several months. At

present there are several such institutions in this country. The one whose work I am describing in the following paragraphs is situated in Oxford and has been named very appropriately after Ruskin, whose sympathy for the labouring class was well known and whose interest in the education of labouring people was abiding.

Ruskin College is situated in Walton Street in the city of Oxford. The house that accommodates this College cannot vie in any respect with the great and famous houses which accommodate the colleges which are integral parts of the famous University. Ruskin College is not a part of the University in the sense that Balliol or Christ Church is. It is an institution which is really outside the University organisation. But the University authorities are not on that account keeping it at arm's length. They have on the contrary held out their hand of co-operation to this institution from the



The Garden

very beginning of its career. The Ruskin students for instance may not only utilise the Bodleian but they have access to other libraries as well. They may also take part in games and debates with the more regular and more bonafide members of the University. Besides these facilities, those of the Ruskin College students who have put in two sessions may enter for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science or the Diploma in Public and Social Administration. So although the College is not an integral part of the University of Oxford, it is still associated with it in many particulars.

The College was founded in 1899 by Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman of the United States. They had of course the co-operation and support of several men connected with Trade Union Movement in this country. But it was their

initiative which was really responsible for the foundation of the institution. It is interesting to remember that the College when it was first started was headed by an American gentleman who later on became a noted and much respected publicist in his country. He was no other than Charles Beard, for many years Professor of History and Politics at the Columbia University and the author of many treatises on American History and Government. Among those again who subsequently guided the activities of this College and managed its affairs from day to day were two educationists who were also well known in India. The first to be mentioned is Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith. He is now one of the Readers in Public Administration in the University of London and is an important figure in the Labour Party and the House of Commons. He was a member of the second Labour Government as Postmaster-General. He had been in the early years of this century to India and delivered at Bombay a course of lectures on Tariff. He acted as the Vice-Principal of the College for a number of years and his services are remembered at the institution with pride and gratitude. The other gentleman connected with the Ruskin College was the late Dr. Gilbert Slater. For about five years he was its Principal and he breathed during this period all his enthusiasm of which he had enough into this institution. Subsequently he went over to Madras as the University Professor of Indian Economics and for one year he was also associated with the Government of that Presidency as its Director of Public Information. At present Mr. A. Barrat Brown is the Principal and he is assisted in the work of instruction by nine colleagues.

The College is managed by a Governing Council of which the Right Honourable G. W. Bowerman is the President and Chairman. He had been for many years Secretary to the Trades Union Congress and is as such an important figure in the world of labour in this country. This body has also two other representatives on the governing council. Among the other organisations which have their nominees on the governing body are the Co-operative Union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, National Society of Operatives and Assistants, Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain and Worker's Educational Association. Associated with the governing council are three members whose advice is always sought regarding the management of the institution but who are not entitled to vote in any meeting. At present these Consultative Members are Mr. A. D.

Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, Professor R. H. Tawney and Canon A. J. Carlyle.

The College is intended

"to provide residential courses of a University standard for working men and women, especially for those who are likely to give service to trade unions, cooperative societies, working men's clubs, adult education classes or other associations concerned with the working class."

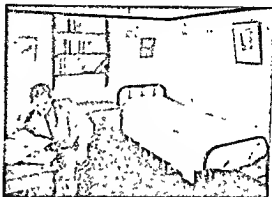
The founders and the later promoters of this institution appreciated fully the difficulties amidst which working class people were doing their best to improve their education and knowledge. They were convinced that if these people were really to be helped in this field it was essential that there should be a residential institution where "undistracted by the claims of occupation, home or outside interests", they might have opportunity of continuous study and ready access to several tutors. The syllabus which is followed in the College is spread over two sessions which ordinarily a student is expected to complete. But not unoften men and women attend the College for a shorter period—some for one year and some even for two terms or six months only.

"Full time courses throughout the first year are given in Economics, Economic History and Social and Political History, and, in addition, there are courses in English Grammar and Composition, English Literature, Public Speaking, History of Political Theory, Economic Geography, and Foreign Languages. Subjects taken in the second year include Economics (Advanced), Political Theory and Institutions, Constitutional History, Economic History and Foreign Languages."

Besides these, Visiting Lecturers deal with the Co-operative Movement, the Club Movement and current industrial and trade union issues. There are also courses in Trade Unionism and Public Administration. For those who do not stay on for two sessions but leave only after one session or two terms special short courses are provided.

All men and women are eligible for admission as residential students. There is no age bar. And not unoften men and women of rather advanced age are found among the members of the College. But in regard to scholarships which enable many of the students to pursue their studies here, age restrictions are sometimes made. The College itself offers five scholarships of the value of £125 per annum. The fee charged for board, residence and tuition is £100 for the College year. In average another £35 is required by the student for other expenses during the session. So those who secure a College scholarship require only about ten pounds more for his other expenses. But men and women whose age is not less than

twenty and not more than thirty-five are alone eligible for such scholarships. Besides the scholarships granted by the College, there are about twenty-five more scholarships whose amount vary from £50 to £135 per year. These are granted by different organisations like the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants and local bodies like the London County Council, Durham County Council and Bradford City Council. Usually these bodies



Student's Room

in granting their scholarships make no conditions as to limits of age of the candidates.

Very often a needy but deserving candidate finds it possible to secure a scholarship for studies in the College for one or two years. But the securing of the scholarship does not certainly mean his freedom from financial anxiety. The money which he has to add from his own pocket for expenses at Oxford he finds in most cases difficult to save from his small earning. The maintenance of the family during his absence in the College is also another problem which it becomes difficult to solve. While this may be said of those who secure a scholarship, it may be imagined how much more difficult it becomes to prosecute studies in this institution for those who have to depend upon their own resources alone. Many families have been found to stint for years together in order to scrape up sufficient money for stay in the College for a period of six months or one year. This struggle for education and intellectual equipment is one of the brightest chapters of the history of the rise of labour in Great Britain.

That the Ruskin College has succeeded in large measure in equipping properly a consider-

on account of the social discrimination practised in all European countries till the dawn of the present century. It must be avowed and that too with no little shame, that during the last 1800 years almost all the European countries treated their Jewish inhabitants in a manner and spirit that was un-Christlike. This treatment was one uniformly devoid of justice and equity. They were treated by the nations among which they lived, as aliens, and in some countries they were even kept beyond the pale of law.

#### DISABILITIES

A glance at the history of European legislation concerning the Jews makes it evident that but few of the Jews had human rights not more than one hundred years ago. The majority of those who are politically free today attained their freedom only two or three generations ago, while more than one-half the total number of the Jews in the world, only a couple of years before the W a r. was about the same position from the civil and political standpoint as their grandfathers were during the Dark Ages. Even as late as 1911, of the 12,000,000 Jews in Russia, 5,500,000 were segregated in a Ghetto in the Russian pale of settlement which did not materially differ from the Medieval Ghetto in Prague, Rome or Venice. There, they were exposed to frequent attacks on their lives and property, as well as to expulsion from the country. The same was the plight of the Jews in Rumania in 1911.

#### EMANCIPATION

It was in the bosom of the territory which was soon to become the United States of America, where for the first time since their dispersion among the nations, the Jews were placed on a basis of absolute equality with people of other creeds, that Roger Williams founding Rhode Island, welcomed the Jews with the same warmth as he did the Christians.

The first admission of the Jews to citizenship was accomplished in France on September 27, 1791. This was the first act of emancipation of the Jews in Europe and was soon adopted by all other European nations excepting Russia, Rumania, Finland, Spain and Portugal, where the old medieval conditions prevailed in the beginning of the century.

In England it was in 1858 that a Jew was permitted to become a member of the

Parliament. The difficulties in the way of a Jew becoming a scholar or a Fellow in an English University were removed as late as 1870 by the University Test Act. Since then the political and civil status of the Jews in England has not at all differed from that of the members of other creeds. In all colonies as well as in the United States, the Jews were politically equal with the people of other creeds.

This brings us to a great historical fact that the relation of the Church and the State has been the most important factor in determining the legal status of the Jews in a given country. In countries where the Church is a part and parcel of the machinery of the State, the fate of the Jews has been miserable. In countries where the Church is divorced from the State, the Jews have enjoyed some degree of civic and political liberty. After the great world war and in the wake of the great political upheavals that took place in Europe, the social content of the sufferings of the Jews became in importance subordinate to the political and economic disabilities. We find the principles of democracy putting them on equal footing with other citizens in all countries of the world except in Germany under the Nazi regime. Apart from this hurried running away for life the Jews have felt attracted towards America for a long time. The fresh land of America offered ample scope for activity to a race by nature enterprising and industrious.

#### CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Nevertheless, the Jewish population is found concentrated in Central and Eastern Europe, specially in the frontier districts of Austria, Hungary and Russia. Thus, in the quadrilateral region extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea and having for its boundary the towns of Leningrad, Riga, Vienna and Rostov-on-the-Don, there are eight millions of Jews amounting to one-half of the world's total Jewish population. To mention individual countries: in Poland we have 33,00,000 Jews which means 9.61 per cent of its population; in Lithuania we have 1,75,000 or 7.37 per cent of the population; in Hungary, 450,000 or 5.01 per cent; in Czechoslovakia, 385,000 or 2.54 per cent; in Rumania, 105,000 or 5.41 per cent and in Soviet Russia we have 2,950,000 Jews or 2.22 per cent of its population. Lastly, in the Mediterranean Basin, we find a number of Jewish settlements of very ancient origin. The

1939

Jews are conspicuous in towns like Alexandria, Cairo, Tripoli, Tunis, Gibraltar, Salonika, Constantinople, etc. Palestine holds 401,000 Jews, which is one-third of its population, and in Morocco their strength is about 200,000 strong.

In France by 1937 there were not less than 280,000 Jews. In Italy they are only 52,000. The British Isles have 340,000 Jews.

#### GERMANY

In Germany the census of 1905 showed 607,862 Jews, 409,501 of whom lived in the province of Prussia. Bavaria was the next province with a large number of Jews. They constituted only 1.04 per cent of the total population of Germany, and even in Prussia, where the greater number of the German Jews lived, they made up only 1.14 per cent of the total population. The statistics of 1933 reveals that the total population of Jews in Germany was 502,000. It is therefore evident that instead of hundreds of thousands, the total number of Jewish immigrants in Germany (both from East and West) between 1910 (four years before the war) and 1925 (seven years after the war) did not exceed 31,000. Between 1925 and 1933, 900 of them had left the country again. Thus in twenty-three years before the advent of the Third Reich there was a net total of 22,000 Jewish immigrants amongst a population of 67 millions. The total percentage of Jews among the population of Germany varies between some .8 per cent and 1.2 per cent according to whether the definition is taken by the possession of four, three, or two "non-Aryan" grand-parents. Before the Anschluss the strength of the Jewish population was 420,000 as compared to 602,000 Jews in 1933. The Nazi regime therefore was responsible for the forced departure of 80,000 Austria had 200,000 Jews in 1937, with its annexation to the Reich Germany's total Jewish population came to 600,000 individuals.

#### AMERICA

It is in America that we find the Jewish population today in its densest form, and it is still on the increase. At the beginning of the century the number of the Jews in U. S. A. was only 530,000, today it is 450,000, i. e., 3.5 per cent of the total population. In Canada, there are at least 200,000 Jews, 275,000 in Argentina and less than 150,000 in the rest of South America.

#### CONCENTRATION IN BIG CITIES

What seems to be a characteristic feature of the race is that the Jews have a predilection for residing in big towns. More than half of the Jewish population is urban; first stands New York with its suburbs holding 2½ millions of Jews; then follow, Warsaw with its 363,000, Chicago with 325,000, Philadelphia with 275,000, London and its suburbs with 234,000 Jews. Budapest has 232,000, Lodz has 202,000, Vienna has 178,000, Paris has 175,000 and Berlin has 161,000 Jews. These are round figures but from this it can easily be inferred that the Jewish tendency is to group into big capital cities. To mention only a few, we find in Copenhagen 92.2 per cent of the Danish Jews, in Vienna 91.9 per cent of the Austrian Jews, in London 68.8 per cent of the English Jews.

#### TOWARDS PALESTINE VS. ASSIMILATION

Today these sons of Israel scattered about in the world have in Western Europe and America identified themselves, as regards language and customs, with the people of the countries they live in.

For some decades there has been amongst the Jews a strong movement for a return, from the several countries they are scattered about, to Palestine the traditional home of the Jews. It had its origin in Eastern Europe where, at the time when the struggle of the oppressed nations was most acute, when minorities and often majorities were seen endeavouring to assert themselves against their oppressors, some Jews were inoculated with the idea of nationalism and began to dream of the repatriation of their people and the renationalization of their race.

It is different with the Western Jews who were emancipated during the nineteenth century. They assert that there is nothing which may keep a Jew from being assimilated with his neighbours belonging to other creeds. The Western Jews cannot any more be distinguished from their non-Jewish neighbours by their dress, language and even by their manners and customs. The Jews today are quite cosmopolitan. In all spheres of activities they are found to be following their profession along with their fellow citizens of other creeds. The assimilation is natural and more complete in America and the Western countries of Europe. These assimilated Jews oppose vigorously the



movement towards Palestine. They call it an attempt to turn back the course of modern history; the movement hitherto, on its political side, has had for its main object to secure for the Jewish people an equal place with their fellow citizens of other creeds in the countries they are born or which they inhabit. According to them, it is essentially an ignorant and narrow-minded view of the great problem—ignorant because it takes no account of the decisive element of progress in history and narrow-minded because it confounds a political memory with a religious ideal of bygone days.

#### PROBLEM OF THE REFUGEES

At the end of the world war, Palestine became a British-mandated territory and the Jews were given certain privileges. Jewish immigration began on a large scale. In addition, in 1934 the Soviet Union created in its

Far East an autonomous Jewish territory where Yiddish is one of the official languages. Neither here nor in Palestine have the Jews found a warm foyer. It has created fresh complications, vis-à-vis their relation with the Arab population of the country. The victims of the anti-Jewish outrages in Arabia and the refugees escaping from the planned persecution of the Jews in Germany, have created for the world at large a new problem to face. It becomes all the more urgent when Poland and Rumania join hands with Germany in their anti-semitic drive. This problem of the Jewish refugees cannot be treated lightly. Mere sympathy is not enough. Since it concerns the fate of thousands of men, women and children destitute and seeking accommodation in other countries, which are themselves worried about their unemployed millions the problem calls for a permanent solution. It should evolve not only measures of relief but measures of prevention.

## THE ABORIGINALS IN THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR

By C. F. ANDREWS

RECENTLY I have been receiving constant letters from those who are engaged in helping the aboriginals in Bihar, especially the Santals. When I was at the World Missionary Conference in Tambaram, I met one of their own leaders, a Santal, who gave me a very distressing account concerning their condition. Others, who have intimate knowledge and first-hand experience, have come to Santiniketan to see the Poet and I have been able to have long talks with them. Sri Rajendra Prasad has also visited us and his knowledge and experience are unrivalled with regard to his own province of Bihar. The Adi-basi movement, referred to in the notes of the February number of *The Modern Review*, represents correctly the growing importance of this movement among the hill tribes in the Chota Nagpur Districts. The Metropolitan of Calcutta, before he was transferred to the central see, was one of those who was devoted to the cause of these simple and poor people.

Since one of the many branches of the

Santal stock lives near to our very doors, at Santiniketan, and all the necessary building work of our Ashram has been done with remarkable industry and skill by them in the spare time when they are not working in their fields, it has become comparatively easy for me to study their economic conditions and their village community customs. The dire poverty of many Santal areas is not experienced here at Santiniketan because of the abundant opportunities of work close at hand. There has never also been the same possibility here of the money-lender obtaining a vicious hold on them by his loans, whose payments are exacted at compound interest until the interest exceeds the amount of the actual loan itself. Our own co-operative enterprises, in the neighbourhood of Santiniketan, have made the *mahajan's* trade less profitable here than elsewhere, and the medical aid we have been able to render on a co-operative basis has immensely improved the health conditions, as has also the institution of our Brati-Balak groups.

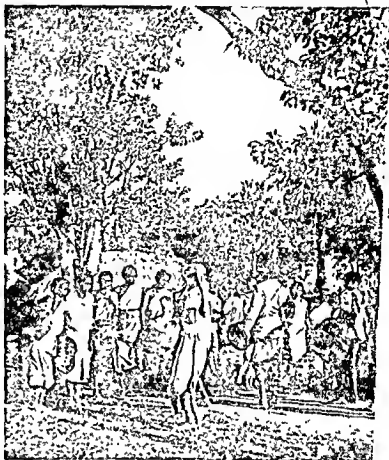
among the young children, who have been taught the value of cutting down the weeds and jungle around the villages and filling up or emptying the stagnant pools, especially at the malarial season when the monsoon has drawn to an end. It is a joy to see the decorative arts coming back in a simple way into the Santhal villages around us and the village industries of weaving, lacquer, etc., springing up again among them.

In the light of this experience around Santiniketan of what can be done by a poet's imagination creating a practical sphere of work, I would venture to call the attention of the readers of *The Modern Review* to a paper which one, who has devoted himself to this work, has left with me after a visit to Santiniketan itself. I was able to take him to our Santal villages and he has told me that they are similar to those he knows by practical experience around Bhiagalpur.

His brother is working among the Santals as District Medical Officer and he has been able to add to his own personal knowledge by constant consultation with him concerning the improvement of their health conditions. As he is at present a silent and unknown worker, I will give his appeal in a letter to me, just as he sent it, without disclosing his name. He writes as follows:

"Of all the classes of people in India, the aboriginals are probably the most neglected and suffering. Their condition, political, economical, and moral, is very sad and discouraging. No really adequate steps have yet been taken to improve their condition and by the time any measure is taken to save these innocent people,—who can, in truth, be described as the 'children of God,'—the whole race may become extinct. In India, every province, every people, has got its own culture and language. Every province is prompt to save its own culture. Western ideas have encouraged the different provinces of India to fight their own battle; but in the case of the

aboriginals in India, no means have been yet adopted to save them.



Santal men and women assemble for a dance

[Courtesy: Sudhindra Dutt]

"It is impossible adequately to describe the present condition of this class, or to paint a picture of their homes, lands and industries. In areas which the British Government has legally defined as non-regulated, people from regulated areas have intruded; they have exploited these innocent and ignorant people in every way.

"Financially, these aboriginals have been reduced to such a pitiable condition that they have mortgaged their lands and holdings to the *mahajan* class. These take away the produce of the land, year after year, and the result has been that the aboriginals themselves spend most of the year on almost a starvation level in their daily diet.

"These aboriginals are experts in basket-

weaving and in making cloth, bed sheets and public should come forward to save these illiterate people and preserve their hearths and homes. Indifference to them may mean in the end the total extinction of this class.



Santal children

(Courtesy: Sudhindra Dutt)

their lot! For no encouragement is given them to improve their industries, or to sell their products in a good market.

"To educate them, no sufficient measures, except those taken by missionaries, have been adopted as yet so as to make them mentally strong. They have been kept ignorant and neglected.

"In Bihar, the aboriginal areas, like the Santal Parganas and Chota-Nagpur, contribute their highest quota in making Bihar rich materially; yet in spite of having rich mineral areas in the aboriginal parts, the people of these districts remain the most backward people in the province.

"Bihar enjoys today Provincial Autonomy. Though, to many, it might look as if it were a substantial autonomy for all, full scope has not been given to improve the condition of the masses—especially of these aboriginals.

"Something must be done to improve their lot. Whether the Government takes any measure to alter their condition or not, the

What is that 'something' which can be done to improve the condition of the aboriginals? Let me work it out in detail as I have seen it.

"(i) Full scope should be given to the aboriginals for the free play of their own will with regard to their habits,—that is, the free play of their language, customs and home industries.

"(ii) Immediate steps should be taken to save them from the clutches of the money-lending class. Every attempt should be made to restore their lands from this class, which now exacts from them the produce of their lands as a payment of accumulated interest over many years.

"(iii) Encouragement should



Some Santal labourers

(Courtesy: Sudhindra Dutt)

be given and sympathy should be shown to their home industries and particular attention should be given to the sale of these products so as thus to help them financially.

"(iv) The co-operative department of

the Province has failed hitherto and has not done much to the satisfaction of the masses. To help the aboriginals in the agricultural season and thus to prevent borrowing from the



A Santal woman  
[Courtesy: Sudhindra Dutt]

mahajan class, at exorbitant rates of interest, a certain public amount should be allotted in the form of a Government loan, free of interest, to help the needy aboriginals at the time of the agricultural season. If interest should be charged at all, it should be according to the condition of the person taking such a loan. The sum should be realised after the harvest without putting them to great trouble and distress.

"(v) Advances should be made to these aboriginal to buy cotton and other necessary for weaving and thus every attempt should be made to encourage them to go forward industrially.

"(vi) Stores should be opened in different cities of India, where the products made by them should be kept and sold. The profits of the sale should be kept in hand to help them in other ways.

"(vii) In these days of financial stringency it is very difficult to find a man who can come

forward with a princely sum to help the cause of this distressed class. Perhaps this is neither necessary, nor advisable. But I suggest that a fund should be raised by public help to assist them. In order to raise such a fund, there might be a conference of great leaders, and persons of All-India distinction, who might discuss the ways and means of educating and assisting the aboriginals. To draw the attention of the people, it should be made an All-India concern and thereby win the sympathy of the whole country.

"Side by side with such a conference, there might be organised a demonstration by



A group of Santal women  
A Santal village near Sanamkian

[Courtesy: Sagarmay Ghose]

the aboriginals themselves, where the folk dances of these people should be displayed. These folk dances should be held on ticket and the sale proceeds should be invested in the progress and uplift of the aboriginals themselves.

"Special banks should be established in different centres of these areas, where every



A Santal

A Santal labourer

Hut where Santals live  
(Courtesy Nagarmay Ghose)

arrangement might be made for loan and deposit, so that their agriculture might not suffer

"When such banks are established, and funds raised, some at least of the aboriginals will be saved from the clutches of the *mahajans*

"If such an initiative is taken and once a start is made, the whole management should afterwards be given over to the aboriginals. When they become educated, they should control their own affairs

"Let me repeat, it is impossible to describe how these aboriginal areas are being exploited for the profit of people having no concern with them and at the cost of the real inhabitants. Let me tell also how the legitimate demands of the people are being ignored and their grievances overlooked by our countrymen

"In brief, I would put every thing before the view of the people of this country and appeal to them for their generous support and co-operation. To this conference, we should appeal to leaders of every community, irrespec-

tive of caste and creed, to lend their full-hearted support and co-operation by becoming its Conveners. I hope that these All-India leaders before whom I might place this proposal, would help me to make this dream translated into action. To such great leaders of the country I would appeal to save these mute, humble and innocent people who are suffering in so many unfortunate ways"

There is little need, on my part, to add in conclusion anything further to this sincere appeal from one who hopes to devote his life to the uplift of this aboriginal community. No work is more delicate than this, for patronising help is often worse than useless, and there must be an intense love at the back of every effort that is made. The motive also must be pure, and not mixed up with political or economic exploitation. No one has done this work hitherto more nobly and sympathetically than S. J. Amrith Thakkar, or Thakkar Bapa, as we love to call him. We may hope that in time many more of the younger generation may come forward to continue his great undertaking.



# THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MARATHAS

By G. S. SARDESAI

## 1. THE PROBLEM

MARATHA HISTORY is a subject which I believe is only now being given shape in a really scientific spirit and which I am afraid has not received the wide attention it deserves at the hands of scholars even of Maharashtra and therefore much less at the hands of those of other Indian provinces. India is almost a continent of many different races, creeds and languages, almost like Europe, whose divided interests have done no small harm to her unity in past ages and who on that account often fell an easy prey to foreign conquerors and exploiters. Indeed we all know how distressing is the record of India's history during the past eight or ten centuries, when the country had been repeatedly subjected to foreign lust and conquest and when all her boasted superior culture of thousands of years proved of no avail in the hour of peril. If we trace back this downfall of our Hindu civilization, we come to about the year 1000 of the Christian era, when that great Moslem soldier, Mahmud of Ghazni, made his first inroad upon India and started that career of conquest which entirely unsettled India's internal situation in political, social and religious matters for some five hundred years thereafter, until another able Muslim ruler, the brave and energetic Babar, won the crown of India on the field of Panipat in the year 1526 and established a new era of peace and prosperity, which marked the Mughal rule of the next two hundred years. The great Arab scholar Al Beruni supplies us the starting point and the versatile Babar the end of this long period which marks the Muslim conquest of India. In order to form a correct estimate of the good or evil which the rise of the Maratha power has done to India, we must look back a little on this preceding era of Muslim conquest and review in our mind what the downfall of the old Aryan culture and civilization meant for the average inhabitant of this vast continent. An exact conception of time is at the same time pre-supposed for a clear grasp of the subject.

The Marathas, as is well known, took their rise from their great hero Shivaji. In the face of the powerful Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Shivaji carved out an independent kingdom and had himself crowned in the year 1674. We

might roughly say that for nearly a 150 years thereafter the Marathas ruled the destinies of India in varying degrees of efficiency and domination. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to that of Nana Fadnis in 1800, all the political transactions of this vast country were clearly controlled and dictated from the Maratha capital in the South. Although this period is not very large in its measure of length, it has a peculiar and significant importance in history, which is perhaps not well realized by the average student. What message this short Maratha rule conveys to us today is, I believe, the crucial question which I will try to explain in some measure during my discourse.

## 2 THE ROOT CAUSE OF MARATHA RISE

From hoary antiquity to the middle ages, or, to be more precise, from the days of Gautama Buddha, Alexander and Ashoka to those of Prithviraj Chohan, India had enjoyed a long life of achievements and progress not only for herself but also for radiating her civilizing influence to all the backward peoples of the old world either directly or indirectly. To Aryanize the world was the great mission of benevolence and goodwill by which this Bharata-Varsha was able to assimilate in her body politic all the foreign elements that came in from outside. The Greeks, the Scythians, the Mongols, the Parthians entered the country in succession through countless ages, but they all came to be entirely absorbed into one homogeneous Aryan community and after a time not a trace remained of their foreign character. We see a similar phenomenon in the Norman conquest of England, where the conquerors and the conquered soon formed one united race. But the Muslim conquest of India from the beginning assumed an entirely different aspect. The Muslims have ever since remained a separate community in this vast land, distinct in tenet and religious practice so as to present many knotty problems to the rulers and the administrators of succeeding centuries, in spite of heroic efforts of great monarchs, saints and politicians to bring about a lasting social and religious union between them and the Hindus.

It is this main problem which the Marathas in their own way tried to solve. Let us see what the problem was.

The main difference between the Muslim conquerors and other foreign invaders that preceded them, lay in the extreme hostility and intolerance of the former to the idols of the Hindus in their fanaticism and hatred towards idol worship and towards all the paraphernalia of religious observances which had entered every phase of a Hindu's life. It is this intolerant phase of the Muslim faith which has not only created an unbridgeable gulf between the two communities but has probably helped in the rapid spread of Muslim dominion throughout the world.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Muslims had an uncontested or easy passage all over India. They took more than five hundred years to complete their conquest of this country and even then the Southern regions never became completely amenable to their rule. The Muslims' advance was stoutly resisted by their Hindu opponents on many a sanguinary battlefield. If Alauddin Khilji succeeded in crushing the last surviving Hindu Dynasty of the Yadavs of Devgiri, another strong Hindu Empire rose further South at Vijayanagar mainly through Hindu brains: but that too had its turn of death at the fatal field of Talikota and the Hindu cause seemed all but hopelessly lost.

### \* 3. THE FIRST GRAND ACHIEVEMENT

In the midst of this dark gloom and helplessness which had rapidly spread over the Indian continent, the first ray of hope came to save the situation from an unexpected quarter. An unknown and ignorant boy suddenly rose to fame and power in the Western hilly regions peopled by a rude and unlettered race of hardy cultivators more adept in the use of the plough and the scythe than of the sword and the gun. The wonderful genius of Shivaji was soon able to organize his scattered tribesmen and harness all their resources, so as to bring to their knees not only the several feudal lords known as Jagirdars of the Deccan but defy the most powerful of the great Mughal Emperors and wrest out of his grasp the independence of his homeland. Whatever judgment may be passed on the character of some of the ways and means employed by Shivaji in gaining his ends, the bold and intrepid stand he made in the spring of 1666 in that famous Diwan-i-Am, a small slim figure, all alone, before the mightiest and the most illustrious monarch seated on his

peacock throne at Agra and surrounded by all his power and dignity, sent an indescribable thrill through all India, filling every breast with new hope and fresh courage for down-trodden humanity. Shivaji's equally wonderful escape from the Emperor's clutches was universally interpreted as divine interference for the promotion of a righteous cause, proclaiming self-rule and independence. Shivaji at once became an all-India figure. This small incident forms the kernel of Maratha history and points out the lesson which it teaches. It is indeed the first great achievement of which not alone the Maratha race, but suppressed nationalities all over the world may well be proud.

### 4. AN ESSENTIAL NEED OF NATIONAL SUCCESS

Let me tell you a small story in this connection which illustrates the principle on which Shivaji acted and which gave him the strength he exhibited in later life. Indeed it is this principle on which politics depends for its success. You already know, I am sure, that Shivaji had captured Sindhgad, the capital from which the western region was ruled by the Sultan of Bijapur. Shivaji signalled his career in early life by the capture of this fort and made it the basis of his Swarajya. The king of Bijapur in retaliation imprisoned Shivaji's father and demanded the restoration of the fort as the price of his life. The father sent orders to his son to restore the place and save his life. But Shivaji would not surrender the fruit of years of labour and toil. This distressed his mother awfully and a serious difference arose between the two. They however agreed to refer the dispute to their hereditary political adviser, Sonopant Dahir, a man of ripe judgment and keen circumspection, whom Shivaji had often deputed to meet Aurangzeb and arrange with him a settlement of his affairs. Sonopant at once decided the point and advised Shivaji to give back Sindhgad. The affair has been lucidly narrated by the author of Shiva Bharat in a long chapter of beautiful diction. The core of the foreign minister's advice is contained in a short line<sup>2</sup> which says that

"All the wide world is open for a man of prowess"

Sonopant asked Shivaji to give back Sindhgad and save his father's life. "If

2. कुविकान्तस्य मूलेः सर्वमेव महीतलम् ।

Says Kalidas :

- सर्वम् प्रयोगोदयि क्षतां  
नीला विबोत्सादशुभेन संपत् ॥

## 6. THE RAJPUTS AND THE MARATHAS JOIN HANDS

The war of independence and the Emperor's tragic death had, however, not completed the task which Shivaji had set before himself. Rather the new situation gave rise to fresh difficulties and some peculiar problems. The system of distributing conquered or even unconquered lands in support of military contingents supplied by the various chiefs had been scrupulously put down by Shivaji but came to be again revived as an unavoidable measure during the stress of the long war. When Aurangzeb found that neither the death of Shivaji nor that of his son Sambhaji had availed him in putting down the Maratha spirit of revolt, he had long planned as a last resort to create a split in the Marathan solidarity. This policy succeeded wonderfully when Sambhaji's captured son Shahu was released and allowed to rule his little state as a Mughal vassal. A civil war ensued in Maharashtra between him and his aunt Tarabai and would have completely wiped away all the good results of the successful war, had not the genius of Balaji Vishwanath saved the situation with an uncommon vision which Shahu had the wisdom to recognize. Shahu at once made him his Peshwa or Prime Minister and invested him with full powers to manage the affairs of the state. A wide expansion of Maratha dominion was at once projected and various leaders of Maratha bands who had received valuable training in the late war and had gauged the weakness of the Mughal Empire now decided to turn the situation to their advantage in mutual concert. With Balaji were associated several veteran Maratha soldiers and diplomats. His two sons were by no means inconspicuous. Aurangzeb's armies were mostly manned by northern Rajput chiefs and princes who during their long residence in the Deccan had become friends with the Marathas and sympathized with their ideals in opposition to the old Emperor's obstinate policy. The result was that the Marathas of the South and the Rajputs of the North cordially joined hands in mutual friendship and co-operation in order to complete the ideal of a Hindu Empire perhaps dimly conceived by Shivaji himself. Balaji's two sons Bajirao and Chhmanji, who were imbued with the spirit of Sonopant Dabir's advice mentioned above, carried on the game of Swarajya so dexterously that by the time that Nadir Shah came and dealt the Mughal Empire its last mortal blow, Maratha dominion had advanced almost to the borders of the whole

Indian continent. Bajirao's dash had so impressed the Rajput princes of the North that he was looked upon as a saviour next only to Shivaji in point of valour and diplomacy.

Let me here make my meaning clear. We must guard against several misconceptions which often mar a right interpretation of historical problems. I know how the Rajputs became the mortal enemies of the Marathas: but that was a later development, a result of the wrong handling of political affairs by succeeding generations—and this, as I shall soon mention, is the main failure of the Marathas. They failed to preserve the old selfless national ideal enunciated by Shivaji. This ideal was fully in evidence till the death of Shahu in the middle of the 18th century. It was also for a time revived by the fourth Peshwa Madhavrao I, with whose premature death in 1772 finally vanished all the dreams of a united Hindu India and the boasted virtues exhibited by the Marathas during earlier days.

## 7. HINDU-MOSLEM CO-OPERATION IN SERVING THE MOTHERLAND

To set down clearly the achievements and failures of a nation is by no means an easy task for the frail human powers of interpreting past events. Such interpretation is bound to vary with different individuals. Bearing this in mind, I will according to my light here clear the ground by defining the objects of Maratha policy.

A student of history must render impartial justice, when conflicting claims arise. I do not wish to be partial to the Marathas, because I am one of them. If I show high appreciation of Maratha achievements, I am not slow to denounce their weaknesses and failures with equal severity. The expression Hindu-pada Padshahi, or a united Hindu Empire, has perhaps roused different conceptions in different minds. Here I would remind all students to grasp the correct idea in its historical setting conveyed by that much abused expression. The Marathas, including Shivaji, I maintain, did endeavour to create a Hindu-pada Padshahi for India, but the ideal was more religious than political. Neither the Peshwas, nor even Shivaji, ever entertained the idea of establishing a Hindu monarch on the throne at Delhi. They only wanted and claimed full religious liberty and tolerance from the Muslim rulers: they did not care who ruled at Delhi, provided they experienced no interference with their religious practices. Shivaji himself remained contented with gaining independence for his homeland. His famous letter



to Aurangzeb clearly sets forth his ideals, which later the Peshwas tried to translate into actuality. They had not a few opportunities to install a Hindu monarch at Delhi; in 1748, 1754 and 1759 they could easily have carried this out if they had so willed. In 1771, the Peshwa Madhocrno, then in the height of his power, contrived only to extend Maratha protection to Shah Alam and at his request restored him to Delhi. He could then have easily put a Hindu King there instead. Mahadji Sindia was in later days equally powerful to accomplish such an aim when he punished Chulam Kadir. On the other hand, he only obtained an imperial firman against cow-sacrifice, and an order from the Emperor for the holy places of Mathura, Prayag, Benares and Gaya being put under Maratha rule for religious purposes.

The Marathas, one must admit, had no correct notions either of religion or of politics and failed to realize that religion cannot be dissociated from politics, as we find even today in our present efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim union of national interests. Innumerable letters have been printed addressed by the Peshwas during nearly a hundred years of their regime to their Sardars in the North urging the latter not to interfere with Muslim rule but only to have the holy places released from Muslim to Hindu control. The Marathas had absolutely no quarrel with the Muslim community or religion. They did not interfere with their practices. on the contrary, they respected their observances as much as they claimed respect for their own. They only hated the unequalled for fanaticism and intolerance of Muslims towards Hindu idols and Hindu worship. The wholesale conversions and frequent slaughters of members of alien faiths by Muslim fanatics were practices foreign to Aryan civilization and extremely revolting to the Aryan mind, which always breathed peace, tolerance and goodwill to all foreigners. This persuasive process of Aryanization was what the Hindus in general and the Marathas in particular cared to preserve and enforce as an object of their policy. Fanatics of the type of Taimur exulted in raising towers of slaughtered heads to strike terror. It was Aurangzeb's extreme intolerance which Shivaji objected to most. In retaliation of Shivaji's safe escape from Agra, Aurangzeb in 1667 pulled down the famous Kashi Vishveshvar shrine of Benares and threw a challenge to the Hindus. Shivaji accepted the challenge and the recovery of Simhasagad by Tanaji was the immediate result, as we now know. Shivaji

respected the Koran as much as his own holy scriptures. One of his own spiritual gurus was Baba Yakut of Kelashi. His Chief Naval Commander or Darya Sarang was a Mo-lem named Ibrahim Khan. It was a Moslem *Parras*, a faithful servant of Shivaji, who endangered his own life to effect the escape of Shivaji from Agra. Shivaji's personal Secretary for a long time was a learned Muslim, named Mulla Haidar, who was afterwards appointed by Aurangzeb to the post of Chief Qazi at Delhi.

The same idea underlay the Peshwas' policy towards their Muslim opponents. Sadashivrao Bhau in his extreme peril at Panipat relied upon his faithful artillery commander, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, whom Abdali in vain tried to seduce into his own service. Both the elder and the younger Ghaziuddin, Ministers of the Emperor at Delhi, accepted the cordial friendship of several Maratha leaders. I need not cite instances of full cordiality and complete confidence existing between Muslims and Hindus for common aims, mutual interests and united effort in the service of the motherland. The great Akbar and a number of saints and politicians, such as Kesbir, Nanak, Abul Fazal and Faizi, were fully imbued with this spirit of mutual help and respect. Thus did the two races mould the history of the past and thus will the two once more enact the history of the future if only they evince the same spirit of tolerance and helpfulness. What wonderful achievements may they not jointly have to their credit hereafter in the common service of their motherland?

## 8 THE FUNCTION OF HISTORY

I hope I am not digressing. We do not in our ignorance realize what services history may render to nations, if only properly interpreted. History is not a stereotyped and unchangeable achievement. It must change from time to time and supply the varying needs of new situations. An eminent thinker thus explains the function of history.

*History requires to be reshaped from time to time not merely because new aspects come into view, nor simply because new facts come to be discovered, but mainly because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints and considerations which demand a fresh treatment of past events. History must supply the lessons which the changing situations of national life need in this everchanging world.*

## 9. MARATHA FAILURES—THE SYSTEM OF JAGIRS

I shall now try to mention some of those points in which the Marathas failed and in which we can say they could have done better. I con-

sider their main racial defect to be their disagreeable and ever quarrelsome or fault-finding nature in all matters of life and activity. Successful life is based essentially upon a supreme sense of compromise. Every activity of life, and of politics most of all, depends for its success on mutual toleration, a kind of give and take, a surrender of views and principles when critical situations demand it. But every Maratha is as a rule a law unto himself: he will not give up his stand, even if common interests demand it. The greatest blunder of the Peshwas in my opinion was that they based their policy upon independent chiefships. Separate spheres of influence were allotted to the several Jagirdars, of course under stress of circumstances and as the best means of rapid expansion of power. These semi-independent chiefs quarrelled among themselves, disobeyed the constituted authority and damaged national interests in pursuit of selfish personal aims. It must be admitted that for a rapid expansion of power, in the absence of military roads and easy communications, the system of Jagirs was very well suited: and so long as capable persons were available to exercise control from the centre, it certainly worked well. But a succession of capable Peshwas could not be always assured or expected. The last efficient Peshwa Madhavrao I died, his brother Narayanrao came to be soon after murdered, and power slipped into different hands so that the Jagirdars' mutual jealousies worked the inevitable ruin. The inveterate enmity between the two powerful houses of Sindia and Holkar was a never-ending phenomenon and proved the ruin of the raj. Their example was later on copied by the Southern Jagirdars during the decadent days of Bajirao II's incompetent regime.

The Jagirs or independent chiefships presupposed hereditary succession, a pernicious principle which could not assure efficiency and which soon spread to the whole state service. Those who first acquired the jagirs were certainly capable men and made their acquisitions by proved merit. But their successors soon degenerated into incompetent leaders or administrators, neglected their duties and responsibilities and only fought for their hereditary rights and possessions with renewed vehemence. The climax came during the time of the last Peshwa Bajirao II, the most degenerate and incompetent of all to hold that office. Unfortunately for him the rising fortunes of the East India Company came to be entrusted to a band of British soldiers and diplomats who have been unequalled in efficiency by any others even in Anglo-Indian history. The three Wellesley brothers, Lord

Lake, Malcolm, Close, Elphinstone Metcalfe, Munro, Jenkins had all within the space of a decade been so efficient in the tasks assigned to them that it would have been a wonder if they could have been matched by any other alien race. The twenty years between 1798 and 1818 undid all the good work of Shivaji and the Peshwas, and have left behind only dim memories of past achievements.

#### 10 LACK OF ORGANISATION

Another common defect of most of us is an utter lack of method and organisation. In intellect probably we can beat almost any other race in the world, as the history of India for thousands of years doubtless proves. But forethought, organization, regular and punctual attention to details, co-operation and team work—their are some of the most essential qualities of success which most of us lack miserably and in which we have been beaten hollow for ages past. It is only recently that we have been realizing these defects and now trying to remedy them. The Marathas are probably the worst offenders and were found wanting in these qualities at the very moment when they needed them most.

You will perhaps ask me what permanent mark have the Marathas left on the history of India as a whole. Opinions will always differ in answering such questions. Self-love and self-adulation are ingrained in human nature, wherever we go.

I am a believer in the maxim enunciated by Shakespeare—

"That evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones."

If we go on harping on the dark side of any men or matter, nothing good will be found in the world.

#### 11 THE MOST RECENT EXPERIMENT IN SELF-RULE

I have already indirectly touched upon the policy of the Marathas. They have certainly no grand or artistic structures to their credit. But they have neither to their discredit any permanent signs of de-cadence or wanton destruction—they often plundered and robbed, but did not ill-treat innocent childhood or womanhood, or perpetrate wholesale slaughters of humanity—nor frightful sights for striking terror. Occasional instances of some wanton cruelties may be produced: but I dare hope they are exceptions and rather prove the rule on that account. Anyway, the Marathas' is the

most recent experiment in self-government, of which India should always be proud. Lokmanya Tilak, when called upon by the British rulers to learn the art of self-government and wait for Swarajya until Indians had proved their capacity before demanding full rights, always retorted that his ancestors had already demonstrated their success in that art, and that they had achieved successes and endured reverses on many an occasion. Give us the field for our activities and we will prove what we can do. Rajputana, Bengal, Gujarat, Pataliputra, Kanauj, Madura, Mandugad, Dhar and many other parts and places of India have certainly much to their credit which we can all rightly cherish: but they were all old experiments, more or less buried in oblivion through historic ages

The most recent, the most fruitful, and the most memorable experiment, possessing ample and convincing proof on record, is that of the Marathas only. The Sikhs in the last century did doubtless evince great national virtues; but they were too short-lived and too tragic for the whole Indian nation to imitate. The history of the Marathas is the most recent and also the most in evidence throughout India. It doubtless requires to be reshaped and readjusted to the present needs, a task to which, let us hope, we shall bend all our energies and resources in the near future so as to secure the highest common good of this our ancient motherland.\*

\* This paper was read by the author at the Bombay University Hall at a meeting organized by the Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan on January 21, 1939.

## PALA CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON WESTERN TIBET

### Tholing Monastery

By PROF. B. R. CHATTERJEE, Ph.D. (London), D. Litt. (Punjab)

PROF. Tucci, the well-known Italian savant who has travelled extensively in Tibet, has written recently that he saw in some of the monasteries of Western Tibet frescoes and paintings which, it seemed to him, were inspired by the Ajanta School of Art. Fifteen years ago, while travelling in Western Tibet with a party of Punjab University Professors with the late Professor Shiv Ram Kashyap, I.E.S. as our leader, we reached Tholing Math after an arduous journey from the region of Kailas and Mānas Sarovar. There in the famous temple called Adī Bādri by the Hindu pilgrims, but which is really one of the oldest and most important Buddhist shrines in the whole of Tibet (the Totling Gumpa of Sven Hedm), we saw frescoes and images so strongly reminding us of Indian Art at its best that I wrote down in my diary that I wondered how in such an out of the way inaccessible nook the influence of Ajanta Art had penetrated.

Long afterwards I came to learn that this Tholing Math or Totling Gumpa had played a very important role in the cultural and religious history of Tibet. Here is a very brief resumé of the information I have been able to glean from different sources about this strong-

hold of Indian (mostly Pāla) culture in remote Western Tibet.

About a thousand years ago Lama Kings were ruling in the Kingdom of Gu-ga in the Nari (Maah-ris in Old Tibetan) province of Western Tibet. This realm, at first a vassal State, was finally annexed to Lhasa about the middle of the 17th century A.D. The capital of these kings, who played an important part in re-establishing Buddhism in Tibet, was Tholing (Tho-lin). During the reign of Lha-ldo, Subhuti Sri Santi was invited from Kashmir to Tibet. This learned monk translated some important Buddhist works into Tibetan. In the reign of the son and successor of this king, Hod-ldo, the great Atisa (Dipamkara Sri Jnāna) came first to Tholing (1038 A.D.), planted Mahāyāna Buddhism on Tibetan soil, passed on to Lhasa in 1041 A.D. and died in Tibet in 1053.

Atisa, one of the greatest scholars in the Buddhist world, was a Buddhist monk of Bengal. After distinguishing himself at the famous Pāla University at Odantapuri he went to Sumatra to consult a great teacher there on some abstruse points of Mahāyāna Buddhism. On his return to Bengal he received several

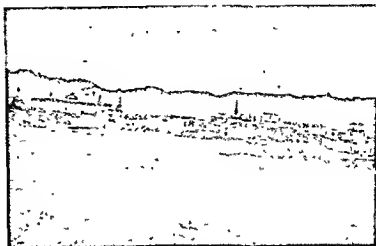
pressing invitations from the ruler of Gu-ga in Western Tibet to visit that country in order to reform the corrupt Tantric form of Buddhism prevailing there. Nayapāla, the Pāla ruler of Bengal, was at first unwilling to part with the great scholar as he feared that with Atisa's departure from India Buddhism would die out in that land. But Atisa was burning with missionary zeal and he at last prevailed upon the Pāla King of Bengal to allow him to leave for remote Tibet. He passed through Nepal and, after crossing the Himalaya, reached Mānas Sarovar. From the sacred lake he was escorted by Tibetan Generals to Tholing where the King of Western Tibet was waiting for him. It was at Tholing that he converted the King and his Court to Mahāyāna Buddhism. "In short he showed the right way to the ignorant Lamas of Tibet who had become Tāntres." It was Atisa who was the Guru of Bromton—the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

We learn from Tibetan sources that Tholing (Tho-lin or Mtho-glin in Old Tibetan) was founded about 1000 A.D. Throughout the 11th century, especially after Atisa's visit, it was a great centre of study. Indeed it was recognized as a rival of Lhasa during this period. The Vihāra of Śrī Anupama Nisābhoga—such was the name of Tholing in those days.

So it was with Atisa that the learning and the culture of Pāla Bengal came to this remote corner of Western Tibet. And when its images and wall-paintings impressed us as being so Indian in spirit and technique—the true explanation lay in the fact (though we did not know it then) that the art we saw there was the lineal descendant of the art which followed the footsteps of the great Atisa from the Pāla Court of Bengal—the last citadel of Buddhism in India.

I shall now conclude this brief paper by adding a few words about my own personal impression of Tholing. It is situated in the deep gorge of the Sotlej river before it has crossed the Himalayas on its way to the Punjab. The most fantastic shapes have been eroded by the river from the steep banks on either side. The shrine of Tholing consists of three temples and a large monastery. At the

entrance of the main shrine we found the weird figures of the four Lokapālas. In the first room we saw a very large image of the Buddha seated on a lotus. The expression on the face of the image was very serene and artistic. In the other rooms we found smaller images, mostly of exquisite workmanship, among which



Tholing monastery—Tibet

we thought we could recognize Brahma and Sarasvatī. The frescoes on the wall, as I have already said, reminded us of Ajanta. Indeed in no other shrine in Western Tibet did we come across such a distinctly Indian type of art. We found a big library too attached to the temple but it was not in a good condition. Perhaps it was in the same library that learned scholars from India translated the books which the Tibetan encyclopædia Tanjur mentions as having been translated at Tholing.

To the Hindu sannyasis this shrine is known as the Adī Bedrī. They say that Sankarāchārya ordered the removal of the seat of Badrī to the Indian side of the Himalayas when he realised the difficulty experienced by Indian pilgrims in their attempts to penetrate into Western Tibet. It is two days' journey from the Mana Pass—one of the most difficult passes across the Himalayas—and after crossing it (it takes a day to cross it) one can reach Badrī Nath the next day.

SOURCES:—Besides my own personal impressions I am indebted to my friend Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, of the Calcutta University, who introduced me to passages in Dr. Francke's works on Western Tibet and to references in the Tanjur to Tholing.

mento. The Fascist revolution is nothing but the concluding phase of that great movement which produced poets and heroes who inspired the cultural and political aspirations of the Italian people for nearly a century. The Risorgimento, however, was by no means a coherent and consistent movement, as is characteristic of a period of revolutionary ferment and political turmoil. Its complexity was further enhanced by even contradictory ideologies and conflicting visions of national destiny. Mazzini, the prophet of nationalism and philosopher of republicanism, believed in intrigue and insurrection for the overthrow of the Austrian rule, while Cavour, the monarchist and astute parliamentarian, dreamt of establishing a constitutional monarchy in Piedmont based on the practice of liberty and religious toleration, which would form the nucleus of a united Italy. While Alfieri and Manzoni the true prophets of the Risorgimento, were concerned more with the destiny of Italy, Foscolo and Leopardi were creating a type of poetry, by the making and remaking of values, which was more universal in inspiration and spirit. But in spite of all confusion of ideals and conflict of visions, characteristic of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Italy, it was romanticism that formulated an ideal, for the first time since Dante and Machiavelli, of Italian life based on the best traditions of its ancient past. Italian romanticism is the true precursor of the Risorgimento and laid the foundation of what we call contemporary Italy.

### ITALIAN ROMANTICISM

Romanticism in Italian literature flourished much later than that in French and German literatures. Italian romanticism was again largely influenced by the French and German currents of romantic thought, although it maintained its peculiar character and had a singular history. Although it is very difficult to define precisely what is meant by romanticism, critics have come forward with explanations which may roughly determine the character of European romanticism. It has been argued that romanticism is not merely a literary movement but an artistic and philosophical movement as well. The external aspects of European romanticism have manifested themselves in those literary aspirations which embrace the sufferings of the world, the mystery of the universe, the longing for the sublime, the yearning for love and heroism, the desolation and desperation born of unattainable bliss,

solitary walks under a friendly moon, Hamletian visits to cemeteries, a pale face, neglected beard and such other characteristics with which we are familiar. But romanticism, in its speculative sense, embodies a revolt against the rationalism and classicism of the Renaissance.

European romanticism is fundamentally a return towards the middle ages reformed and enriched by the experiences of the Renaissance and of later times. It is a return in which the spiritual substance of creation, taught by Christianity, acquires a renewed importance and revives those values of inner experience



Garibaldi on horseback

which were neglected by the Renaissance. But even, this religious inspiration of European romanticism had something of the sentimental in it, as is to be found in the undefined and vague religiosity of a long line of romanticists from Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint Pierre to Chateaubriand. For this reason, Manzoni cannot be classified as a thinker belonging to European romanticism, since the religious fervour was too fundamental, deep-rooted and pronounced in him. In this sense, Manzoni was more akin to Dante, Petrarca and Tasso than

to Victor Hugo and Rousseau, to Schiller and Shelley.

The religious undertone of the French and German romanticists manifested itself more through the exaltation of passion and of the instinctive and obscure mental forces than



Giosuè Carducci

through the moderating influence of the intellect. The essential difference between continental romanticism and Italian romanticism lies exactly here. Classicism is calm, knowledge, limit and preciseness; romanticism is undefined, restless and mysterious. The Catholic Church, therefore, cannot but distrust romanticism which brings into life exactly those forces which Christianity wants to correct and keep within limits. Romanticism has in itself the germs of a dangerous religiosity which, through its ultimate deduction and inevitable degeneration, arrives at the satanism of Baudelaire and Rimbaud. Romanticism does not aspire after revelation but leaves the seeds of religious experience to germinate in the obscure and undefinable cavities of the soul which leads to the defecation of the senses. The sentiment left to itself is an enemy to be afraid of; it tends to justify every excess and leads to impiety, anarchy and to a confusion between

mysticism and lustfulness. At the same time, romanticism enlarged extraordinarily the limits of human sensibility, revealed through what may be called pantheistic poetry a mysterious current of life running through the entire universe, and hinted the existence of undefinable realities behind the visible form of created things, gave rise to a poetry of occult sensations and meanings (Wordsworth, Poe, Maeterlinck, Pascoli, etc.).

Benedetto Croce classifies romanticism into two categories, theoretical and moral, and draws their different characters and consequences. According to Croce, theoretical romanticism is the revolt against "the literary academism and philosophical intellectualism which dominated the illuministic age." It reawakened the sense of great poetry and developed the new science of fantasy, that is, aesthetics. It recognized the place of spontaneity, passion and individuality in ethics, and, among other things, laid the foundations of modern historiography. Croce defines moral romanticism as belonging to a sphere completely different and sometimes even contradictory; for example, Goethe and Hegel, the maximum exponents of speculative romanticism, considered moral romanticism as "a pathological and shameful phenomenon"—the phenomenon of redemption in love, of the divinity of the beloved woman contemplated through sensual sublimation, of the aesthetic conception of life, that is, of life to be lived according to the dictates of passion and imagination, of beauty and poetry, a conception which, in its ultimate analysis, is contrary to the ideal of life itself which is harmony, and is the negation of poetry which is the "transformation of action into cosmic contemplation."

Thus the romanticism of the second category,

"corrupting life, corrupted also, more or less extensively, poetic form, reducing it to a practical thing, to immediate expression, convulsed by passionate reality, to shout, yell, and delirium."

If we leave aside Foscolo (1778-1827) and Leopardi (1798-1837), the entire romantic literature of Italy has little in common either with the one or the other category of European romanticism. The eighteenth century European society was more or less drifting away from its Christian moorings, and romanticism, "the evil of the century", usurped the place of faith and discipline in intellectual as well as

moral life. European romanticism was born partly as a reaction against the exasperating residues of illuminism and encyclopædism that triumphed in the French Revolution, and partly as an escape from the engrossing depression pessimism and desperation that characterized the Napoleonic period; but Italian romanticism was far removed from the tormented and undefined spirituality of continental romanticism which was somewhat nordic in its paganism, so far at least as its attitude towards nature is concerned. Italian romanticism limited itself to certain preferred themes, for example, literary ideals and nationalism.

The most vital elements of the romantic literature of Italy, particularly the literature which may be considered representative of the movement, are of a political and historical character and consist of a new activity in historiography and in the material preparation of the Risorgimento. Romanticism is here allied with the principle of nationality, which incited the Germans to rise against the French domination and led Italy, by giving her the consciousness of her historic mission, towards unification. To this romanticism belong the famous poet-soldiers, Koerner, Mameh and Petöcffi. In Italy the greatest exponents of this romanticism were Manzoni, De Sanctis and Mazzini.

neither to the general European category nor to the ardently nationalistic specimen such as that of Berchet (1783-1851) and Mazzini (1805-72). Berchet's inspiration was derived from foreign sources. He was the translator of a large number of English and German authors and popularized foreign writers in Italy. It was he who preached in Italy the doctrine of Herder and Madame Stael that the highest poetry was that which is inspired by the heritage of the nation and interprets its fundamental sentiments. Berchet pointed out that great poetry, while reviving past traditions, must know how to interpret the present too, and in this process of adaptation the literary form is apt to transform itself.

#### MAZZINI AND DE SANCTIS

The richest treasure of the patriotic literature of Italy is to be found in the pages written by Giuseppe Mazzini who, as philosopher of the Risorgimento and conspirator, as



Ugo Foscolo

the *Ri-organismo* found in him the maximum exponent of his time, who knew how to combine the humanistic outlook of romanticism with the patriotic and ethical values of the *Risorgimento*.



Vincenzo Gioberti

His message was nationalistic and cosmopolitan at the same time *Uno sguardo all'uomo e l'altro alla patria* (one eye towards Man and the other towards the motherland) was the guiding spirit of his political philosophy.

Like Goethe, he opened up the vision of a *Weltliteratur* which gave to contemporary literature a more contemplative outlook. There was in Mazzini, as in other European romanticists, a humanitarian urge which is one of the religious aspects of the romantic movement. With this sentiment Mazzini conquered his eventual degeneration. He conceived of life as a mission; and this conception of life rendered him a mystic who came to believe instinctively in humanity and incorrigibly in its destiny. Whatever may have been the failures of Mazzini the agitator and conspirator, he is universally recognized today as the father of modern nationalism. Mazzini's contribution to the *Risorgimento* was as great as that of the

creators of contemporary Italian literature. An English historian thus summarises the part played by Mazzini in the struggle for Italian independence:

"It was the office of Mazzini, the anti-clerical son of a Genoese doctor, to change the quality and direction of the nation's thought by preaching with rare and single-minded devotion the doctrine of the Republic, one and indivisible. Mazzini is the saint of the Italian republican movement. That his country should ever accept the rule of a king, whether Neapolitan or Sardinian, seemed to him impossible, for the Neapolitan he knew to be corrupt and the Sardinian he judged to be retrograde. A republic alone, linked in perpetual and pacific bonds with free republics all over the world, was worthy of Italy. The dream was chimerical; characteristic of a conspirator whose hand was against all governments and who, like most liberals in '48, put his faith not in battlefield decisions but in the power of enthusiasm and reason to bring men to see political perfection. Yet if the Austrian white coats needed something sharper and more material to expel them from Italy, it must not be concluded that Mazzini's life was a failure. The moral fervor of the nationalist movement was largely due to the teaching of this exalted visionary and of the Association of Italian Youth which he founded in 1831 in a garret in Marseille to promote his ideas."

According to many, the contribution of Francesco De Sanctis (1817-83) to Italian romanticism is not inferior to that of any writer of this period, and in some respects it is of outstanding value. The critical opera of De Sanctis laid the foundations of modern historiography, and while Mazzini was the philosopher of the Italian romanticism and *Risorgimento*, and Berchet their poet, De Sanctis was their critic. His *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (History of the Italian Literature) is the history of Italy seen through literature, that is, through the most significant expression of the national spirit, and is, therefore, the history of the soul of Italy. His *Storia* is not only the history of Italian literature but the history of Italy seen through the most sublime aspect of its existence, that is, through its thought, its spirit. The analysis and criticism that De Sanctis made of the great Italian authors and the line of development of Italian literature which he drew, revealed the critic as a poet. It was De Sanctis who, for the first time, interpreted to the Italian people the literary values of Foscolo and Leopardi, of Manzoni and Berchet, of Mazzini and Gioberti. De Sanctis reconstructed, so to say, the entire history of Italian spirituality and redeemed the national conscience. He is the creator of the history of Italian literature and was one of the greatest pro-e-writers of the romantic period.



## CRISIS OF ROMANTICISM

The Risorgimento was thus not only an integral part of the romantic movement in Italy but was also a logical product of the latter. Italian romanticism found its maximum expression in the Risorgimento and its fulfilment in the independence of Italy. These are but some of the outstanding tendencies of the Italian romantic movement and the authors mentioned in the foregoing passages are but some of the most celebrated names of that movement.



Giuseppe Mazzini

Contemporaneously there flourished in the nineteenth century Italy various literary and political movements as a reflection of similar experiments on the continent from which they derived their immediate inspiration, but did not find such apocalyptic interpreters as the romantic movement did. The currents of these experiments were sometimes consistent and sometimes inconsistent with the ideal of the romantic movement. It is a curious but common fact of literary history that even opposing tendencies in literary ideal may grow side by side, although not with equal importance and not with an identical hold on the popular mind. This is true of the Italian romantic movement too. In that invigorating atmosphere

of the Risorgimento enlivened by demagoguery and inspired by beautiful poetry there were in evidence certain tendencies which anticipated the subsequent decadence of the romantic spirit and revealed the germs that blossomed in the full-blown realistic reaction of Carducci.

There were principally three such tendencies that flourished simultaneously with the romantic movement. First, a type of literature that gave a satirical-cum-realistic intonation to the treatment of the outstanding events of the time and of the general aspects of contemporary life. To this category belong Angelo Brofferio, Giuseppe Giusti, Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, Massimo D'Azeglio and others. Secondly a type of literature that misinterpreted perhaps in vengeance, the true spirit of Italian romanticism and exaggerated its weakest points. To this category belong Emilio Praga (1839-75), Arrigo Boito (1842-1918) and others. They manifested a scrupulous preference for an obstinate realism and for Bohemian recklessness. But even this kind of literature came to be identified with a type of romanticism, not only for its extravagance and vagueness of form but also for its moral weakness and inherent anarchy, its unocial character and its extreme individualism. Poverty of culture, lack of the power of concentration and an *inephistophellian* sense of humour gave to their work a pessimism and sensualism which betrayed their definitely bad taste. And thirdly, a type of literature which reflected the restlessness and doubts of the age that deprived it of all moral fervour and positive idealism. Two of the famous names of this school are Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-74) and Giacomo Zanella (1820-88). Tommaseo, although little known in his own time, is regarded as no less distinguished a lyricist than Prati or Alcega. The contradictions of his literature lie in the fact that in form he was a *classicalist* while in inspiration and sentimental complications he was one of the most romantic spirits of his time.

This was the period when the spectacular progress of science was challenging many established values in European life and society. Zanella almost fell a victim to the contradiction caused by the struggle between science and faith and precipitated by Darwinian theories, but attempted a reconciliation between them under a religious inspiration, pantheistic and scientific at the same time. Although Zanella suffered the spiritual torments of his age, his lyrics gave the first announcement of a return to the classicism of form which was more or

less forgotten after the poetry of Leopardi and Manzoni. Between the great romanticists and Carducci the realist and anti-romanticist, perhaps Zanella may be considered to be the most significant link.

### POETS AS PATRIOTS

The outstanding character of Italian romanticism is the fact that the major exponents of the movement, literary as well as speculative, were patriots. Each one of them was a spiritual offspring of Dante. Each one of them beginning from Alfieri, Monti and Foscolo down to Mazzini and Gioberti, was inspired by the



Mazzini in his death-bed

vision of independent Italy, leading the other nations of the world by its message of justice and peace and by its supremacy in the spiritual field. The romantic literature of Italy would not be half its real worth if read merely in the context of European romanticism and if shorn of the patriotic fervour which dominates it all through Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), who was more a forerunner of romanticism and the Risorgimento than an interpreter of contemporary life, dedicated his latest tragedy, *Bruto Secondo*, to the "generous and free Italians of the future" in the year that marks the beginning of the French Revolution. The passion for liberty and hatred of oppression, with the belief in the power of literature as an instrument of national and social regeneration, is the animating spirit of his tragedies. For him, the drama,

as he says in one of his letters, should be a school in which

"men may learn to be free, strong, generous, impelled by true virtue, intolerant of all violence, lovers of their native land, fully conscious of their own rights, and in all their passions ardent, upright, magnanimous."

The aim of the poet in his dramas was the creation of characters of rigid strength and inflexible will, to inspire and form men and women of virile temper for the *popolo italiano futuro*. Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828), in his tragedy, *Cato Gracco* (finished in exile at Paris in 1800) makes his hero appeal to the Romans in the name of *l'italiana liberta*, and receive as answer from the assembled citizens:

"Itali siam tutti, un popol solo,  
Una sola famiglia."

"Italiani

tutti, e fratelli."

(We are all Italians, one single people, one single family. All Italians are brothers.)

Ugo Foscolo, in the days of Napoleon's power, had fearlessly admonished him in the name of Italy. On the return of the Austrians to Milan, in 1815, he chose to leave his native land rather than swear allegiance. "Così Ugo Foscolo diede alla nuova Italia una nuova istituzione, l'esilio" (Thus Ugo Foscolo gave to the new Italy a new institution, the exile.) Thus wrote Mazzini about Foscolo. Giuseppe Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity and the prophet of universal brotherhood among nations, acknowledges his political inspiration to Dante in a more convincing way than the rest of his romantic compatriots. He wrote about Dante:

"L'Italia cerca in lui il segreto della sua Nazionalità: L'Europa, il segreto dell'Italia è una profenza del pensiero moderno" (Italy seeks in him the secret of her Nationality. Europe the secret of Italy and a prophecy of modern thought)

It is in Dante, so to speak, that Mazzini finds the starting point of his own political creed—the philosophical theory of the function of nationality in human civilization. Some of the noblest passages on the national idea of Italy and her international mission, infused with the political mysticism which at times resembles the national Messianism of the poets of Poland and at times the poet-prophets of revolutionary Bengal, are to be found in his little book, *Ai Giovani d'Italia*, published in 1860. Patriotism for Mazzini was a thing of the spirit, a religion.<sup>3</sup> The following passage may be interesting to read side by side with our own *Bande Mataram*:

3 Vide 'La Questione Morale' in *Filosofia*, Vol. II.

"When God created Italy, He smiled upon her, and gave her as boundaries the two most sublime things that he placed in Europe, symbols of Eternal Power and Eternal Motion, the Alps and the Sea. From the immense circle of the Alps descends a wonderful chain of continuous ranges that reaches to where the sea bathes her, and even beyond into severed Sicily. And, where the mountains do not gird her, the sea girds her as with a loving embrace. that sea which our forefathers called *mare nostro*. Scattered around her in that sea, like gems fallen from her diadem, are Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and other lesser islands, where the nature of the soil and the structure of the mountains and the language and the hearts of men, all speak of Italy. Within those boundaries all the nations passed, one after the other, as conquerors and savage persecutors, but they have not been able to extinguish the holy name of Italy, nor the innermost energy of the race that first peopled her, the Italic element, more powerful than all, has worn out the religions, the speech, the tendencies of the conquerors, and superimposed upon them the imprint of Italian Life."

Mazzini's concept of life as a mission, as referred to in a foregoing paragraph of this article, inspired many Italian patriots and sent them to martyrdom, on the scaffold as conspirators or in hopeless struggles against overwhelming numbers. It was then that one of his disciples, the young poet Goffredo Mameli, who fell *tra un inno e una battaglia* (between a hymn and a battle) under Garibaldi in the defence of Rome, wrote the battle-hymn of the Risorgimento, the hymn that was sung again, in the early days of the European war, by the soldiers of United Italy on their way to the front. *Fratelli d'Italia*, etc.

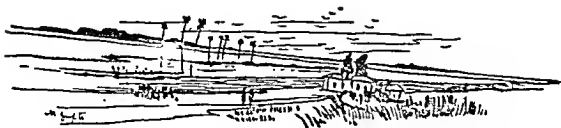
With the name of Mazzini is generally associated that of Gioberti, who was the former's rival but is regarded, with Mazzini, as a prophet of the Risorgimento. Mazzini and Gioberti differed in the form of their vision; the one looked to an Italian confederation, the other to

a revolutionary unification. In his *Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani* (1843), we find the same echo of Dante which we find in Mazzini. Unlike Mazzini, Gioberti did not live to see the unification of Italy; but in 1851, in the days that followed the disaster of Novara, he left to the nation with his last breath a greater book than his previous *Primato*: the *Rinnovamento Civile d'Italia*. It was the completion and the rectification of the *Primato*.

"Let Italians no longer look to a confederation or to revolutionary conspiracies, but to the hegemony of Piedmont, rallying round the young king, Victor Emanuel. Let conservatives, and democrats, monarchists and republicans, unite in the national idea, and each party, laying aside the character of faction and of sect, identify itself with the nation."

The national idea was fundamental and deeply rooted in the entire romantic literature of Italy. Whether in the prophetic visions of Mazzini and Gioberti, in the republican idealism of Mameli, in the monarchical faith of Prati, or in the concept of "seconda Italia" (second Italy) of Niccolò Tommaseo, the Dalmatian, everywhere the national idea is the soul of the finest literary creations of Italian romanticism. The idea persists even today, in the literature of contemporary Italy, although literary forms through which it has manifested itself have undergone substantial changes. The realism of Carducci and the aestheticism of D'Annunzio, for example, have this thing fundamentally common with the romanticism of their patriotic precursors—love of patria, the national idea.

4. See E. C. Gardner: *The National Idea in Italian Literature*, (London, 1921). Page 32



had placed in his hands. Why not carry the corpse of Sushil (the name of the dead boy) to the retreat of Chandidas, and accuse the saint of murder committed for the sake of robbery, for surely there were many trinkets on the boy's person? The poor father tamely submitted himself to the considered judgment of his friends—he gave his assent half-wittingly. The news got abroad that Chandidas had murdered that beautiful boy, Sushil, for his ornaments—so the saint was, after all but a frail sinner. At dawn the Brahmins interviewed the chief in a body and preferred their complaint. Copal Singh was struck with the apparent sincerity in the tone of the complainants and personally went out to the retreat of Chandidas for investigation. They boldly knocked at the door of his room and lo! a strange sight! The ground was cut off their feet, the sky was rent with deafening cheers people went into hysterics over Chandidas's powers. For they found on their entrance the young boy, Sushil, hale and hearty, on the knees of Chandidas, with beautiful trinkets adorning his neck, his wrists, his loins, smiling and biting at sweet cakes. On seeing Dayananda he jumped down and rushed to the arms of his father.

From that time on, Chandidas and Rami had no more opposition to face at Bishnupur. People came and went, listened to their songs, and there was wonderful change in their character.

#### CALLED TO PANDUA

The most prominent among the *bhaktas* of Chandidas was Rudramali, who lived in the suburbs of Bishnupur. He had a beautiful voice, and he sang daily, in the retreat, songs on Rādhā and Krishna composed and set to tune by Chandidas. One day, while the chief was holding his court, Rudramali came in hot haste to tell him that the Mussalman Nawab of Pandua was bent on having Chandidas, even to the length of going to war on the issue. But the chief and his people vowed they would never let him go, and things seemed to take an ugly turn. Rudramali saved the situation by suggesting a reference to the saint, who was personally involved. Before his suggestion could be accepted, Chandidas himself came to the court and declared his wish. He would go to Pandua and the question of spilling blood over the issue was simply absurd. They were afraid of Mussalmans, he was not. For, it was the fear of Bānālī that mattered; all lesser fears were worth no second

thoughts. Beef-eating had no terror for him; in the past even Kshatriyas were cow-killers, and Brahmins were beef-eaters. Yet they were never held in contempt. The fact was, one's family or national tradition must be maintained. These thoughts were considered quite sensible, and there was no more opposition to his going. But before the final departure, the boy Sushil came up toddling, with a garland in his young hands for Chandidas, mumbling broken words of love and affection. With difficulty could Chandidas console him as well as the crowd of his admirers, but he did it at last, and next morning he set out from the retreat with Rudramali and Rami.

The three came up to the armed escort sent by the Mussalman ruler at Pandua. The leader of the band was Abdur Rabaman, a man universally respected, of a striking appearance, proficient in the Koran and the Avesta, liberal in religion, a scholar and a courtier, one who had distinguished himself in the battle-field. Rahaman tried to dissuade Rami from going with the party; she was young in age, and there were various dangers to be met on the way, why should she run any risk? "Why, how old do you think me to be?" "Not more than sixteen years, I believe." "Listen to me. Rahman, I am fifty now." "I believe you are a *yogini*; but will common men know you to be such?" "But will you not protect me?" "Yes, mother, with my life. But if I fail?" "God will be my help and guide." "Nay, if you have placed your trust there, why should I keep you back?" The party then set out under armed guard, across rivers and marshy places, dense forests and deserted fields, and when it was mid-day they had come to a dense forest where the roar of wild animals could be heard from time to time. Evidently they had missed the way, and Rahaman blamed the vanguard. They had no provisions with them, neither food nor drinking water, and as far as could be seen, they had strayed far from human habitation. They espied a ruined building, made their way to it by felling trees and lopping off branches; but when they reached it, still no trace of water or food could be found. Rahaman chanced to see a big banyan tree where a large number of monkeys were comfortably seated on the branches. They seemed to understand his prayer for food and drink, and jumped down at once; away they went in all directions, to come back by batches to the tree with jack-fruit, gourd, and mango and other fruits for them, as well as water cleverly carried in leaves of lotus plants. The men had

enough for food and drink; Chandidas, Rami and Rudramali would not take anything then, as it was *Ekādasi* day, but break their fast at a certain hour in the night; with their permission. Rahaman and the men ate and drank their fill, and tired with the journey, they fell sound asleep and rose at sun-set. When they awoke, they were charmed at the scene which met their eyes. The sun was peeping from the western horizon; the cuckoo was calling at a distance; the flowers were waving in their stalks to a mild breeze that was blowing; here the peacock was strutting; there, the fawn was frisking merrily. None would think of leaving the place then, and all begged to be allowed to stay where they were for the night. "What about the wild beasts that were prowling about, and food and drink?" To this enquiry of Rahaman, Chandidas answered that he had absolute reliance on Rādhāramaṇ, the god Krishna.

Then followed a discussion between Chandidas and Rahaman. The latter understood the theory of *Brahman*, which came close to the theory of Allah in Islam, but could not appreciate his unbounded trust in a personal god. Chandidas replied with the familiar dictum that passes current in his name: "Man is the supreme reality, none beyond that." Service of God means service of man; we can worship God through humanity. He emphasised the point that worship of *Brahman* was possible only through the worship of a personal god, just as it was impossible for a stream to reach the sea except through a river. "I understand," said Rahaman; "but what about Rādhā?" "Listen, Rahaman; the word that you utter springs from *Brahman*, you realise that; its significance you know, but what about its form? That is analogous to Rādhā. My Rādhā and Krishna are immanent in the universe, they are like the Absolute Being and the Creative Energy, never away from each other but inhering in each of us. Even in the *Ātārca Aranyaka*, the cry is for their union. Rādhā is the great weapon in defeating Death: the only means left to us for the realisation of *Brahman*; everything is useless without her." Rahaman, convinced by the discourse, entered the fold and became a *bhakta*.

A cry, as of a woman in distress, was then heard. But the men, though armed, had become weak through semi-starvation, and they could attempt a rescue only if they had some food. They begged food of Rami. Thus appealed to, she prayed to Bāsali and Madanmohan to help her as she had been helped once in Benares,

when she had entertained eighty-four guests even without a moment's notice. Her prayer was heard in heaven; how could otherwise have come there at the moment a very tall figure, like Hanuman of old, carrying a huge load on the head, and accompanied by a beautiful boy? The load contained provisions, sent, they said, by Gopal Singh, chief of the Mallas. The boy and the man prepared the meals and the boy served out the dishes. Even Chandidas, Rami and Rudramali broke their *Ekādasi* fast, because they knew the boy was none but Krishna. The two figures disappeared just as they had come, nobody being the wiser for it.

### RUPCHAND THE KAPALIK

Meanwhile, ten armed men had been sent out to investigate the piteous cry for help they had heard. They came back, but without the power of speech. It was a wonder; but Chandidas understood what had happened. There must be some *Kāpālik* near about, engaged in *tāntṛic Sādhana*, and the cry they had heard must have come from a woman who was his victim. Chandidas sent five soldiers to go and watch from a distance, not to interfere if anything happened, but to report. When the five soldiers went ahead, what did they come upon? A tall, fine-looking, young man with *jābā* flowers and *vileva* leaves in his hand, his hair tied up in a knot, dressed in red, a crescent-shaped sandal-paste mark on the brow, a string of *rudrākṣas* doubled about the neck,—altogether a dreadful sight. Near him stood a young girl fluttering like an aspen leaf in fear, now and then mustering just enough courage to steal a glance at him. And, in front of them, a stone image of Kālī the mother, clutching the *Khādga* in her hand and standing on the body of Mahādev; the young man—his name was Rupchand—threatening to kill her, while the girl in her turn—her name was Ramavātī—was predicting his moral ruin as a natural consequence of the heinous act he was about to perform. The retorts and remonstrances of the girl availed not; Rupchand, blaming the adherents of Krishna for their tameness and submissive temper, and praising the readiness to die so much applauded in the *tantras*, was proceeding to kill her with the sword. But at this stage, Chandidas with Rudramali and Rahaman arrived on the scene, and he held back Rupchand's uplifted hand when it was ready to strike. He dared the young man to deprive him of the power of speech by his black magic, just as he had done to the soldiers. Then followed a battle of

words between the two. Rupchand's repeated charges amounted to this: Devotion to Krishna makes for weakness, while Chandidas held up the examples of Raja Ambarish and Prahlad; their strength lay not in their muscular powers but in God. Spirituality was the greatest strength, and Rupchand would be as strong as he wished to be if he mingled the song of Kālī with that of Hari; if the song of Shyām was joined with the song of Shyāmā. Chandidas's appeal did not go in vain; Rupchand was visibly touched. Still, he lacked conviction and wanted a direct proof of the Vaishnav's power.

This was going to be a real tussle of strength. Chandidas asked Rupchand to pluck some fruits and induce Kālī the mother to partake of it by means of the tãntic charms. Rupchand tried his best with his mantras, and while he was muttering them everybody shut his eyes in expectation. But when they opened them no change could be noticed, the fruits were evidently fresh and not touched at all. Then Chandidas sat down in meditation, with them all watching keenly to find any changes. So keenly indeed did they watch that they were oblivious of everything else; the lion seemed to send out deafening roars, the dance of the goddess dazzled their eyes; her loud laughter sent a shiver through their bodily frame; and they saw, as in a dream, Kālī the mother tasting the fruits; Chandidas stretched out his hand for prasād, and they followed suit when the spell was broken and they found the goddess going back to her place, where she stood on the god Mahādev, lying prostrate. No further proof was necessary. Chandidas had given convincing proof of the Vaishnav's strength, and they all bowed to him.

Ramā then asked Chandidas what would become of her. She came of a Kulin stock, a strictly orthodox family, and her father was honoured in the country. What would she now do with her life? Rupchand was eager to do something by way of penance, and Chandidas persuaded him to agree to marry the girl, waiving aside all his objections that he was not a Kulin or that he knew nothing about his assets, he having practically cut himself from his family for so long. So they were married there, Chandī himself officiating as the priest, Rudramali giving away the bride. Next morning, Rami drew Rāmavati aside and dressed her in silk, combed her hair, adorned her person with gold bracelets and other ornaments, and placed in her hand iron bangles and the red paste which were customary.

### THE MYSTERIOUS WARNING

When they were about to leave the forest, the five of them preceded by their mounted escort, a boy approached them and Chandidas asked him if he knew the way to Pandua. The boy told him that the party would reach Mānkar as soon as they came out of the forest, and then Pandua lay beyond six rivers which they would have to cross. "But why go to Pandua, after all? There are so many places worth seeing. Go to Mathura or Brindaban, to Prayag or Benares. Sikandar ruled at Pandua; a difficult person to deal with." Chandidas replied, "I must go because he invites me and has sent for me." The boy laughed, "Yes, that is true, but they are trying to convert the country to the Islamic faith, and men like you are so many obstructions to be removed. You have swallowed the bait, and will be presently hooked in." "No risk, no gain," replied Chandidas. "If you do not wrestle with danger and win, how can you prosper either materially or spiritually? And, after all, we are in His keeping, not masters of ourselves. If I do not accept the invitation and go, it betrays my weakness, that is all. I am a man, and I do not fear any other man, but I must fear the Lord and follow his behest." "All right," the boy laughingly replied. "If you are a man and can defend yourself against another, let me see, unarmed as you are, how you can protect yourself against my arrow." The boy took out his bow and shot an arrow at him. Chandidas lay in holy meditation, and the arrow, though striking Chandī full in the breast, proved absolutely harmless, but then it darted back to the boy and he fell down senseless. Chandidas took him up in his arms but the boy got up and rushed away with the arrow still sticking to his body, only warning Chandidas against the great danger that lay in wait for him at Sikandar's court; and promising to meet him again in that forest on his way back, if he survived the pitfalls that lay ahead.

### AT MANKAR: MEETING JAYAKAR

After the strange warning they proceeded towards Mānkar. They crossed the Damodar and halted by the side of a pond surrounded by gardens; everybody bestirred himself, some for a dip in the pond, some for the horses' fodder, and others went into the village in search of food. There stood a house before them apparently belonging to a wealthy person. On enquiry Chandidas learnt that the owner was Jayākar, a great scholar and also a pious man.

about the honoured guests? They were mostly Muhammadans! Chandidas decided in favour of the latter when the matter was referred to him. This proved too much for an old Brahmin of the village, Srikānta, who left the village in disgust. He met a young girl cooking her meal by the roadside, and as he felt tired he sat by her. The girl persuaded him to share her meal, and when they were both at it, Chandidas and the leading villagers came up. They declared he had lost his caste; his scholarship was of no use now. Srikānta was strong enough to leave it, and he prayed to Chandidas to accept him as an humble follower. The saintly poet agreed, but appointed a rendezvous at the temple.

In the meantime the goddess in the form of a young girl drew Srikānta's son, a brilliant scholar and a pious man, into a discussion on the comparative excellence of Sakti worship and realisation of *Brahman* through Vaishnavism. 'The worship of Sakti or divine energy does not confer *moksha* (liberation), nor does it produce the bliss of love. It helps the spirit of devotion and supports us on our march to the end, the spirit, where all paths meet. Your father has understood this and become a follower of Chandidas.' 'You impertinent girl! don't you be proud that you have succeeded with an old man in his dotage? 'O, you are finely proud of your scholarship! You presume to be a Brahmin! But who is a Brahmin? Have you realised the *Brahman*? Energy is but the means, the end is the realisation of the spirit. There is something beyond mere energy if you do not strive after that, you may never get out of the rut.' 'What may that something be, beyond our action? Maybe it is fame? Because, in the world, that determines our *moksha* or liberation, and he who suffers from infamy rots in hell.' 'Is that so? But people are divided in their praise and blame, they differ in their estimates. No one enjoys universal praise. According to you, then, all men would vacillate between heaven and hell! But I have come to show you the way to a world of bliss.' 'Well, that is a figment of imagination, there is no direct proof that such a world exists.' 'No, but the pitcher in your room contains pure water, at least so you think, you are very careful about its purity; but do you ever consider how it is at the source? Is there any direct proof of its purity? But who discards it as impure?' 'You talk very fine, my girl, but after all you are a woman.' 'Well, but whom do you worship?—A goddess in the form of a woman, like me.' 'Like you! she is the Supreme Being, the Mother of the Universe.' 'May I not be that, too?' A little

weary of the discussion, Pārbati said, 'Well, well, well, but what do you want of me?' 'Go to Chandidas, he will enlighten you. Follow him without any doubt or criticism.' With these words the girl floated up and faded away.

What a revelation! The Brahmin began to muse. Was it Bishālākshi, the goddess that had actually been in the room? And did she want me to renounce the world with Chandidas for my guide? I dare not disobey her, but what will become of Kamalkumārī, my dearest wife, without whom heaven will turn for me into an arid desert? I have, however, no option in the matter. He left home at once to meet Chandidas. Kamalkumārī, informed of all these strange turns, hastened to meet the saint for advice and guidance. Separated from her husband what could she do, or would do? Chandidas smiled and said, 'But there is no separation. Man and woman, husband and wife, are not separate, they are one. The body is the *prakṛiti*, the consciousness is the man; devotion to the body will result in a feeling of separation. So long as you hanker after enjoyment, how can there be true love? It is just like storing up poison when seeking honey. If you are steadfast in the love of your husband, there will be nothing to you like separation or union. You will find him in the universe and your self also will then have merged in the universe. Then and then only will you realise true love.' Kamalkumārī asked him why could not women embrace *saṅgās* and renounce the world like men, when both men and women are composed of the same elements—of *purush* and *prakṛiti*, spirit and matter, and Chandidas said in reply: 'You know best what you can do. Outside advice, however proper, will have no meaning if you cannot follow it up. When your husband has left, determine your course by yourself. Necessity will find out a way.' She bowed her last farewell to her husband and saluting Chandidas she ran away, soon lost to view.

Returning home, deserted by her husband and father-in-law, she wept tears of anguish. Home! What was here to attract her? She also must be a pilgrim on the road. Let the Mother's will be done. She only prayed to the Mother for some power that she might follow in the track of her husband. She dishevelled her hair, put on a red cloth like a Bhairavi or nun and came out. A voice whispered, 'If you have cut off yourself from your caste and family, why, come now, and take the trident.' 'Who are you?' cried Kamal. 'I am your mother, Bhavāni,' came the reply, clear and distinct, from a distance. 'Bhavāni! How can that be!

My mother Bhavāni has been long dead.' 'Then whom were you calling upon in your prayer?' 'Oh, that was the Mother of the universe.' 'I am she; come, my dear, why venture alone, and where?' 'To whom can I go, Mother, and who will now go with me? Within and without, everything is the same now—I have nothing to

fear, nothing to hope for.' 'Take hold of this trident then; so long as you keep it, you will feel my power running through you.' Kamal stepped forward and took the weapon, but when she tried to salute the goddess and receive her blessing, there was no one—the goddess had vanished.

(To be continued.)

## RURAL RECONSTRUCTION—IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE

A Visit to Gosaba in the Sunderbans of Bengal

BY RAI BAHADUR BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI,

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GOSABA has developed into ten institutions of far-reaching importance. The experiments that are being carried on there have an importance all their own and the truth of these experiments will furnish data for the solution of some of the most urgent problems that have been nagging the minds of the people in Bengal and in India. Earnest students of India cannot but have the profoundest regard for those who contribute either in ideas or actual experiments the data for future reconstruction. We see in Gosaba a highly intellectual individual with imagination and sensitive moral sense applying the principles of his convictions to get the product of his ideas. Sir Daniel Hamilton is both a thinker and a creator. He is a nationalist—I should say an Indian nationalist—and a humanist too. On the portals of his Institute of Rural Reconstruction is inscribed, which is apparently the motto of his own life, "Fear God; work hard; be honest." I went there as a student for help to clarify if possible my ideas about the most urgent of India's problems—village reconstruction.

The history of this experiment starts with Sir Daniel Hamilton acquiring four Sunderban Lots, under the terms of the Rules of 1879. The Lots are Gosaba Island, Lot No. 149, Lot No. 148 and Lot No. 143. The four lots constitute what is known as Gosaba estate. Three Lots were taken in the year 1903 and the fourth was taken in 1909. All of them are for a period of 40 years. At the time the lease was first taken the area was jungle and saturated with saline water. There was no tank for drinking water, no hut to live in, no shop for the necessities of life. There was no medical

dispensary. Naturally, there were no settlers. There was no school. This was the period of 1903 to 1909. Labourers were engaged but they had no water to drink. A powerful distillery apparatus had to be provided to supply pure drinking water. Settlements then started. In the census of 1910, the population was counted to be 900 for the entire tract and the number included the labourers. At that time about ten thousand bighas of land were reclaimed. The people borrowed money from the *mahajans*. There was no agency for the supply of the needs of the tenants. Sir Daniel Hamilton's creative mind apparently built up an ideology. He started experimenting on his ideology. The villager needed money. He needed money on easy terms. Yet the supply must not be too cheap—a fact often forgotten by the neo-Messiahs we see all about. The supply must, therefore, be through well controlled agency. He needed education to spend his money usefully and develop his sense of responsibility. The education to be effective must also develop a sense of corporate life. He had to apply the money to production of agriculture, to so apply he needed education—education not merely in literacy but education to educate his faculties to be a joyous, healthy moral being with hopes to prosper and with ideas to lead to prosperity. Sir Daniel is an out and out believer in the co-operative movement and in all forms of human co-operation. Each for all and all for each must be the motto if the villager is to grow and the village is to develop.

Now we examine the position as it stands in 1939. Nineteen villages have so far



been developed and a few others are in course of development. Each of these nineteen villages has a Rural Co-operative Credit Society of which all the villagers are the members. There is a Central Bank for the village societies which guides them. The villager grows his crops, determines his necessities for the year and brings the surplus which he wishes to dispose of to the Co-operative Paddy Sale Society. This latter was established in 1922 and of this the villager is a shareholder. He is given a credit at the current market rate for the surplus brought. His rent dues if any are paid for him, his dues if any to the Co-operative Societies are paid too and the balance is refunded to him or is credited to his account according to his desires. The prices for the day in the market are posted on a signboard in advance. It is proposed to set up a radio too to have the prices of the Calcutta market notified to the villagers. In the Co-operative Societies no long-term loan is issued except for purchasing shares of the Co-operative Rice Mill. Short-term loans are issued generally five times during a year, in about May to September, mainly with a view to helping in carrying on the cultivation. The Paddy Sale Society struck out the idea of having a Rice Mill of its own and in the year 1927 the Jamini Rice Mill was started at Gosaba. It is satisfactory to note that there has been at least one man to recognise the merits of the individual, the late Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Mitra, who more than most helped to spread the Co-operative movement in this province. The local producers are now having their paddy husked at their own Mill and the rice is carried in their own boats to be distributed to the market through the Co-operative Paddy Arat at Ultadanga. It will appear that the villagers have done away with the extraneous agency of a *mahajan* and now borrow, when borrow they must, from their own Co-operative Credit Society. Thus the agency of a *mahajan* is completely eliminated. The co-operative organisation puts a brake on extravagance and the villager today is largely free from debts. In the disposal of surplus produce he gets the ready assistance of the Co-operative Paddy Sale Society without the intervention of any middlemen. He is not left to the caprice of the *beparis*. He gets a price which is notified for all and is adjusted to the Calcutta market. The paddy is husked for him in the mill. The rice goes under the supervision of his own men in the boats arranged by the society to Ultadanga. There through the help of the co-operative *arat* he sells his commodity

to the best advantage in the open market. The boats return from Ultadanga with goods meant for the co-operative stores of which the villagers are the members. The rice mill thus makes profit out of the business and with elimination of middlemen's profits given back to him in dividends for his share the villager is also the gainer. There is a co-operative store which buys at wholesale prices such necessities as the villagers require, brings them at minimum transport charges through the returning boats from Ultadanga and sells them at minimum profit to the consumers. To the members purchasing a rebate is given. Here too, the villager as consumer gets good things at the cheapest price and the profit of the transaction is shared by him in rebate. The villager solves his financial problem through association with the Rural Co-operative Society, Paddy Sale Society, his Rice Mill and his Co-operative Stores. Outside Gosaba estate the villagers are raided by the *mahajans*. The Reformers yell against *mahajans*, yet, I suppose, they have never cared to see that the financial need of the villagers is supplied by a cheaper and better agency. The villager runs to debt, from the beginning to the end of the year he struggles against it; and in such a helpless and hopeless financial struggle, he, at every stage, is the weaker party to suffer and be exploited.

This is, however, not enough. It could not escape an astute business man, a shrewd thinker and a practical philanthropist, as Sir Daniel unquestionably is, that no economic betterment is possible without some means to augment the resources of the villager and improvement to his financial assets; and here starts his educational scheme. We hear a lot of enthusiasm in the country about Debt Settlement Boards and the problem of reduction of debt. The enthusiasm has its value only up to a certain extent. In a state of economic unbalance in which most of the villagers today are, no scheme has any chance of permanent success which does not add to the wealth per capita and leave an annual surplus over expenditure. Even here debt has its uses, though it certainly has its abuses.

Each of these nineteen developed villages has an Upper Primary or a Lower Primary School according to its means. The teaching is free, the buildings are free, the appliances are free. Compulsory training in practical agriculture is insisted upon. With that object in view an area of ten bighas of land is attached rent-free to each school. There all sorts of practical work in agriculture are carried on through the

active co-operation of the students. The produce when sold goes as additional payments to the teachers. The teachers are paid at a scale of Rs. 25 to Rs. 40 per month in the upper and at a slightly lower scale in the lower primary schools. The Head teacher is invariably provided with free quarters. He is the most important agency for the dissemination of ideas and for the guidance of the villagers. There is an additional compulsory subject, the teaching of cottage industry. Generally, weaving is the industry taught. At Gosaba itself there is a Middle English School. It has a large agricultural area attached to impart agricultural education in a practical way. It has an institute for cottage industry. It contains now six Hattersley looms and ten Serampore looms. Dyeing is carried on in the institute with simple appliances. The institute produces woollen blankets, woollen shawls, cloths for shirting and coating of cotton, mercerized silk and silk with cotton. The stuff produced is thoroughly good and the standard is high. It has been found that a student working with moderate care earns at least Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 as wages. The experiments so far carried on are not so many nor so varied as in the Sriniketan of Visva-Bharati. But those taken up are thoroughly gone into in all details.

There is a model agricultural farm under the supervision of an Agricultural officer lent by the Provincial Government who carries on intensive and genuine experiments in a variety of crops. One of the most important results of the experiments has been the evolution of "Gosaba 23 paddy," which both in yield and in the quality of grain is a considerable improvement over the common type grown in the Sunderbans. The experiments show that as regards vegetables like tomatoes, brinjals, beet, potatoes, the outturn is more than satisfactory. Sugarcane has been attempted with moderate success with less saccharine qualities than normal in the juice but is still being experimented on. Tobacco has been very successful. Cotton Dharwar American variety has been found to be satisfactory for the soil. As regards fruits, the seeds are more successful than the sweeter fruits. It is astonishing how visiting some of the other lots owned by private landlords I could hear only continuous wail, that the outturn was growing less, that no other crop was possible, that the people were in debts, that the rent was in arrears for five years and one returns immediately to Gosaba to find that bold experiments have been carried out, types of heavy yielding

paddy have been evolved, orchards have been planted, vegetables have been grown, the tenants are not in debts, and rent is not in arrears. It shows that a man can help a man to be the maker of his destiny provided he thinks out wisely, acts perseveringly and is helped on by faith along the path of progress. How I wished that there had been less of eye-wash and more of sincerity, less of attempt to keep up fiction or bluff the electorate, and more of real work, less of hobby-hunting by brainless and uncontrolled officials (and now non-officials swell the crowd) and more of well-guided spirit of service elsewhere where a historical retrospect only reveals the tragic pursuit of shadows after shadows!

Since 1934, an institute of rural reconstruction has been started. Here students are given training. The institute has also a branch at Mayurbhanj, where students go for training in fruit-growing, horticulture, etc. The course is for two years for theoretical and practical training in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, dairy and poultry, weaving and other cottage industries. The co-operative primary school teaches book-keeping and accounts, elements of banking and rural economy. The students when they pass are given the diploma of I. L. A., which stands for "Independent Livelihood Art." Here practical courses in agriculture and in cottage industries are given and a part of the price realised from the product goes to the individual worker. The results of the experiments carried on in the model farm and in the Institute of Rural Reconstruction are communicated to the villagers through the Head Teacher of each school. The villagers are invited to see for themselves, experiment for themselves, question for themselves. Sir Daniel Hamilton has recently set apart a sum of Rs. 2,000 for prizes for the more successful experiments.

This is not all. The villagers are encouraged to meet, discuss and suggest. Frequent assemblages called "Samabaja Baithak" of villagers, teachers, officers on the staff, students and in short all workers, are organized to discuss practical problems, offer suggestions for improvement and form them into resolutions, which are forwarded to the Welfare Committee. The Welfare Committee is a shadow cabinet of the estate. It discusses problems, the policies to be pursued and goes also into the details of the schemes which are offered to Sir Daniel Hamilton on his annual visit to the estate. There are free medical officers and free dispensaries. The attendance is free. The

medicine is free and in serious cases the visit of the medical officer to the patient is free. If the patients grow worse and have to be brought to Calcutta for better medical help, the generous benefactor provides the fund. There is a trained midwife who attends to the needs of women. She goes round and trains the village *dais*. In all difficult cases she attends personally and attends free.

The village decides its own disputes. The deciding group consists of villagers in the majority of cases. Anybody disapproving the decision is permitted to refer again to a group of adjudicators selected out of the villagers. Even if that decision be not approved, members of the Central Bank come in and constitute themselves as a final court. The village, thus, has its educational institution to supply educational needs in both theory and practice, it is supplied free. The village has its own banking system in its rural co-operative society. There is no *mahajan*. The villagers sell their surplus through a chain of co-operative institutions without the intervention of middlemen and thus get the best value. The teacher in the school is the pivot round whom these institutions grow and through whom all the ideas of betterment are communicated. The results of successful experiments in health, agriculture and cottage industries are brought to the notice of the villagers through him. Discussions are held to provide intellectual stimulus and, in addition, adult education through films, gramophones and radio is proposed to be imparted. The result is what has been noted above.

I would draw the attention of people concerned in the solution of problems of rural Bengal, as a matter of fact of rural India, to the ways and means adopted in Gosaba estate.

The tentative experiment of paper currency for the estate is being carried on. The theory is that the congealed labour is the capital. Stir up the labour, bring forth more energy and more wealth will be created. The paper currency supplemented by coins helps in the construction of institutions and objects of material wealth.

Thorough co-operative organization helps the educational system of the society and the

villagers experience better facilities for self-financing, better marketing, less loss, cheaper articles of consumption, better agriculture. Cottage industry helps men in the economic use of their spare time and above all through mutual help they imbibe the spirit of each for all and all for each. Gosaba is developing into a national institute of first-rate importance. Its experiments are experiments of infinite value. For all that one must pay his grateful homage to Sir Daniel Hamilton and to his band of enthusiastic workers.

On one side of Gosaba are lands of private Indian owners and on the other side, though a little way off, are the Government colonization areas of Khepupara in Barisal. The private landlords have not taken the slightest interest to tackle the problems. In the Government colonization areas, in spite of all the Government "experts," the tenants (started debt-free) are in debts, the co-operative organizations are moribund and even the rent (a low rate) is heavily in arrears.

I would not stress the comparison further lest some people might feel hurt. But the comparison thrusts itself on one's attention. Why is this difference in result? It is essential to discover the reasons, if we are to avoid errors.

We hear of efforts at rural reconstruction in Bengal. Any serious student of the problems of this unfortunate country with a mind to probe and analyse, knows what all these are and what lasting results they produce. The problem needs brains for solution, a clear comprehension of the underlying causes of decay of villages and a capacity for deep thinking to discover permanent local remedies and, above all, the genuine (and not make-belief) agencies for sustained efforts to apply them. Sir Daniel Hamilton's experiments can supply many hints, provided of course that genuine desire to improve is there. Changes and readjustments will be necessary and the most difficult re-adjustment would be to find a substitute for the spirit and character of Sir Daniel Hamilton to operate in the normal villages with other conditions. But if Rural Reconstruction is not to be a fraud, the experiment's at Gosaba deserve deep and careful study.



## CIVIL LIBERTIES IN HYDERABAD

By S. RAMACHAR

To TALK of Civil Liberties in Hyderabad is to be guilty of a verbal jugglery, for, the simple fact is that there is no Civil Liberty in Hyderabad.

By the term Civil Liberty is implied primary and fundamental rights, such as the right to hold meetings, make speeches, print newspapers, and the right to be tried openly by a lawfully constituted tribunal.

To take the last thing first, there are scores of instances where people have been denied the right of open trial. The Government simply gets rid of any person it does not want to stay in the province by externment without any trial and without vouchsafing any reason for its order of externment. The case of Pandit Taranath, Raghavendra Sharma, and Pandit Ramchanderji Dehlavi are wellknown. Even to appeal against an order is a crime in Hyderabad. One Abdul Sathar Thaimuri was externed from Hyderabad for publishing *An Appeal to His Exalted Highness (Bombay Chronicle, 28th July, 1936)*. In England even a man who shot at the most popular king was given a fair trial and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. In Hyderabad an appeal to the ruling monarch is met by an order of externment. Mr. K. Tata Char, a non-political worker was externed from Hyderabad as he happened to be an externee from the cantonment area. The latest instance of such externment being that of Krishna Sharma of the *United Press*.

In 1921, a Firman of H. E. H. the Nizam said:

"Any political meeting or any meeting calculated to bring about political results should not be held without the permission of the Executive Council (the Executive Council shall obtain my sanction before granting such permission). Otherwise the conveners of the meeting will be held responsible in every way. Besides this, it will be necessary to submit previously by way of information the Agenda, to the Executive Council of all proceedings to be held in the meeting, which is thus sanctioned, and until the Executive Council sanctions the Agenda, the proceedings shall not be gone through."

It is impossible to know what exactly the authorities mean by the term "political" or "political results." The words are very vaguely put in the Firman. Once an attempt was made to get the word "political" defined by

the Government. On the 14th Ardebahist 39, a letter was addressed to the Commissioner of Police to define the word "political." The Commissioner forwarded the letter to the higher authorities and asked the applicant to wait for an answer. The Commissioner was reminded as often as possible. At last on 5th Azar 41—after the lapse of twenty-four long months—the Commissioner kindly wrote:

"The Government have not forwarded an explanation. It would be better however if the matter is dropped at this."

Finally, on 20th Khurdad 1342, a Government Communiqué declared:

"H. E. H. the Nizam's Government are not prepared to make any changes in their policy about political meetings. In the category of political meetings are to be included all meetings which are likely to lead to any communal disturbance or which are likely to create any disaffection against the Government or in which opposition is shown to the administration of H. E. H. the Nizam, the Nizam's dominion or British India, the more especially so when they are organized or when there is a possibility that the Government or their officials may be blasphemed."

The result of these rules is that no meeting which is regarded as "political" by the authorities can be held in Hyderabad. Not only that but in fact no meeting of any kind can be held in Hyderabad.

In 1929, an executive fiat ran:

"Every person desirous of holding a meeting shall in writing intimate his intention to the local authorities at least ten days prior to the holding of the meeting" and the local authorities were given the power "to send for all rules in force of such meetings, copies of speeches, and list of persons convening such meetings."

The result of such rules was that even condolence meetings could not be held anywhere in the State. Even meetings to mourn the death of Sjt. G. K. Devedhar and Dr. M. A. Ansari could not be held because permission could not be got. The latest instance being the ban on a meeting which was to be held to mourn the loss which the entire world has sustained by the demise of Kemal Ataturk. Even a meeting to congratulate the Nawab of Rampur for granting certain political concessions to his people was not allowed to be held. And finally, no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi was not allowed to visit the Harijan colony and declare open the Khadi Bhandar on the

occasion of his last visit to Hyderabad. This was on 9th March, 1934. Meetings in connection with Libraries, magic-lantern lectures and even temperance meetings are not allowed to be held in spite of the fact that Temperance is a semi-official work of the Government and no less a man than the Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court happens to be the President of the Temperance Association.

The holding of any conference in the Nizam's Dominion is of course out of question. Permission is very rarely granted and even if permission is granted such humiliating restrictions are imposed that any man with a grain of self-respect in him would think a hundred times before attending such a conference. Even men like the late Pandit Keshav Rao, a High Court Judge of Hyderabad and Mr Waman Naik were forced to summon meetings and conferences beyond the borders of the State. The Andhra conference could not be held for three years because the Government would not give the necessary permission. The following conditions were enforced on the organisers of the Andhra conference which was held in Sirsilla in the district of Warangal.

(1) All the resolutions were directed to be submitted to the Taluqdar and the resolutions disapproved by him were asked to be deleted.

(2) The resolutions were directed to be placed before the Taluqdar at least a week before the session of the conference and organisers were directed to accept all the amendments to the resolutions proposed by him.

(3) All resolutions that were passed by the subjects committee were asked to be re-submitted to the Taluqdar for approval and only such resolutions were allowed to be placed before the open session which were approved by him.

(4) The President was asked to take the necessary instructions from the Taluqdar.

(5) The Taluqdar had the right to stop any speech which he considered improper.

(6) It was incumbent on the organisers not to allow any outsider (Non-Hyderabad) to speak at the conference.

(7) And further a list of speakers and names of organisers were asked to be submitted.

In 1936, the third session of the People's Educational Conference was to be held in Hyderabad. Mr. Ramachandra Naik, a Mulk of Hyderabad, was to preside over the Conference. The Government would not agree to his Presidentship. This happened in September, 1936, and Mr. Naik was made a Judge of the Hyderabad High Court in June, 1937.

Thus we see that Freedom of Association is completely absent. But it goes so far in Hyderabad that even schools and *akhadas* are not free from such restrictions. While the popular Governments of Madras and Bombay are thinking of handing over as many educa-

tional institutions as possible to private hands, Hyderabad Government has made it impossible for individuals or societies to run educational institutions. An order of the Government prohibits the starting or running of any educational institution without the sanction of the authorities. If such an institution is run, the Director of Public Instruction or the Divisional Inspector of Schools is empowered to take necessary steps.

"either through the first Taluqdar of the district concerned, or the Police Commissioner of Hyderabad City, to have such schools closed."

The harmful result of this policy is revealed by the fact that while in the year Fasli 1335 there were 3,142 private institutions with a strength of 76,654 boys at the end of the year Fasli 1343 there were only 868 institutions with a strength of 25,262 pupils. That the public should be deprived of even the right of educating their children is simply unbearable.

Every state is interested in the physical well-being of its subjects. And with a view to help its people to grow stronger it provides amenities for physical exercise. Almost every University in India have a volunteer corps and the provincial Governments today are thinking of making physical culture compulsory. But here we have the premier state of India which has placed a ban on the formation of "*Akhadas*." A circular of the Home Secretary dated 29th Khurdad, Fasli 1344 (27-4-35) prohibited the forming of any *Akhada* without the permission of the authorities. The circular defines an *Akhada* as

"any place where the public or any particular group or community generally gather for Physical Exercise but it shall not include a place where members of a family especially do physical exercise."

"Members of a family" is not properly defined in the circular. Hence it is doubtful if the members of a family can engage an instructor who is not a member of the family.

Here are the instructions, which the Nizam's Government have given to their officials regarding lawyers. A Government Circular says

"The conduct of pleaders should be generally watched for. Firstly, they are educated, secondly, owing to profession, the public looks upon them with respect and honour and in connection with the work in courts, different classes of subjects perforce have to deal with them. It is found that they entertain more or less modern ideas and it is likely that those who come in contact with them will be influenced by their views and carry the poison to their environment."

Not satisfied with the present position, the Nizam's Government have enforced a

Safety Regulations which give unlimited authority to the police and render almost every public activity illegal. It goes to the extent of saying that

"If the guilty person is found to be a minor under 16 years of age his parents or guardians will be liable to penalty."

We have seen the fate of individuals, meetings and conferences. Now let us turn to the press.

"The Liberty of the Press" Lord Mansfield says "consists in printing without any previous license subject to the consequences of the Law."

What is the extent of Liberty that the press enjoys in Hyderabad? At the outset let me make it clear that there is no regular legislation regarding newspapers or periodical publications in Hyderabad. The department concerned has framed certain rules which it enforces. If any individual intend to start a paper he has to apply to the Home Secretary for permission. The Home Secretary calls for a report of the conduct of the applicant, his political views, etc. If he is satisfied he grants the permission. In most cases it is not granted. Recently Mr Vinayak Rao, Bar-at-Law, son of the late Mr Keshav Rao, was refused permission to start a paper. Not only are people not allowed to start papers in Hyderabad but as many as fifty newspapers and magazines are not allowed to enter Hyderabad. Not only papers like *Riyaset* but even conservative and moderate papers like the *Hindu of Madras* and the *Servant of India*, the organ of the Servant of India Society, were not allowed to enter Hyderabad for some time. Even the *Bombay Chronicle* was thus honoured. Not satisfied with this the Government recently banned the entry of about thirty newspapers and magazines into the State. Under such circumstances there is no wonder that for a population of fourteen-and-a-half millions there are only one English daily, one Marathi weekly and one Telugu bi-weekly, a couple of Urdu newspapers and magazines. The highest circulation claimed in the State is by a weekly which boasts of its circulation being 3,000 copies!

Finding that in spite of all this extraordinary precaution the public indignation against

the Government is growing and with the object of at least checking such discontent the Government have changed their tactics. A recent *Jarida* publishes a Firman sanctioning the grant of a sum of Rs. 15,000 to the *Associated Press* and *Reuters*, Hyderabad Branch. This type of subsidies to news agencies by Government is very injurious. That itself is against all canons of Civil Liberty. We have already seen how the Government extorted Mr. Krishna Sharma, the representative of the *United Press*. It is needless to point out the effect of this double-edged policy on the circulation of news regarding the State.

In May 1936, the Nizam's Government by a notification banned all books which have any bearing on Communist topics. This notification is so vague that it may be possible to bring even books by Bernard Shaw or any other prominent writer into the category of Communist Literature, only the police have to describe them as Communist or that they have some bearing on Communist doctrines.

The result is that a large number of books which you could read with impunity in British India are not suffered to enter Hyderabad State. Even a moderate book like *Whither Hyderabad* by Syed Abid Hasan was proscribed in Hyderabad. This was done, I suppose, because the words "Freedom," or "Liberty" occur in the book. The result of this indiscriminate suppression of all intellectual food to the people can be seen in the small number of books published in the State. In Fasli 1343 (1933-34) the total number of books published in the State were 560.

"The bulk of these consisted of works on Ethics and Theology (125) and on miscellaneous subjects (223). Education ranked next in order with 62 publications to its credit. The next in order were those of poetry with 40. Science with 24, Calendars with 19, Law with 13, Biology with 12, History with 11, Agriculture with 10, Stories with 9, Sociology and Drama with 5, each. Dictionary with 2. Novel and Music with one each."

Not one among the books published in the State is on the dangerous subjects of Economics and Politics. Yet the Nizam's Government claim to have established the first National University in India!



## CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR HARI CHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.

EVEN the most casual observer can not but note certain striking points of resemblance as well as difference between Christianity and Mohammedanism in India. Both these religions were first preached in Arabia by members of the Semitic race and both obtained a foothold in India many many centuries ago and since then the number of their followers has been steadily on the increase. Both depend on proselytizing for the propagation of the faith and both at times have received no small amount of help in this direction when the ruling races happened to belong to that faith. Both are monotheistic and both have inherited the same Jewish traditions. But here the resemblance seems to end. But the points of difference existing between them as manifest in India are many and fundamental.

In the first place it may be mentioned that educated Indian Christians are not distinguishable from educated Hindus either by their dress or by their names, or by their mode of life or culture or mental outlook. All Christians have got a Christian name given at the time of christening, but those who belong to the higher classes, so far at least as Bengal is concerned, drop those names and never use them. As regards the surname they always stick to those their forefathers had before conversion. So it is impossible for one to express any opinion as to the religion of a person by merely reading his name. This is no mean help in building up a united Indian nation where all differences will be merged in one common identity and the different religious labels will not be flauntingly displayed which have kept up so long our sense of separateness. Unfortunately it is not so with the Mohammedans. As soon as a person embraces Islam he is expected to sever all connections, as it were, with his former friends and relatives and to identify himself wholly with his brothers in faith by adopting an Islamic name. He is to be entirely pulled up by the roots from the soil where he has grown to be transplanted elsewhere, where the conditions are wholly different.

Secondly, a Mohammedan is to be known by the dress he wears. This uniformity in dress serves only to keep up in him a sense of aloofness from the children of the soil though it may foster a sense of oneness with

his co-religionists. But it is equally a bar to the building up of a united nation. In China or Japan or other countries where there is a considerable Mohammedan population, these latter do not adopt the peculiar Islamic dress but stick to the national costume. So also it is the case with the handful of British converts to Islam like Lord Hadley. But the Indian Mohammedan in his zeal to prove his foreign origin stick to this dress with dogged tenacity. The Indian Christians do not betray any such tendency. A time undoubtedly there was and that not very long ago when they tried to imitate the dress as well as the manners and customs of the Europeans. But in this respect the educated Hindus too were equally to blame. Both were carried off their feet by the first on-rush of Western culture and civilization which swept over them like a huge wave but it was not long before they discovered their mistake and reverted to the national costume and manners and customs once more.

Then, thirdly, as regards their culture and traditions the Indian Christians unlike the Mohammedans have not entirely broken with the past but have assimilated all that is best in Indian traditions and culture as modern Hinduism too has not hesitated to assimilate all that is best in Christianity and western civilization. But it is above all on account of his mental outlook that the Indian Christian is differentiated from the Indian Moslem.

If we are to admit the claim of the Moslem League to be the representative of the entire Indian Moslem Community then we are faced with the unpalatable fact that an Indian Moslem has never been able to accept India as his motherland and to look upon her with that enthusiastic love and regard which that word connotes. As a matter of fact, he looks upon himself as a sojourner in 'the land of Goshen' always on the alert and seeking the earliest opportunity of establishing his contact and forming alliances with other Mohammedans living across the frontier. He will even go so far as to violate the integrity of India, carving out of it a Mohammedan state which is to be federated with other Mohammedan states in South-western Asia, an idea which has appeared as preposterous to all true lover of the country.

In the recent session of the League held at

Patna Mr. Aziz, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, unblushingly declared and that too with the apparent approval of the delegates assembled there that the Indian Moslem should not like to merge his identity in the Indian nation. After reading this address what a relief it was to turn to the inspiring address of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookherjee, the President of the All-India Christian Conference, held at Madras during the X'mas week giving a bold lead to his community and calling upon it to join the Indian National Congress so that it would not be deprived of the privilege of fighting for India's freedom. The whole speech from beginning to end reads like a defence of Congress activities and achievements and one is at first rather inclined to take Dr Mookherjee for a Congress propagandist, but this suspicion is entirely dispelled when one remembers that he is the accredited representative of his community to the Bengal Legislative Assembly and that he has made princely donations for the improvement of the educational facilities of his community. He is one of the best brains as well as the greatest philanthropist that his community has produced and so he may claim to represent the considered opinion of his community. But he is not a solitary figure expressing views in advance of his times, for what he said was endorsed and accepted by the Conference.

Almost identical views were being expressed by another eminent person, i.e. Mr. Shores, President of the All-India Catholic Congress, meeting at Mangalore almost simultaneously. Even the Anglo-Indian Community seems to be falling into line as is evident from the request of Mr. C. E. Gibbon, the General Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Civil Liberties Association, to the Congress authorities in Bengal to form an Anglo-Indian constituency in Calcutta under the Congress organisation to enable Anglo-Indians to join the Congress. All this testimony goes to prove conclusively how Christians in India have adopted a strictly national outlook and are anxious to join hands with progressive organisations to achieve India's goal. The Indian Christians have never claimed separate electorates and now that it has been thrust upon them, they are anxious to shake it off as soon as possible. What a contrast does this attitude present to the insistent claim of the Mohammedans for separate electorates, sufficient weightage and reservation of posts under the Government. One is constrained to remark that this attitude is not only selfish but entirely anti-national.

Of late the agitation for representative government in the states by the states people have frightened the League so much that it has not hesitated to put on record its considered opinion that it is against the introduction of representative government in these states if that is to be achieved with the help and encouragement of the Indian National Congress. Now this dog-in-the-manger policy will only excite a smile in disinterested spectators, for up till now the League has done nothing in helping the states people. The Indian Christians on the contrary, instead of standing in the way of the freedom movement in the states, have themselves taken an active part in it.

So from all these considerations it is quite evident that the attitude of the ordinary Mussalman (if the League's contention is to be accepted) towards the freedom movement has been one of active hostility. It is a thousand pities that living for so long a time in India and side by side with other communities he should not learn to feel sympathy for their aspirations and desires, but on the contrary reject all friendly overtures on their part to identify himself with them as the Indian Christians have successfully done. The latter surely have not given up their religious convictions and distinctive culture and traditions. On the other hand, they cleave unto them with the greatest fondness and zeal and there is absolutely no reason why they or any one else should be required to sacrifice his religious or other convictions.

In a vast country like India there is room enough for all and it is expected that each community should preserve intact its religious and cultural identity but at the same time help in the formation of the great Indian nation. There should be unity in the midst of diversity. The attitude of the Indian Muslims would have filled us with blank despair had it not been for the thin ray of light and hope that is being shed by the attitude of the enlightened section of the community who have adopted a broad national outlook particularly of the 'Jamiet-ul-Ulema,' the Shia Community and the brave Pathans of the Frontier Province. Let us hope that this ray of light will shine brighter and brighter and broader and broader till it dispels the darkness of communalism from the mental horizon of the average Indian Mussalman and brings about a radical change in his mental outlook without which consummation our dream, which we have hugged so long and so fondly, of a regenerated and united India, will be dissolved and melted into thin air.



## INDIA AND DEMOCRACY

By PROFESSOR N. SRINIVASAN

In recent years the orientation of our national movement has been definitely towards economic issues. The Indian National Congress declared at its Karachi session that,

"In order to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. It talked in terms of a living wage and it declared that the State shall control the key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, water-ways, shipping and other means of public transport."

It is freedom for the masses that the Congress wishes to win and the freedom is to be political, social and economic. This sets before us the right perspective. Our task is the creation of a political, social and economic democracy.

There is for us no other ideal of government possible. Yet there are some in our country who are impatient with the slowness of our advance towards our goal by democratic methods and reject democracy as out of date and unsuited to our conditions. These urge that we should set up a dictatorship as the surest and quickest way of ending our countless quarrels and of setting up a new order. They urge that we must produce our Hitler or Mussolini or Kemal who would resolutely and by surgical methods remove the cancer of communalism from our midst and solve our other difficulties. They regret our inveterate habit of borrowing Europe's out-worn institutions and point out that while Europe is discarding democracy we are taking it up.

The cry for a dictatorship is dangerous and we must not let ourselves be deluded by it. Whenever things appear to go wrong mankind has always resorted to the strong man, to a Caesar, Cromwell, or Napoleon in the past or to a Hitler or Mussolini at present. But dictatorship has always been a temporary phenomenon in history. Whatever may be the virtues of dictatorship, as we see it in contemporary Europe, it cannot be an ultimate political ideal for any people. There is little doubt that as compared with some of the democratic governments of the post-war

period, dictatorship has been successful, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. But its successes are really more apparent than real. And its methods and ideology belong rather to the past than to the present or the future. The exaggerated nationalism which it fosters is leading the world straight towards imperialism and war. Its perpetuation of the injustices of the present social system by the means of violence is driving discontent underground and is bound ultimately to bring about a violent reaction which normal reform could very well avoid. Propaganda has become a part of the technique of government and as indulged in by the dictatorships is mere dope and can be no substitute for a real education. The true basis of dictatorship is brute force and the basis is fragile. The regimentation of men, the suppression of freedom in all its forms and the standardization of lives of men over the greater part of their activities which modern dictatorship seems to involve cannot surely be the ideal of a people striving for their freedom. Success may smile at the dictators now; but to hope that for ever men would be content to be ruled or rather misruled and rushed towards the destruction of their civilisation by self-chosen dictators, is to believe that men have lost all the qualities that distinguish them from animals.

The momentary successes of dictatorships, in a word, should not blind us to its inherent weaknesses, its bombast and its quackery, its war-mongering and its violence, its misery and its degradation and its ephemeral character. To toy with the idea of a dictatorship and the One Party State, is both to be ignorant of the significance of recent events and to lead the country into devious and dangerous paths. If progress under democracy is slow and less spectacular, it is real and enduring. We have the assurance that it will be steady, founded on principles of equity and fairness and will be the result of a deliberation which is the guarantee of its wisdom. Further, dictatorship cannot be an allurements for a people desirous of freeing themselves from an autocracy that is of the same genus as the continental regimes. It is common knowledge that the continuance of our

present system of government will inevitably involve the perpetuation of the very social and economic evils which we desire to see eradicated. There is, if our demand for freedom has any meaning, only one way for us, the way of democracy. We must turn to the building of a genuine democracy, a democracy that means the fullest and freest life for that victim of ages of exploitation, the "Daridra Narayan" of Vivekananda and of Gandhiji,—the common worker and the peasant.

The task certainly is one of infinite difficulty. Our problems are without parallel in any other country except perhaps Russia and China. Even those countries were not burdened with alien rule, though they were like us the victims of autocracies like ourselves. But they possessed a homogeneity that we do not possess and were more in the current of international forces than we are. And our problems are many as well as complex. They need all the talent that we have to deal successfully with them.

The first of our problems is the transference of the reality of power from alien hands to ours, and the achievement of national freedom. All our other problems have to be set in the background of our struggle for national independence. It is not that we forget our real problems which are economic and social. But in a country subjected to foreign rule they become naturally and inescapably subordinated to the major problem of political freedom. The solution of our other problems is dependent on the issue of national freedom and the latter itself has important economic aspects. Imperialism is desired for the economic gains that it offers. To a great extent the political subjection of another country is for the profits it brings to the merchants, industrialists and financiers of the imperialist country. British investments in India and British trade with India raise issues which cannot be solved without the substance of power in our hands.

The difficulties that stand in the way of our achieving national freedom and democracy are the same. We shall be creating a democratic society if we turn our eyes steadily towards the goal of national freedom and strive for it. Our lack of homogeneity due to our differences of religion, language, and caste, the vastness of our country, the enormous size of our population with its illiteracy and disorganisation, our social differences and the existence of the yellow patches on our map called the "native states" and the antiquated

feudalism of land-tax farming are the obstacles on our path. These are problems which must receive our immediate attention.

A certain homogeneity in the people is the first requisite of a successful democracy. Nothing has been known to create homogeneity as a sense of nationality. During the last fifty years and odd that the Indian National Congress has been in existence, the sense of nationality has grown despite gloomy prognostications about the impossibility of our growing into a nation. Today it is no longer in doubt that we constitute a nation. We have a common history behind us that stretches back thousands of years and has given us a cultural background possessing an extraordinary unity throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. The lack of a consciousness of the common heritage and the consequent lack of a feeling of unity had been the chief lacunae in the past and these have been created by the Indian National Congress. But there remains a great deal yet to be achieved in this direction. The sense of unity that has been generated has to be fostered and strengthened and made to weather the storms of time.

The unity of our country is a unity in diversity, a unity that harmonises a rich variety of cultures which the genius of the country has produced. It is not uniformity in the externals of dress and behaviour that we must seek, but a real unity of spirit and thought that would make possible free and easy communication between North and South, between Muslim and Hindu, and make them feel that in spite of outward differences they are fundamentally one in their general outlook on life and that their material interests are inseparably bound up together.

What is it that we need to create this full sense of unity? Above all three things seem to be necessary: a common language, a spirit of tolerance and a common political organisation. We have a common political organisation in the Indian National Congress. It is the great unifying bond of this country today. There is, of course, in the Government of India another unifying bond. From the point of view of Indian nationalism the former is the more vital of the two. It is an organisation of the people of this country and the unity that results has an organic character which the latter organisation lacks. The unity that we need is an organic unity that will sprout out naturally from the soil and is its own product. It must be, in other words, the result of the endeavours of our people. Institutions of an All-India character

must be strengthened and in particular the Indian National Congress which remains our most important political institution. We should foster an All-India outlook and must uproot the narrow provincial prejudices that are creeping up, for common institutions cannot flourish except in the background of mutual trust and a common outlook. It is necessary that these institutions should be broad-based on the masses of this country. Their base must be the people organised in primary assemblies and the humblest peasant and worker must have their place in them. The common man must be imbued with the consciousness that the organisation is his and exists merely to fulfil his desires. That is why the mass-contact movement is important. It is the masses that can make political institutions live. It is by bringing the people from one end of the country to another into a common organisation that we can hope to create a lasting and comprehensive unity.

The question of a common language has been unfortunately involved in our communal and provincial squabbles and its solution has been rendered difficult by the attitude of hostility assumed by the reactionary elements in the land. There is an exploitation of provincial prejudices as well as the genuine love of one's mother-tongue for the purpose of combating the spread of a common language. It is a matter for doubt if the question of language is not best left to voluntary institutions and, in the case of secondary education, left to local option. If one may speak from one's own experience, voluntary effort and local choice would result in the more effective and wider spread of Hindi. We have the curious spectacle in Madras of local institutions vying with one another in their desire to introduce Hindi in their secondary schools while the Government is damping their ardour by refusing the necessary funds or permission. Besides our public educational institutions are so few that even the compulsory study of the language will not result in any quick popularisation. Voluntary work should be undertaken and should be subsidised by the Government. Meanwhile the creation of a Basic Hindustani which would simplify the study of the language must be undertaken by our scholars. A Basic Hindi will win its way more easily than Hindi to the position of a common "Lingua Indica".

Our religious differences are the happy hunting ground of the reactionary elements in the country. Religious differences hardly affect our every-day life. But sudden outbursts of

religious fanaticism are occasional features of our public life. Our country has a great tradition of religious toleration, having been the home of dispassionate and scientific discussions of religion and the haven of refugees fleeing from persecution from other parts of the world. The beginning of our national movement has seen the sudden growth of a feeling of suspicion and distrust and a return to barbarism. Europe learnt the lesson of religious toleration after the most bitter struggles extending well over a century from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Even in Europe, it is noteworthy, the struggles of religion were not really religious. Religion was the cloak for the secular ambition of the princes and the rising middle classes. Our communal conflicts are not the outcome of our religious differences; they have their reason in the competition for places and preferments under the State. The ignorance of the masses and their very simplicity make them the easy victims of astute communalists whose ends concern the welfare or the happiness of the masses very little. Whatever may be the causes, the fact of disharmony cannot be denied and every now and then it rudely intrudes on our peaceful scene with senseless fights and bloodshed. Our task is to chain the devil of fanaticism securely and establish communal harmony.

First among the ways of doing this is assuring to the various religious minorities a sense of security, if necessary by agreeing to respect even their susceptibilities. A direct appeal to the masses to make them realise the futility of a policy of destruction and to turn their attention to the constructive channels of a sound nationalism must be made. Sources of friction must be removed. Our public education must be made non-denominational. Denominational education debars educational advance and accentuates religious antagonisms. If religious education is desired it should be made the concern of private bodies. On the plane of a minimum education for all, to fit them for citizenship—the primary object of an educational policy for a democracy—education should be the monopoly of the state and denominationalism should not be tolerated. This is one of the ways of securing an atmosphere that is not vitiated by religious intolerance. The feeling should be firmly implanted in all that on the common plane of citizenship perfect equality is the right of the votary of every sect in the country. This is the basis of a free co-operation for the creation of a happier Indian society.

Nondenominational education is only one aspect of the general secularisation of our public life, which is a vital need for us today. Our attention must be concentrated on the great economic problems before the country—its poverty and unemployment. Nothing can demonstrate so well the irrelevancy of our communal squabbles as turning our attention to our economic problems. Our thoughts and our speeches must be concerned with our secular interests. One hears too often of communal harmony and rarely of the great economic and political problems of the country on our public platforms. We must get rid of this obsession. Let us leave the thoughts and beliefs of individuals to themselves and concentrate on these vital problems of poverty and unemployment. Perhaps our obsession with these issues will suggest to us the ways of solving them.

Turning our attention to our real problems will bring us face to face with the masses of rural India and the working population. In the villages of India is to be found human material that is unaffected by the clamour for jobs and knows little and cares less about the intricacies of communal rotations and preferences for office, and proportions in the Legislatures and the like. Its concerns are with the problems of existence, of water, of taxes and of debts. There is a rough equality—equality in a common misery and wretchedness it is at the moment—and a quaint democratic spirit in rural India. Economic problems unite the people against exploitation. Artificial communal electorates are a device to obscure real issues and turn the gaze of the peasant away from the intolerable realities of exploitation, often by co-religionists. A democratic society cannot be divided into antagonistic compartments. Common electorates are a prerequisite of homogeneity and we should strive for their establishment.

The democratic element in our villages and among the urban workers should be strengthened. We must organise, for organisation is the secret of power. We must make the peasantry realise its tremendous strength and its extreme weakness—strength that is potential and weakness that is its present lot owing to the lack of organisation. What form could this take? Here we must take note of the manifoldness of an individual's interests, economic and cultural, as producer, and as consumer, and as citizen. It cannot too often be stated that the habits of self-government and self-reliance and discipline come with practice. The several fields of men's activities need to be

organised; our local administrative institutions can be and must be reconstructed; Producers' and Consumers' Co-operatives must be created; Trade Unions for workers must be organised. We must endeavour to foster the habit of co-operation for common purposes and the strength and the discipline among the people to stand by themselves. The setting up of a "multiform democracy," that makes the citizen a participant in the decisions affecting his life in any way, is our task. The need is for a Party that would guide us in these paths. The Congress is perhaps the only party that can take up this role of constructive leadership, but as yet it is very far from playing such a part. There seems to be more talk than action at the moment.

We have begun to work the Provincial part of the Government of India Act. Whatever may be the drawbacks of the Act it is now admitted that it should be worked for what it is worth and the opportunities under the Act should be fully exploited, at least so far as the Provincial part is concerned. In the fields of education, public health, of industry and co-operation and the machinery of administration we should do all that lies in our power to create the conditions of a successful democracy in the future. The acceptance of office by the Congress would indeed be fruitless if the Congress did not keep this purpose before itself.

It is possible under the present constitution to set up an adequate machinery of local administration and assure its efficient working. How best can we make our local administration respond to the desires of local population and make it serve their interests? Hitherto our local bodies have been phantom bodies working in limited fields and under minute supervision. Their areas, their functions, their administrative personnel have been based on no understandable principle of efficient public administration but on the chance circumstances of political convenience. They appear, indeed to have been constructed with the sole purpose of demonstrating the futility and incompetence of democratic institutions in India and the lack of public spirit among us. No liberal spirit has been noticeable in the relations of provincial administrations towards local bodies. Local bodies have been wasteful duplications of administrative machinery without the corresponding advantage of the people learning the art of self-government. Local initiative and originality have not been perceptible features in the working of local institutions. We may not say that they were unmitigated failures;

nor may we assert that they were conspicuous successes.

Our task in India is the transference of power from a bureaucracy to popularly elected bodies. It is the great problem in all levels of government, central, provincial and local. To transform autocracy into democracy the only method known to political science is decentralisation. The interests of efficiency itself require decentralisation. Ever since the time of Ripon the central feature of Indian administration has been a steady process of deconcentration and decentralisation. Our autonomous provinces are a product of this development. These provinces have now to be reconstituted in a Federation of All-India to secure co-operation in common matters. Greater decentralisation and greater co-operation are the needs in our machinery of government and this applies to all the levels of our government and administration. Without these democracy would be a sham.

It is argued by some that as the provincial administrations are now in the hands of popular representatives there is no longer any need for local self-government. Local institutions are pronounced to be inefficient, wasteful and corrupt. It is surprising that the criticism should come from eminent Congressmen in the province of Madras. Reducing local bodies to impotence appears to be a part of the policy of the present Government of Madras and we are witnessing the transfer of even the few powers that local bodies possessed in this province to the District and Provincial Administrations. This seems hardly to be the way of setting about the reform of local self-government.

There is much that should be excused in the failings of local bodies in view of the purpose they are intended to serve as schools of democracy. It is neither fair nor right to condemn them outright as corrupt and inefficient and treat their constitution as the plaything of executive discretion. We must remember that we have to run our local as well as our other institutions with the human material that is at hand. We should also bear in mind that all public institutions are to some extent less efficient than private individuals in performing given services. The record of local bodies, if the limitations of power and resources from which they have been suffering are taken into account (in general), compares very favourably with that of government agencies in the performance of their functions. One must compare the records of the engineering establishments of local bodies and the government

public works department or the efficiency of Board elementary and secondary schools with that of private or Government institutions. We must point out the inaccuracy of the view that regards a mere transfer of functions from local bodies to governmental agencies will render their performance satisfactory. Often it turns out to be a simple change in nomenclature. What really is striking in the record of local bodies is the comparative absence of corruption and the relative superiority of the services provided and not their lack of efficiency. Mending, not ending, is required of statesmanship.

What has been happening in France in recent years in the sphere of local government is instructive. The excessive legal centralisation, characteristic of French administration since the time of Napoleon the First, has now given place to a real and constructive local democracy. The Préfet who is the counter-part of our Collector has developed a dual role as the agent of the Central Government and as the Executive of the local Assembly. This new growth effectively counter-balances legal centralisation with a "regional and local quasi-self-government." Local control and direction have come to prevail in an unofficial way.<sup>2</sup> We should prepare for a similar development in this country.

The habits of self-help and self-reliance, we cannot too often repeat, are not created from above but grow naturally out of the exercise of local responsibility. Local needs can never receive the attention due to them in the absence of local representation, however wise, well-intentioned and well-informed a Provincial Ministry might be. Our task is, therefore, the reconstruction of our local institutions making them representative of the people and infusing them with the zeal for service, and not to abolish them or to impair their effectiveness in insidious ways. We must approach the problem with the definite objective of making our local institutions real working bodies and schools of democracy. We shall have to begin at the bottom in the village and make it serve the simple neighbourhood interests of health and hygiene, education and communications and must construct a hierarchy with the Taluk Board as an intermediary body and with the Provincial Government as the apex of the pyramid. The areas of administration now prevailing may serve as our model. The areas

2. Berthelémy: *Traité de Droit Administratif* Ch. 2, Bk. I, and André Siegfried: *The Prefect and Local Self-Government*.

of local bodies should be adjusted to the functions that they have to perform now as well as in the near future and the resources they will be able to command. Their relationship with the Centre should be functional and not departmental as at present, for departmental control is destructive of local initiative and freedom. They must be equipped with civil services recruited on the basis of merit, enjoying a security of tenure and properly trained for the most efficient discharge of their functions. The local bodies that we establish must be made collective centres of local obligation for the performance of essential services. They must have the widest powers and resources commensurate with their responsibilities. Within their allotted sphere they must have the largest freedom to experiment and to err, subject to control and direction from above.<sup>3</sup> Before long they must be trained to direct the entire field of local administration, for ultimately they should become the sole agents of administration in the country. Finally, we must attach a fundamental character to the Constitution of our local bodies and free it from being a mere incident in party war-fare.

The organisation of the masses, the remodeling of our administrative machinery and the creation of a spirit of tolerance alike depend for their success on the spread of education among the people. Consequently, education becomes a fundamental issue. Education at the primary level should be free, compulsory, public and non-denominational. The liquidation of the illiteracy of our masses remains in this sphere our most urgent problem. Primary education for the young must be accompanied by adult education. The latter has not received the attention it deserves. There are problems connected with education in the secondary, technical and university stages that need careful investigation. Here is a sphere where a common policy could be worked out by the co-operation of our Provincial Governments.

There are some other difficulties that must be overcome before we can realise national homogeneity or democracy. The social system, the problem of the Native States and of the Zamindaris are the more important of the issues that we have to face. Caste is the negation of democracy. A social system, that prevents free intercourse between group and group by making them high and low and bestows privileges on some while imposing disabilities on others, has

clearly no place in a democratic society. We must mitigate the harshness of the caste system and attempt to end it soon whatever may be the consequences of such action for our religion. Our social system must be based on the equal dignity of all human beings.

The problem of the Zamindaris and the States are of the same genus. Democracy and feudalism are incompatible. The antiquated system of land-tax farming that is the essence of the Zamindari system is wasteful of public resources and has resulted in wide economic disparities making two nations of one with conflicting interests and differing outlooks on life. The Zamindaris are the bulwarks of conservatism and reaction and it is necessary that we should so alter the system that it does not hinder progress but assists it. The problem of the States has been lately pushed to the foreground. That the States constitute a dividing wedge in an otherwise homogeneous country cannot be doubted. The progress of the Indian people in the two halves of Indian and British India is not parallel; political obscurantism and reaction characterise the States while political progress is a noticeable feature of the other half. Indian freedom and nationality require that we should move together and that the solidarity of the people of British India with the people of the States should be affirmed.

Turning our attention to the masses and talking of their freedom mean that we should concern ourselves with the problems of poverty and unemployment. We must create the material conditions of adequacy if not plenty that are possible under present-day conditions of scientific and technological progress. The twentieth century requires our rapid industrialisation, for we cannot hope to run the political institutions of our age with the economic resources of the eighteenth.<sup>4</sup> Industrialisation is inescapable. We cannot turn the tide of modern industrialism by wishful thinking and the advocacy of decentralised industry or the rehabilitation of archaic and obsolete methods of manufactures in cottages and homesteads. There is certainly a proper sphere of domestic industry, but that cannot solve our industrial problem. It is difficult to see how the modern engineering industry, or the means of transport could be made a decentralised industry of the type that Dr. Kumaramma advocates. We have to accept machinery cheerfully but must make every effort to control it and avoid becoming it.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb: *Soviet Communism*, Vol. I, p. 22 ff. for a suggestive account of local administration in Soviet Russia.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Frederick Whyte: *India a Federation*.

slaves. We have to avoid a lop-sided development and must avoid crises. These require that we must plan our industrial future. The National Planning Committee is a step in the right direction. We must achieve a balance between our rural and urban economies and between handicrafts and mechanised industry and must industrialise quickly. These are the conditions of our survival as a people and a State in the modern world.

Our very backwardness is an advantage to us in this field. Where capitalist industry has not developed to any great extent it is possible to create socialised industry over a considerable field without the bitterness that results from expropriation. There seems indeed no other way of industrial advancement unless we are content to accept the haphazard exploitation of our resources by foreign capital as at present is the case. Within the provincial sphere we should encourage municipal trading and enterprise and all our public utility services must be made municipal or national enterprises. The inefficiency of capitalist enterprise not less than the gain to the public makes this inevitable.

As the centre of our economic life must always remain the peasant, it is essential that we should foster handicrafts. There is here no contradiction. As the period of enforced unemployment of the peasant is considerable and the return from land is hardly sufficient even to meet his simple needs, the problem of a subsidiary occupation acquires an enormous importance. Immediately the emphasis placed upon village industries by the Indian National Congress appears to be sound. Institutions like the All-India Spinners' Association and the Commonwealth Trust in Malabar and similar missionary organisations elsewhere, have shown us how wide is the field and how much, with proper organisation, a subsidiary occupation could be made to serve the interests of villages. The problem is one of discovering the right industry to be made into a subsidiary occupation and of organisation.

We may say a word about the method that India under Gandhiji has chosen for her struggle for political and economic freedom—the method of Non-violence. In its application to the solution of large-scale political and social problems the method is new. Its essence is persuasion and an appeal to reason and the sense of justice and fairness in the opponent. It is not, however, without its compulsive aspect. But its compulsiveness where it is

resorted to for a just cause is the compulsiveness of the force of justice. It asserts as every great religious and social philosophy has done before the "inviolable dignity of man" and argues that persistent goodness and sacrifice on the part of the victim will lead to a change of heart in the oppressor and to the final triumph of the just cause.

The method cannot divest itself of its extremely individualistic character. By enthroning the right of resistance as a cardinal principle of social action, it leads to philosophical anarchism. The social order is always under the threat of the non-violent resistance of the citizen. As a final solution of the individual's relations to society it is difficult to see how it can be accepted without consecrating anarchy. A determined body of people can always resist social change with deadly effect. Nor is it certain that the economic contradictions in our society can be resolved by this method. Class selfishness is of a different order from individual selfishness and it is probably impossible to conquer it by the sweet persuasiveness of this method of non-violence.

What non-violence as a political technique has done is to demonstrate the limitations of violence. The Athanasius in society cannot be coerced, he must be convinced. But at the same time it is clear that governments, even democratic governments, cannot tolerate resistance, violent or non-violent, and must resort to violence to suppress it. The problem will become important when our democratic governments attempt radical social changes and are resisted by reactionary interests. Certainly in carrying out reforms governments cannot wait till the last man is convinced. All that the gospel of non-violence teaches us is that governments should minimise the areas of resistance to change, by having change on the consent of as large a body of people in the state as possible.

For our political struggle, of course, it is the only method. It has a humaneness about it that recommends it as the best means for us. It assures a permanence of results. It is also the method dictated by our circumstances. Finally, it has a fundamental unity with the method of democracy because of its dependence on reason and persuasion. Even if it is more difficult than alternative courses, non-violence must be our method as it may mean the success or failure of our democratic experiment.

## WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

By Dr. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY, M.A., D. Phil (Oxon.)

"YEATS stands above his contemporaries, a tall and noble figure—a poet"—thus wrote Tagore from London after his first meeting with Yeats in 1913, and went on to say that while "most writers belong to the literary world, Yeats belongs to the world." The personality and the creative penmanship of the great Irish

his presence. Here was a man who looked what he wrote: a seer whose constellated mind shone through his eyes; on his brow lay the horizons of many wanderings. Endowed with the gift of being what he was, under all circumstances, he appeared slightly artificial; he could not easily adapt himself to the group or the occasion

without violating his natural bent. In his poetry, too, he paid a certain price for his integrity, but this central pull saved him from literary fashions, the Zeitgeist and technical fumbings à la mode. Rooted in rich quaint elemental mysticism, Yeats reached enduring utterance, his words came ornamented by inner necessity, unforced by cults in which he indulged with easy grace. While the poets of the "tragic generation" became symbolists, he used symbols Celtic, Latin, or Hindu and made them Yeatsian: in the Yellow Book waters he sailed a friendly, and somewhat haughty swan, and crossed over to the post-Nineteens to report discernment on the delicate turmoils of the Rhymers' set. With charming aloofness he mixed later on with Pound-Elot imagists and with ultra-modernity, enriching, refining and vitalising his verse. His poetry bridged two centuries, from aesthetic wonderment to modern metaphysical vigour, but his matrix remained unbroken in the process. To the young poets of today whom he came to appreciate and understand, his poetry offers a fascinating literary problem: the universality on which



William Butler Yeats

writer are, I think, admirably summed up in those phrases.

Many of us who have known Yeats can never forget the benign austerity that went with

Tagore commented is being scrutinised in the light of new theories of technique and tradition. The rival schools unite in accepting him as an Olympian.



Behind such selective integrity must lie not merely native genius but also the elaborate artifice of a creative mind. Yeats, in a famous poem speaks of "the artifice of eternity," and there lies the mystery of the poet's workshop. With great care and craftsmanship he developed his own system of traditionalism. In his early poetry very often his bag of tricks seems to rattle, resulting in an air of unreality and effort, but he gets away with it because the fundamental poetic inspiration is always there and our intense feelings are engaged even when our intellect fights with Black Pigs, Red Hanrahans, Sidhes, Yogis and Ossianic lore. Eliot was right when he remarked:

"Mr. Yeats was in search of a tradition—a little too self-consciously perhaps—like all of us . . . He sought for it in the conception of Ireland as an autonomous political and social unity, purged from Anglo-Saxon pollution . . . The rationalistic background, the Pre-Raphaelite imagery, the interest in the occult . . . the association with minor poets in London and Paris, make a curious mixture."

In saying this, Eliot is supported by Yeats himself when he confesses:

"I had made a new religion, almost an infallible church of poetic tradition, of a fardel of stories, and of personages and emotions, inseparable from their first expression, passed on from generation to generation by poets and painters with some help from philosophers and theologians."

This admission, however, strikes a principle of art—and artisanship—which Eliot fails to notice, though he drily records:

"Mr. Yeats is still perhaps a little too much the weather-worn Trion among the streams, he has arrived at greatness against tremendous odds."

Fortunately for us, Yeats has been his best biographer, in so far as his poetic life is concerned, and we can go to the *Autobiographies* for a clue to his alchemy which made poetry out of whimsicality, ragtimes and refrains, and mingled mediumistic visions with subtle aesthetic responsiveness. As a distinguished critic remarks, Yeats first brought the "learned symbolism"—steeped in mystic, classical lore and rustling with the Golden Bough—which Eliot and others used later. Perhaps Yeats stopped at the door of the modern attempt to use symbols drawn from science; this would have strained his "artifice" still further; contemporary poetry offers brilliant experimentation in this line. As Edmund Wilson remarks:

"It was for him (Yeats) honestly to take up a residence in an intellectual world where poetic images stood for actualities because the scientific language and technique for dealing with these actualities had not yet come to permeate thought."

This with regard to the post-war phase of Yeats; he lived to touch the latest trends, but

one could not expect him, at a late hour, to admit them into his verse. As it is, the wide inclusiveness which he maintained without allowing his verse to be shattered by the multifarious sympathies and urgencies of our time, evokes our wonder. It was not quite easy for Yeats to orchestrate, but his skill did not fail him.

"We find in his (Yeats's) criticism and autobiographical writings a remarkably honest and illuminating account of the difficulties of remaining a poet during the age in which we live"—Wilson

His works depict to a degree rare in all literature, a union of aesthetic individuality with powerful emotion, and offer a technique that runs parallel to his intellectual charm. His verse, to the last, remains a "monument of unaging intellect"—intellect, in the sense he used it, of profound awareness.

## II

Yeats was born at Sandymount near Dublin on the 13th June 1865. His father J. B. Yeats was a distinguished Irish artist and member of Royal Hibernian Academy, his mother's father was merchant and shipowner and belonged to County Sligo. His parents left Ireland and settled in London soon after his birth, at the age of ten Yeats joined the Godolphin School in Hammersmith, but even before he returned to Dublin after five years and was admitted into Erasmus School, he often came to his mother's country, Sligo, for holidays. Sligo's lakes and mountains and stretches of colourful land were destined to pass into his poetry. For three years after his schooling, he studied painting, urged by his father, but though his brother Jack took to this art and is now a distinguished painter, he himself bowed to the Muse of Words. This period he spent browsing in libraries, reading translations and making them, and visiting peasants in old Connought whose tales he would hear with rapt attention. At the age of nineteen he published his first poem *The Island of Statues* in the *Dublin University Review*—and for some time he wrote verse for that journal and the *Irish Monthly*. At twenty-one, the poet decided to bid goodbye to his paint brush: his first book called *Mosada*, a dramatic poem, came out in 1886. In 1887, Yeats settled down in London as a poet and journalist. But the volume, usually known as his first publication, *The Wandering of Oisín*, contains poems which were all written in Sligo.

From the age of twenty-four to this year of his death, 1939, the story of Yeats' life lies recorded in countless memoirs of his friends, in

anecdotes and above all, in his own prose reveries. The influence of Blake, of Celtic reassertion played major part in the formative period of his life. In Hone's biography, now out of print, Yeats is quoted as saying that a Hindu scholar in Dublin had influenced him deeply in his early youth.\* This is interesting, in view of his exquisite poem dedicated, six years ago, to Mohini Chatterjee, and of his friendship with Rabindranath Tagore as well as of his recent collaboration with Shri Purohit Swami in translating the Upanishads in the island of Majorca. Indians will love to remember his poems, *Anashuya* and *Vijaya, The Indian upon God, The Indian to His Love* (*Crossways* 1889), and feel that he talked of himself when he made one of his characters in a poem say that wisdom came to him:

"From a discourse in figurative speech  
By a learned Indian  
On the soul's journey."

It should be noted that like all artists he was a great assimilator, he had drunk from many springs, Western and Eastern, and imbibed the lore of life. Chinese culture has been a great inspiration to his art, and Byzantium—that is as far that his travels took him towards the East—has yielded two of the finest lyrics in English language.

During the period of his youthful citizenship in London and upto his recent days in the ancient tower near the sea which he converted into his home, Yeats remained an incorrigible romantic. George Moore's early impression of him, in the stage, when Yeats' second poetic play, *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), was being produced, is memorable

"Yeats striding to and forth at the back of the dress circle, a long black cloak dropping from his shoulders, a soft black sombrero on his head, a voluminous black silk tie flowing from his collar, loose black trousers dragging untidily over his long, heavy feet."

Fit in the noble, wistful face, painted by Augustus John, and the picture is complete. Yeats the ex-Senator, an affluent householder, distinguished citizen and Nobel Laureate with the entire English-speaking world claiming him as the greatest living poet, would not correspond to this early version of him. But curiously enough, excepting for a few details—a well-filled figure for instance—the prevailing impression remains as that of a lonely Bohemian, chastened by dreams. One can think of him as a founder of the Rhymers' Club, haunting the Cheshire Cheese, visiting Verlaine in Paris in 1891, and some time later, as sitting with absorbed un-

concern while Florence Farr crooned his lyrics to the accompaniment of the single-stringed instrument which he had introduced. Through all these scenes, however, and those of recent times, the persistent image is, in Moore's words, that of "a sort of monk in literature."

In 1897, Yeats took up the idea of an Irish Theatre and two years later, with the help of Lady Gregory and others, he succeeded in establishing the famous Irish Literary Theatre in Dublin. A. E. and George Moore grouped round this new institution, and were it not for Yeats, possibly Synge's and Padraic Colum's plays would never have been produced.

This story of early influence and influencing, of renown and also of retirement with his family till the age of seventy-four this year, is linked up by a long period of incessant literary activity, undramatic years of quiet scholarship and eager search for aesthetic and spiritual experience. He has written noble prose; added some of the finest pages in critical literature, notably in *Ideas of Good and Evil* (1903); the *Celtic Twilight* (1893) is still the most significant book on the Irish heritage, his books of reminiscence, now collected as *Autobiographies* temper intellectual brilliance with a most charmingly fastidious and original imagination. His immortality, therefore, does not rest on poetic fame. But it is in his poetry that his genius is fully established. It would be natural to divide his poetic career into three periods. The early one, mainly of tender and sorrowful poetry built on his tragic love for Maude Gonne, appears richly wrought, coloured by Pre-Raphaelitism, and laden with Irish lore. From the beginning he sought distance from his emotions by covering them with many coloured lights of art; he knew solace in burdening them with earth's ancient cry. But a widening of experience was necessary.

In 1910, he seems to have arrived at a period of reaction and "weaned of elaboration." The deepest source of inspiration for him, in this phase, was Irish Nationalism. From the technical point of view, *The Green Helmet* marks the turning point; we find Yeats pruning his verse, discarding old world themes and soft rhymes like footfalls on the carpet; he could no longer dwell in a haunted hall hung with rare tapestries. The third period, of emergence into modern age, begins with *Responsibilities* (1914) when he deliberately turned his face against the symbolical coat

Covered with embroideries  
Out of old mythologies

and declared that, in poetic speech,

... There's more enterprise  
In walking naked. (*A Coat*)

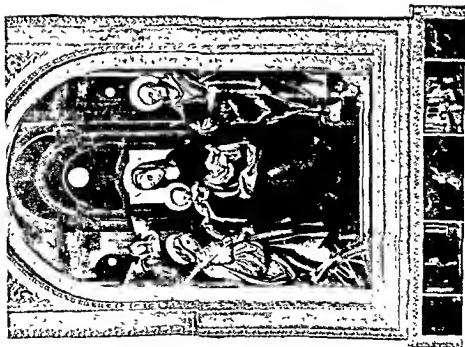
\* Also see *Autobiographies*, page 113.



Farmers hold demonstration march through the city of London in connection with the Government's agricultural measures



GOTHIC AND RENAISSANCE ART  
IN PIEDMONT



Marriage of St. Catherine



Virgin with Bambino and the saints

This mature phase of daring experimentation, of stark expression in severely reticent verse has followed an amazing crescendo of poetic growth unique in the history of literature. Each book of poems from *The Wild Swan at Coole* (1919), to *The Tower* (1928) and *The Winding Stair* (1933) seemed to excel all the others and his poems published in *The London Mercury* during the course of 1937 and in the last month are among the finest that he has composed.

His poetry had assumed a luminous hardness, that "gemlike flame" of which Pater spoke, wisdom saved from garrulity has become urbane and circumspect yet profoundly human; he had reached that brilliant conversational ease which runs into verse almost without any change. He could write a

Poem may be as cold  
And passionate as the dawn

because he knew "the secret discipline" and had turned to life with a metric calm in which passion

is distilled without losing its warmth, and reason sheds its light imprisoned in the arc of sympathy. His speech had become merry through a life of brooding experience, and wit flowed into conscientious artistry. A delightful informality invested his short lyrics with the precision of spiritual experience, satisfying many levels of our mind.

In one of his last poems, published a month ago, Yeats gives us the argument of life. *Echo* repeats to *Man* that he should

"Lie down and die"—but  
*Man* refuses. *Man* continues,

"That were to shirk  
The spiritual intellect's great work  
And shirk it in vain,"

and thanks "body" while knowing all its stupidity, because

"body gone he sleeps no more  
... till his intellect grows sure  
That all's arranged in one clear view"

## GOTHIC AND RENAISSANCE ART IN PIEDMONT

By Dr P. N. ROY, M.A., D.Litt. (Rome)

THE Italian province of Piedmont, on account of its contiguity to the European hinterland, has been the meeting ground of many trans-Alpine influences, but in spite of its celebrity in Italian history for political achievements, it has not been able to leave a permanent and original stamp of its own on the genuine manifestations of Italian genius in art and literature. Florence, Siena, Venice, all these provinces have enriched the national literary and artistic patrimony by contributing their peculiar regional qualities, but amid the clash of arms of the Piedmontese people, the Muses seem to have been more frightened than encouraged.

Yet, in the midst of its cross-currents of influence and various developing trends, Piedmont has evolved an art which has a charm of its own. Not so famous as the Sienese or the Florentine art, this graceful product is a peculiar blend of Gothic and Renaissance art.

Historians of art do not devote much space to tracing the development of art in Piedmont and its lineaments of growth are practically unknown to all except the specialists. It is perhaps with a view to remove this ignorance that an exhibition of art was, of late, arranged

in Palazzo Carignano in Turin. The exhibition was a splendid and complete collection of the Gothic and Renaissance art in Piedmont and threw much new light on these two inadequately studied periods.

The exhibition was arranged in thirty-four rooms of the palace and the exhibits were collected from different museums, private collections, cathedrals and even from out of the way little oratories and parishes, the hidden treasures of which were never seen before. Here were to be found frescoes by Sibaldi, heralds and war-like scenes, windows adorned with the genealogical tree of the house of Savoy, Saluzzo and Monferrato, illustrating the political and social life of Piedmont from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Others illustrated the culture and art which flourished in the various towns belonging to the estates of these great lords. There was also a perfect reproduction of the Gothic church where everything had been collected to complete the illusion. The pulpit was collected from Staffarda. It is one of the finest examples of Gothic art in Piedmont. There were frescoes from Vercelli and Morengo, and an authentic

altar showing the work of an unknown artist from Alba. A splendid marble ancon with carvings by *Sorroni* was brought from Mondovì. There were also a small baptistery and a baptismal fountain. Surrounding the apse was the choir from San Gerolamo at Biella, with its charming and fantastic decorations of misty landscapes and sacred scenes by Defendente Ferrari. The architecture was shown mostly in photographs. It becomes evident from them that in Piedmont the Gothic influence from the other side of the Alps was modified by the persistent tenacity of the Roman form and by the Italian national tendency towards the classical, yet Gothic influence in Italy lasted longer here than elsewhere. It was not until after 1490 that the Italian Renaissance began to penetrate and assert itself in the Bramantesque courtyard of the *Centori* at Vercelli and in the Turin Cathedral.

Piedmontese art in general bears the common characteristic of the Upper Italy. The graceful softness of composition and colouring and the sweetness of expression which we find in the art of the Paduan and the Venetian schools, also meet our eyes in the underestimated art of the Piedmontese masters. The early painters of Piedmont display the agreeable sweetness of colouring which was afterwards brilliantly developed by Gaudenzio Ferrari and Sodoma.

Piedmontese painting in the true sense begins with Gian Martino Spanzotti. Not more than perhaps a dozen paintings can be attributed with certainty to his brush. Among these are the lovely *Pieta* of Castel Sant Angelo and the triptych in the Sabaudian gallery. These show clearly how he was the first to create a Piedmontese Renaissance style from the last traces of the Gothic period and the school of Foppa.

Foppa's art was based on the traditions of the Paduan school but he also learnt a good deal from the works of the indigenous masters. There is vigour in his representation and his framework is architectural. One of the most important works by him is the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* which is preserved in the Brera gallery. Another well known picture by him is the *Virgin with the Bambino and the two Angels*. In both these paintings we note the artist's predilection for architectural composition.

The most important painter of the Piedmontese school is Sodoma of Vercelli who was born about 1447 and died in 1549. He was a pupil of Spanzotti but he adopted the style of

Leonardo at Milan and then underwent the influence of Signorelli and of Perugino at Siena. Though not great in conception and clearness of composition, this artist shows an extraordinarily fine aesthetic sense, particularly in the management of colour and in the vivid expression of deep and enthusiastic emotions. He executed certain paintings in the convent of St. Anna in Crete, at Siena, round about Pienza and in the Vatican where he worked in the rooms afterwards illustrated by Raphael. His touch is always light and airy but he also shows a love for the grandiose and a sharp naturalistic sense. The usual background in his paintings is imposing buildings or open and sunny landscapes. The most celebrated of his pictures is that of *St. Sebastian* in the Uffizi gallery in Florence, in which the emotion of the suffering of the saint has been very delicately expressed. His *Resurrection of Christ* in the National Museum of Naples is also notable, particularly for the lovely figure of the angel seated on the sarcophagus and the brilliant effect of light radiating from the body of the saviour.

But the most delicate and charming artist of the region is Defendente Ferrari. He has left us about eighty paintings in all, the best of which, about twenty, in addition to the charming tablets in the Turin cathedral, give us a complete vision of his art, in which the Lombard elements, inherited through his master Spanzotti, are influenced by the careful detail of French illumination and by the mysticism of Flemish art. A fifteenth century artist, in the full flowering of sixteenth century painting, he sometimes remains faithful to his Gothic models, even in the frames he carved for his charming pictures. In the art of this delightful painter the characteristic local atmosphere reaches its full tide and then breaks up.

Another able artist of the Piedmontese school is Gaudenzio Ferrari whose works, influenced by Leonardo, become increasingly Lombard in style, filling his canvasses and painting frescoes on walls with all the drama and vehemence of his imaginative compositions. His disciple Bernardino Lanino lacked strength and substance, otherwise his paintings might be mistaken for those of his master. The cycle of artists belonging to the Piedmontese Renaissance closes with Guglielmo Caccia, called "*Moncalvo*" after his birth-place, a painter remembered as the *pictor celeberrimus*. He continued working until his death in 1625 on the threshold of a new age of Piedmontese art, i.e., the period of the Baroque.

## THE BALOCH SINGS

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

THE Baloch folk-song is a brother of the Pathan song. It is full of fire, imagination and a great air of independence. It is wind-beaten and sun-scorched like the Baloch himself. The Baloch minstrel begins his song quietly, measuredly, weighing each word, later, the song turns hard and coarse and denotes vigour.

Extending from the Bolan Pass, the land of the Baloch tribes covers the southern part of the Sulaiman Mountains and it touches the right bank of the Indus in North Sind and South Punjab. You find yourself amidst ridges of barren rocks; and as you move about in the heart of the Baloch country, you pass through many a valley both dry and green. And the singing voice of the Baloch everywhere greets you.

The *Dastānagh*, often a tiny, little song, makes a popular type of folk-poetry. Every one seems to possess a personal set of the *Dastānagh* songs. Simple, direct and passionate as they are all, some of them have met the common taste of the people at large. Most of them are love-songs; others belong to everyday life themes. To give an ethereal quality to their words they are sung to the accompaniment of the pipe—the *Nār*. The pipe-player, or the *Nāri*, and the singer sit so near to each other that their heads often touch. The song begins in a low voice and then rises slowly till the crescendo reaches its climax. One full song is expected to be sung at one breath. Skill at the ventriloquial singing of the *Dastānagh* is much appreciated; all along the notes seem to proceed from the pipe.

As among the Pathans, the Doms are the national minstrels of the Baloch people. One must actually attend a tribal feast to realize the position of the Dom minstrel. Along with the old ballads, he sings songs newly composed by the living poets, who, as the tradition has taught them, do not like to sing their compositions publicly. There are references to this tradition in the songs themselves. The opening lines of an old song have it:

Come, dear minstrel, and pick up  
From me my ballads;  
You must come at dawn to me  
To carry my songs to the people.

The *Dambiro* and the *Sārinda* are the favourite instruments of the Dom minstrels. The *Dambiro* is more or less like the *Sitār*, the difference being very little, it has four strings and not five as generally in the case of the



—R B Holmes

Daughters of the soil  
One of them may turn out another Adhra so  
well known to the *Dastānagh* singers.

*Sitār*. The *Sarinda* belongs to the *Sārangi* class.

### II

It was first in 1840 that Lieut. Leech brought some of the Baloch folk-songs to the

wider world of literature.<sup>1</sup> Later on Sir R Burton quoted a few specimens in his book on Sind.<sup>2</sup> Then by coincidence in 1881 R. B. Hotu Ram and M. Longworth Dames took to the collection of Baloch songs separately.<sup>3</sup> In 1901 Rev. Mayer published some texts of Baloch songs along with their literal translations in a little book.<sup>4</sup> M. Longworth Dames again worked hard assiduously to give a finishing touch to his study of Baloch folk-poetry.<sup>5</sup> Says he :

"As in form, so in substance, Balochi poetry is simple and direct in expression, and excels in vivid pictures of life and country, which it brings before us without any conscious effort at description on the part of the singer. As might be expected in a parched-up land, where water is scarce and rain seldom falls, the poets delight in describing the vivid thunderstorms which occasionally visit the mountains and the sudden transformation of the countryside which follows a fall of rain. The heavy atmosphere laden with dust and haze as trams formed into one of transparent clearness and inspiring freshness; the brown mountain-side is covered in a few days with a bright green carpet, the dry water-courses become flowing streams, waterfalls leap from the heights, and every rocky hollow holds a pool of fresh water. The shepherds, armed with sword in shield and matchlock, stride along singing in front of their flocks marching to the upland pastures from the parched and sweltering lowlands, and the women join in brands and wander about alone in the hills. . . . Vivid scenes of war and rapine are common, and the characters of the actors are sharply defined and brought out in their actions and speeches. . . . In judging the Balochi love verse, however, we find that the bazaar atmosphere is to some extent tempered by a breeze from the desert: the Baloch is not a born townsman, but only a chance visitor, and although his love may be set on a lady of the bazaars, he often draws his images from nature. The clouds, the rain, the lightning, the creeping plants, the flame of a log fire share the realm of jewels and scents, and show that the author is not a town-bred man."

### III

The warlike character of the Baloch people has touched even their lullabies. The mother prays for the long life of his son; and she wishes that when grown-up he would wield a *Shirāzi* sword and ride a swift mare; but soon she thinks of his marriage. He should bring his bride and please her making a present of a mirror. However, she calls her son a war-leader. Or, she may compare her son to a tiger,

1 Lieut. Leech, *Sketch of the Balochi language*, J.A.S.B., 1840.

2 R. Burton, *Sindh Revisited*, 1877.

3 R. B. Hotu Ram, *Biluchi Nama*, (in Urdu), Lahore 1881. M. Longworth Dames, *Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language*, Extra No. of the J.A.S.B., 1881.

4 Sikandra Orphanage Press, Agra, 1901.

5 M. Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, The Folklore Society, London, 1907.

she introduces us to the fine weapons that her son would wield when he would go to the battle-field.

A series of old ballads belongs to the old tribal feuds. The Dom minstrel still remembers their arresting words; and they have had a great influence over the mind of the people. The war-song has always been a pabulum to feed the martial spirit of various Baloch tribes.

The key-note of a number of old war-songs is the feud between Mir Chakur, the Rind Chief, and Mir Gwaharam, the Lashari Chief. Both the chiefs loved a beautiful woman, named Gohar. She refused to pay heed to Gwaharam's addresses and reached the territory of Mir Chakur. The friends of the Lashari Chief decided to retaliate; and when they found that the victory in the mare-race, that took place between Rehman, a Rind, and Ramen, a Lashari, at the seat of the Rind Chief, has been falsely declared in favour of Rehman Rind, they.



—R. B. Holmes  
Shepherd and sheep

went to Gohar's house and slaughtered her young camels. It was a challenge to Mir Chakur, and he at once decided to take due revenge. Soon the Baloch country noticed a continuous fight between the Lasharis and the Rinds. The Nuhami Chief, Omar, helped the Lasharis, the Rinds were defeated and it was only due to Nodhbandagh, a Lashari warrior, who offered his mare, named Phul, that Mir Chakur escaped. And again with the help of the *Muguls* of Kandahar he faced the Lasharis; for a long period of thirty years the war went on. The Lasharis suffered much and were ultimately defeated; Mir Chakur, too, underwent a considerable loss and had to emigrate to the Punjab. Mir Chakur and his son, Shahzad, are said to have joined Humayun in his attack on Delhi.

The songs reveal vividly the characters of the Baloch warriors. Mir Chakur lives in songs.



At Mir Chakur's call  
 forty thousand soldiers  
 girded up their loins,  
 all descendants of one brave ancestor.  
 For thirty years  
 the Rinds fought bravely  
 against the Lasharis.

The words suggest much. Firmly fixed in the tradition, the war-song celebrates the old events.

Mir Chakur, the hero,  
 laid his sharp sickle with force  
 to the ripened pulse

And the Lashari song puts forward the words of Mir Gwaharam :

The burning coals I'll place  
 on my palms,  
 like the south wind I'll blow upon them,  
 A great fire I'll kindle  
 in the huts of the covetous people,  
 and even the king of Delha  
 shall not be able to put it out.

In one song Gwaharam calls the Rinds "Thick Beards"; Mir Chakur in his turn underrates the Lasharis, nicknamed "Slender-footed Thin Beards". The brave soldier of one party kills his opponent and says that he has struck down a "millet stalk"; or he may call it the "uprooting of a radish".

The warriors sing of gold-hilted and silver-hilted swords. There are many epithets of the sword; it may be called "diamond-like", "black-pointed" or "thunderbolt". Some songs speak of the Sindhi sword; some celebrate the Hindi or Indian sword. The *Misri*, or Egyptian the *Shirazi*; and the *Khorasani* swords are mentioned again and again. The warriors are said to wear silken coats; we find helmets on their heads, armour on their arms and chests and they wear red boots. They carry their matchlocks; the hero takes pride in declaring his gun worth a thousand rupees.

In one song the Baloch addresses his mare :

Take your grain, my reddish-brown mare,  
 from your bag,  
 your neck and legs be stubborn  
 as those of an elephant  
 Hurriedly I shall give you the reins  
 and, having mounted the cliffs,  
 I'll turn homeward.  
 O I have kept in my tent  
 camel's sweet milk for you  
 Be strengthened, my mare,  
 to reach the enemy's mountain

The Baloch war-song has waxed fat on many a tribal feud. Some songs belong to a strife between the Rinds and the Dodais.

But the feuds have done a great wrong to the Baloch people at large; they have damaged their united nationalism.

## IV

The romantic ballads are not always original. The Arab story of Laila and Majnun is given a Baloch garb. Majnun becomes Majna, and Laila, pronounced as Lela, becomes a



—R. B. Holmes

Tribesman

Baloch girl living on Mount Bambar in the Miri country.

Majna beholds Lela sitting in her hut with a mirror on her thigh gazing at the reflection of her rosy face; and he falls in love with her

escape; leaving all the horses behind him, he left for his village. The Subedar ordered his troops to pursue and bring him back, but they failed to do so. Reaching the boundary of his village, Dosten met a weeping shepherd boy. "Why shed tears, little boy?" he said. He was Dosten's own brother; but both the brothers failed to recognize each other. "The Turks carried away my brother years ago", the boy went on to say, "and now his would-be bride, Shiren, is going to be married to another youth tonight." Then Dosten said: "Weep no more, little boy, God will bring your brother back". He then rushed to Shiren's house, and posed as a minstrel. The guests asked him to sing, and he began loudly the song that Shiren had composed and had sent to him. As he was ending, his voice rose to a pitch of manly pride. Shiren



Son of the soil

heard the song, which was her own composition, and said to her father. "He is no minstrel, he is Dosten". And then everybody recognized him. The bridegroom-elect retired most sportingly, saying: "Since you have come, brother Dosten, Shiren should be your bride".

As in the Punjab, so in the Baloch country, the bride puts on a red garment; the wedding-gifts may include gold-embroidered hodies along with red jackets and shawls.

The Baloch pines away to meet a *Peri*, or fairy. His folklore initiates him into the mystery of the beauty of the fairies. Generation after generation he is told that the beautiful fairies sit at the cross-roads awaiting a funeral; none can see them, but they are always there, and they bathe the dead person's heart with fresh water. And someone may tell his experience:

On the peak of the mountain  
the fairies kindled up a fire,  
clapping their hands  
they gathered there.  
I went near them to capture someone,  
shrinkingly they all flew up heavenward and said:  
'You are simply a fool, O fakir,  
we are not women of your world,  
we are the fairies of the holy ones.  
When your fate is decided  
and they hurry up for your funeral,  
we'll all come and sit at the cross-roads on that  
day  
to give a bath to your heart with fresh water  
and to satisfy your desire'

Well-known to the *Dastānagh* song, there must be some Adhra near at hand to understand the words of her lover:

Awake, Adhra, awake,  
do not delay any more,  
the sweet-scented rose will open  
when you awake  
Show me your face, Adhra,  
and I'll say:  
'Lo! it is dawn now!'

Adhra may be a gypsy girl. The lover may again sing: "Pray, pitch your tent near me, O wandering girl!" And Adhra may open her heart: "I am your butterfly, my love. I like the gold ring you gave me. I love you, dear flute-player, pray sing me the song of Dosten and Shiren." She sings while leaving her tent: "I must be true to my promise and I must go to my young camel-leader friend."

Mastani's lover has his own song:

When you smile, Mastani,  
the flowers in the garden, too, smile,  
your breasts are like flowers,  
fresh and smooth,  
always I dream of you, my meadow.

Mastani may be nicknamed as Durr, or "Pearl".

You are none else but a houri,  
my Pearl,  
your song spreads  
love in my heart.  
The cloud must pour down its water,  
and you must pour down on me  
the nectar of love

You see the lovers near the *lonak* grass. The plaited hair of Mastani look beautiful. The tinkling sound of her toe-rings gives an additional charm to the scene. The lover adores his *Nār*, or flute, for its notes win for him the heart of Adhra.

The gypsies make a move. Adhra must leave now. The lover's eyes, filled with tears, say good-bye to her. Adhra's *phuluh*, or nose-ring, which the lover presented to her, will always remind her of the romance. She goes away, singing:

The gypsies must move on  
like the flying birds,  
like the flowing water of the Indus.  
Love is like a rose,  
it blossoms and withers,  
and every spring brings more flowers.  
Like the flying birds the gypsies must move on,  
like the wind that never stops,  
like the Indus that never stops  
the gypsies must move on.

And Adhira disappears. Her lips, coloured  
with walnut-bark, are no more before the lover.

## V

The Baloch folk-song, in most cases, has  
a homely smell of life, its poetic material may  
be used by the painter. Here and there a song  
may be entirely a picture. The Baloch stands  
near his village, telling his minstrel:

Carry with you your *Dambro*,  
sweet-voiced Refen,  
pay my respect to the poet Gahi Kaloi  
and ask him,  
"O how can you possibly weigh  
a single reer  
against mounds?"

This is how the poet of one tribe challenges his  
rival poet, and how eagerly we await the rest  
of the message!

Along with the horror of fighting the poet  
draws a contrast between the cowards and the  
brave ones:

A battle is like a dark night,  
no fair day for men, nor for horses,  
after a fierce battle  
The swords that glitter  
devour the soldiers,  
forts once crowded  
turn empty.  
Many a youthful warrior  
boast with their mouths, saying,  
'We'll lead the fighting,'  
then hastily they turn their backs  
denying the company of heroes,  
later on in grief  
they beat their heads and knees with both hands.  
The heroes wield their swords that glitter  
and earn fame with their master,  
a fame sweet as odour.

In some songs the poet addresses the rain-  
clouds to carry his message to his rival. The  
painter may like to sketch him looking towards  
the clouds uttering the words of his song.

## VI

Love for the horse and the camel is note-  
worthy. In a note of prayer the Baloch says:  
"May Allah give one horse to every one, good-  
or bad." The refrain of another song celebrates  
the camel as a heavenly gift: "How dear to  
me my camel, how dear! What a gift of  
heaven!"

A particular breed of horses is called *Lakhi*.  
*Bakri* is another breed. Tradition has taught  
the people to give good names to their horses.  
*Duddul*, the celebrated name of Ali's horse, being  
a corrupt form of the Arabic *Dhu'l janah*, is a  
favourite name. *Shol*, *Phul*, *Kunar*, *Mehlo* and  
*Sangwath* are some of the popular names for  
the mares. Or some one may like to call his  
horse or mare by its particular colour or breed.

Mir Chakur's son Shahzad, after he had  
come with his father to settle at Multan, once  
composed a mythological song celebrating in  
the end the miraculous creation of the horse  
destined to live till the day of the Last Judge-  
ment. Again the story of the horse's creation,

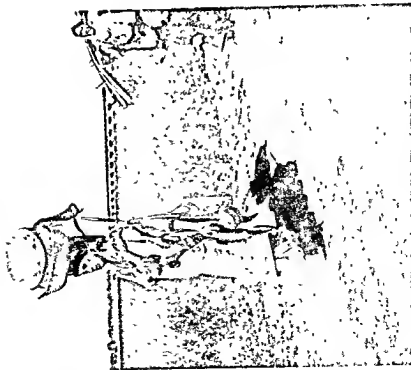


The camel man  
"How dear to me my camel, how  
dear! What a gift of  
heaven!" sings the Baloch

as given in *Kitab-e-bayaz* by an old Syal author  
of Jhang, seems to have touched the Baloch  
folk-lore:

*Bhawaja* Hamidu'd din Nagori  
—Allah purify his venerable tomb—  
has related that  
when the Almighty had created Adam  
—peace be on him,  
from the clay left in the mould  
the Almighty created four things:  
dates, grapes, pomegranates  
and fourthly the horse's face and eye

# THE BALUCH SINGS



—Z. D. Barns  
 She walks like a princess  
 She remembers the love song of Lela and Mayna



—Z. D. Barns  
 Warrior  
 He remembers the names of the heroes of his land, who  
 fought for their country level and died



Lighting the lamp of literacy

After the cover design of the "Literacy Day" pamphlet issued by the U. P. Government.  
 (Inset) S. Ranendranath Basu, Chairman, Allahabad Municipality, is seen teaching on the "Literacy Day."

From the houris' saliva He made heaven,  
from the heaven He made the horse's body,  
from the heaven's throne was made the horse's  
back.

from the *Tuba* tree was made the horse's mane,  
and by His own decree the Almighty  
gave life to the horse.

Such is the horse's perfection  
that He keeps him in his own presence,  
and never entrusts him to others  
That is why the Prophet

—Allah be merciful on him—  
ever kept the horse with him,  
and usually cleaned the horse's head and face  
with his celebrated cloak

ward; they come stirring the dust, from their  
udders the milk drips; the reason being the  
death of the young camels at the hands of the  
rival tribesmen.

## VII

There are many religious songs knit with  
old stories. Musa Moses is one of the principal  
characters.

While going along the road, Musa once met  
a Mullah holding an ablutionary bowl in his  
hand. "Whither do you go, prophet?" asked

the Mullah. Musa told him  
that he was going to see Allah.  
Then the Mullah said: "Ask  
the Almighty, Prophet, pray  
enquire whether I shall get into  
Heaven or Hell." And Musa  
passed on. He met a *fakir*;  
and having come to know  
with the prophet was going,  
the *fakir*, too, put to him the  
same query. Further in a  
parched-up desert Musa met a  
gazelle; when she knew that he  
was going to Allah, she said:  
"Look how thirsty I am, Pro-  
phet Musa; pray ask the  
Almighty if it will rain soon."  
After a few steps Musa found  
a cobra coming towards him;  
and the cobra said: "The  
poison in my head has much  
increased, my lord; whom  
should I bite that it may be-  
come less?"

First he put the Mullah's  
query before Allah. "His  
abode'll be in Hell", said the  
Almighty. Then Musa asked  
about the *fakir*. "The *fakir*  
shall get into Heaven," was  
the answer. Musa could not  
follow Allah's verdict. And  
Allah said: "When you happen  
to meet that Mullah, tell him  
that you saw in my presence  
one hundred camels passing  
through the eye of a needle,  
and you'll mark that he does  
not believe it. 'It is false,'  
he'll say; so he'll be put in

Hell. And if you tell the same thing to the  
*fakir*, he'll say, 'It is true', so I would put him  
in Heaven". When the gazelle's query came,  
Allah said: "Tell the gazelle that it'll rain."



Village outskirts

—Z. D. Barni

as also he fed the horse on barley in his cloak.  
Sins and the horse's hair  
are equal in number.

The camel appears again and again. In  
one song we find the she-camels coming home-

in the seventh year." Lastly, Musa asked about the cobra, and Allah said: "There lives a goat-herd in a certain place, tell the cobra to bite him".

Musa returned and first met the cobra, and he told him what Allah has said. Further he met the gazelle. "God says it will rain after six years," he told her. She jumped up with joy, saying, "God does exist." Suddenly it began to rain and soon she quenched her thirst. After some time he found the *fakir* and told him that in God's presence he saw one hundred camels passing through the eye of a needle. "It is no wonder; if God likes, the whole universe may pass through the eye of a needle," he remarked. And Musa told him that he'll be given Heaven to live in. Further he met the Mullah and told him about the passing of the camels through a needle-hole. "You are a prophet, Musa, but why do you tell me this false story? Now tell me please about my next abode". And when Musa told him that he will go to hell, he dashed down his bowl and passed on.

While going onward Musa thought of the cobra. He went to the goat-herd's house and stayed there as a guest. In the evening the goat-herd returned home and told his mother that he had killed a cobra and that he had brought with him the dead snake. Musa marked that it was the same cobra that had met him.

Next morning Musa again went to Allah and first told him about the end of the cobra. "Why was the snake killed while you gave him permission to bite the goat-herd?" And God said: "The last day of the snake's life had come; so I sent him to the goat-herd by whose hands he was destined to die." Then he enquired about the sudden rain. "It rained because I was pleased with the gazelle's devotion to me", replied the Almighty. Again, Musa was told that the Mullah had been shifted to heaven; for when he dashed down his bowl of water a drop went into the tiny mouth of a thirsty ant, and that it was the ant's blessing that moved the Almighty's heart.

In another song the story is again very interesting. Musa once went to Allah and said: "Lord of the world, why is one person rich and

another poor? Why this difference? Why don't you fix one common lot for all?" "Very well," Allah said, "I will do as you wish". Musa then came back. Commanded by Allah, the angels one day came and miraculously shattered Musa's house. Musa then thought of building a new house. "Build me a house", he said to the villagers, "and you'll get from me your wages alright". But none would like to labour for him; all were well-off equally. He went to Allah again and sadly sat down before him. "Why are you so sad, my friend", the Almighty enquired. "I was wrong to ask you, my Lord, to make the people equally rich. Now my house has fallen. None would work for me. Pray make things as before". God restored the first order; some were again rich, others being poor. Many of them offered their services to Musa on payment.

The Pigeon and the Hawk is the Baloch version of a Buddhist *Jataka*. Ali, the celebrated hero of Moslem history, appears here in the role of Lord Buddha. A hawk and an innocent pigeon fought. They fell into the king's lap. Praying for help, the hawk said: "You are undoubtedly the lord of our faith, O Ali—the king of men. I have come leaving aside my hungry children on a deep-rooted tree that stands where the seven streams meet. Pray don't snatch away from me my prey." Then the pigeon began his petition: "Ali, the king of men, I hail you. This is my story. On the slopes of Mount Bambar I have left my hungry children. I came in search of a few grains of corn. The hawk would tear me into pieces and will devour me. Pray give me not back to my enemy, since you know the truth." Calling his servant, Ali said: "Kambar, bring me my knife". Laying his hand on his thigh, he said: "Hawk, come, I'll give you some flesh". And he actually cut his flesh equal to the weight of the pigeon, rather a little more. The innocent pigeon began to shed tears. "He is not a hawk, O Ali, the king of men, nor I a pigeon," the pigeon went on to say. "We are both angels of Allah. Ordered by our Lord we came to test you and you have played a great part."

The *Jataka* of King Shivi is more or less the same. An Amaravati sculpture represents a *stupa* erected in memory of the self-sacrifice of Bodhisattava in Udyana.



# Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.  
—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD:** *Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta Two Volumes.* Price Rs. 10. Volume I, pp. 504+xx+xx (index), Volume II, pp. xiv+xii (index)+540.

These two substantial volumes contain the entire proceedings of all the sessions of the Parliament of Religions which was held in Calcutta for eight days from the 1st March, 1937, under the auspices of the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee.

The Introduction describes the scope of the Parliament and the centenary committees. Chapter I describes the full programme, complete in 15 sessions, as well as the social functions. Chapter II gives the list of persons who sent greetings from various culture centres in Asia, Europe, Africa and America, as well as from the provinces of India. The address of the chairman of the reception committee is reproduced in Chapter III. Chapter IV contains the greetings from the delegates as representatives of their countries or institutions. Forty-eight messages from philosophers, religious heads, sociologists and cultural leaders in the orient and the occident are given in Chapter V. The fifteen presidential addresses are reproduced in their entirety in Chapter VI. The address of Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, which was printed in *Prabuddha Bharata* in a garbled form, is published here in its correct form as printed in *The Modern Review*. The full texts or resumes of all the papers presented and lectures delivered at the Parliament form the subject-matter of Chapter VII, which is divided into eight sections according to topics. In Chapter VIII are published the remaining extempore lectures, observations, appreciations and thanks as coming from the members of the Parliament in session from day to day. Chapter IX contains the farewell addresses.

Many of the addresses, papers and lectures contained in this work are thoughtful contributions on the philosophical, moral, religious, sociological and spiritual questions of the day by distinguished intellectuals like the late Dr. Sir B. N. Seal, Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Bhagavan Das, and others, including many foreign cultural leaders.

For facility of reference, an Index has been added at the end of each volume.

There are twelve plates containing many illustrations.

**KESHUB CHUNDER SEN IN ENGLAND:** *Being his Diary during the outward voyage and in England upto 21st May, 1870, and his Addresses, Sermons and Epistles in England Third (revised and enlarged) Edition.* Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95 Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta. 560 Demy

8to Frontispiece. Portrait of Keshub Chunder Sen. Cloth bound, gilt letters. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Prem Sundar Basu has contributed a well-written foreword to this neatly printed and got up volume.

The speeches delivered by speakers belonging to various communities in many towns and villages in India in the course of the recent Keshub Chunder Sen Centenary celebrations have familiarized the educated public with the work he did as a teacher of religion, spiritual guide, social reformer, national educationalist, and temperance advocate. Many who attended the centenary meetings must have felt a desire to have a collection of Keshub's speeches and sermons in England. This volume meets that desire. Those who do not know how highly Keshub's work as a spiritual inspirer was appreciated in England need only read Dr. Basu's foreword to be convinced.

The subjects of some of the speeches delivered by Keshub in England may be mentioned here to show the variety of topics dealt with therein.

The Living God, The Book of Life, Words to Ragged Schools, The Brahma Samaj and the Path of Universal Fellowship, Female Education in India, Words to the Peace Society, The Liquor Traffic in India, England's Duties to India, Temperance, Hindu Theism, Religious and Social Liberty Indian Reforms, The study of Pure English Institutions and Life and their Introduction in a National Form in India, Basis of the Unity of Religions, Women in India, My Impressions of England.

**ALONG THE PILGRIM PATH:** *A Record and Review of Brahma Samajes in India* By Rao Sahib F. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Retired Principal, Pittapur Raja's College, Cocanada: with a foreword by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Pp. xx+268. Crown 8to. To be had of the author at Masulipatam. Price eight annas net.

For a thoughtfully written and very interesting book of nearly three hundred pages the price is exceedingly low.

In it is told the story of work and experiences relative to an itinerary through the greater part of theistic India during the years 1933, 1934 and 1937. In the course of his extensive tours he visited Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Tellicherry, Alleppy, Madanapalle, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Ahmednagar, Indore, Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Karachi, Hyderabad (Sind), Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Bankipur, Calcutta, Hyderabad (Deccan), Cuttack, Puri, Barisal, Dacca, ...



Rangpur, Cooch Behar, Dhubri, Dibrugarh, Gauhati, Shillong, Cherrapunjee, Sylhet, Comilla, Chittagong, Rangoon, Dolpur, Hazaribagh, Midnapore, and Contai, almost all of which have Brahmo Samajes or Prarthana Samajes. Though the author has visited all the Samajes in his own Andhra des and in Tamil Nad, these are not included in this itinerary.

The book is not a dry directory but contains vignettes of many inspiring and lovable personalities, living and dead.

We agree with the author in holding that, far from the Brahmo religion and the Brahmo Samaj being no longer necessary, they are essentially and urgently necessary more than ever. He is right in observing that "in the retrospect of the past, with its personalities and performances, even a cursory verification at the sources" brings "afresh into vividness the undisputed fact of how the Brahmo Samaj had stood first and foremost in the vanguard of nation-building forces during the century of its birth. Through its short and chequered career, its was the amplest and the healthiest as also the earliest contribution to the larger currents of the era of a New India on the socio-religious as well as the politico-cultural side."

His diagnosis of the malady of the present-day Brahmo Samaj is correct. He finds its main defects to be secularization of life, over-individualism of temper, over-certarianism or denominational indifference, and missionary ineffectiveness. All Brahmos and all others interested in liberal religious movements should read this book.

**BRAHMO POCKET DIARY 1939.** Keshub Centenary Souvenir. Navamadhan Publication Committee, 95 Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta

This Pocket diary contains the kind of information given in such publications and in addition supplies an inspiring motto for each day, being a prayer, an aspiration, or some spiritual precept.

**SURVEY OF NATIONAL NUTRITION POLICIES, 1937-38.** LEAGUE OF NATIONS, INFORMATION SECTION. Pages 120. Price Rs 2-6.

The work of the League of Nations on the problem of nutrition, which has already created wide public interest, has now been carried a stage further by the publication of a book of 120 pages, entitled "Survey of National Nutrition Policies, 1937-1938." This study is of interest not only to those directly concerned with the problem of nutrition but to the general public of the various countries covered, among which India is one. It is written in a style which is readily comprehensible to the ordinary man or woman.

The Survey opens with a chapter on the progress of the work of the League in regard to nutrition problems. In addition to examining a number of technical questions, it is shown that the Technical Commission on Nutrition has been giving practical help to Governments.

In Chapter II, concerning National Nutrition Committees the creation of which was recommended by the League, it is pointed out that such Committees now exist in over twenty countries.

A chapter on the most suitable methods of making nutrition surveys is followed by another which is of special interest, since it gives details regarding the surveys undertaken and the results obtained in various countries, including India, to which two pages have been devoted.

This chapter is full of illuminating facts about food habits in various countries. It is stated that, in an inquiry in the United States among the families of wage

earners and clerical workers, from 40 to 60 per cent of the diets of white families in four regions were found to be in need of improvement. In Hungary, it has been found that, if exports are to remain unchanged and if requirements are to be fully met, the present production of milk would need to be increased by 120 per cent.

Chapter V, on Special Research, is of interest principally to experts, but the following one, dealing with action taken to improve nutritional standards can be read and appreciated by all.

In the next chapter, reference is made to certain of the economic aspects of the nutrition problem.

In the concluding chapter, the steps taken to educate the public in various countries are described. Much can be accomplished by means of education and publicity.

**BALANCES OF PAYMENTS—1937.** LEAGUE OF NATIONS, INFORMATION SECTION. Pages 212. Price Rs. 6.

The 1937 issue of the annual volume on *Balance of Payments*, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations analyses the international payments of 33 countries, including India, in recent years. An index of the countries covered by previous issues is attached. The entire series of issues of *Balances of Payments* supplies information regarding the international transactions of 59 countries. The countries to which the present issue principally relates include almost all the chief commercial countries of the world.

To facilitate deductions by students of international economic relations from the documentary material contained in this volume, most of the statements for individual countries are compiled on the basis of a special form (the full text of which is included in the volume) sent to all States Members of the League of Nations.

Comparable figures are given in the case of practically all the countries represented for goods, interest and dividends, other services, gold and long term and short-term capital movements.

Most of the detailed statements in the case of individual countries are accompanied by a summary table of balances of payments, together with the totals of all inward and outward payments for the last few years. To facilitate international comparison, these balances have also been combined in a table where they are converted into United States gold dollars at the old parity.

An interesting chapter is devoted to a detailed analysis of recent trends in commercial transactions. It contains an exhaustive study of the changes in connection with current items in the trade of creditor and debtor countries, and international capital movements from one country to another.

A special section is devoted to the speculative movements of capital between creditor countries.

The effects of tourist traffic, emigrants' remittances, the capital market and gold movements are also analysed.

X.

**THE DRAVIDIAN CULTURE AND ITS DIFFUSION.** By T. K. Krishna Menon. Published by J. Sandra Iyer & Sons, Ernakulam. 1937.

This small booklet of about a hundred pages is an elaborate defence "for the cause of an ancient civilisation of South India," and an attempt to disprove the widespread idea of a barbarous Dravidian India on which Aryan civilisation descended. It should be remembered, however, that historians and people claiming knowledge of India's past are now in general agreement about the main thesis of the author, i.e., that "the Dravidians were in possession of India long before the Aryans came to it, and had developed a civilisation independent of any

Aryan influence," and in a sense it may be said that the author is out to kill a dead horse.

The author has brought forward an array of scholarly opinions to prove his main thesis, without adding much that is new in support of his contention. But his references are always well chosen and to the point and his book will be of great use to students who want to make a special study of the subject.

Having established the position and influence of the Dravidians at home the author attempts to prove the great part that the Dravidians had played in spreading civilisation over the different regions of the world, such as the Far East, America and the Near East. Here the treatment is less satisfactory, and we certainly join issue with the author for interpreting India as Dravidian India, in connection with all references of Indian activity in these directions. It has been proved beyond doubt that North India or Aryan India had a large share in colonising activities, and it is unfair to claim all the credit in this respect for only Dravidian India. The climax is reached when the author asserts that "the temple of Barabudur, which is built on the plan of the Chakra, an instrument most prevalent in connection with the Devi worship in Malabar, is another instance in point."

Having established, to his own satisfaction, the Dravidian origin of Indian civilisation outside India, the author devotes the rest of the book to consider "who among the old South Indians were mostly responsible for the cultivation and the diffusion of the Dravidian culture." These are the Keralas, and the author emphasises the prevalence of the Naga worship there, thereby establishing a contact between the people of Kerala and the Indian Colonists in the Far East. He also draws attention to the resemblance in manners, customs and religious beliefs between the two. What the author ignores in his zeal to trace the Kerala origin of Indian Colonisation in the Far East is that the Naga worship was also prevalent in other parts of India, and similar manners and customs may be proved to have existed among other peoples both in North and South India. The author informs us in his prefatory note that a savant from Europe wrote to him that he should have named his paper "The Kerala Culture and Its Diffusion." I am afraid the savant ignored the Sanskrit maxim and merely wasted his humour. The author, however, goes one step further and suggests a more appropriate title, viz., "The Culture of Cochin and its Diffusion." The author gives a "timely warning" against "creating or perverting evidence to glorify particular communities." But he says in self-defence: "Here there is an assemblage of facts from recorded history. If from these an irresistible inference can be drawn, why should any one fight shy of it?" Unfortunately, the inference is not legitimate, far less irresistible.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: Vol. III: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by S. N. Sarkar, Calcutta. Pp. 470-XII Price Rs 5

Sir Jadunath who has won fame by narrating the story of the Mughal Empire in its hey-day under Aurangzeb, is continuing in this remarkable series, "The Fall of the Mughal Empire," the career of the decadent successors of the Great Mughals. The present volume narrates the career of Shah Alam from the time of his restoration to Delhi in 1772 till the grim tragedy of 1788 when the heartless ruffian Ghulam Qadir cast royalty to the dust and stripped it of divinity.

In the preparation of this volume the eminent historian has laid under use a vast mass of materials existing in different languages, Persian, Marathi, Hindi,

French and English. He has waded through thousands of Marathi despatches and Persian news-letters (Akhhara) and explored the voluminous mass of despatches of the British Residents. The historian himself explains the serious difficulties he had to overcome in preparing the present volume. "The dates of thousands, of laconic Marathi despatches," says Sir Jadunath, "had to be ascertained, their obscurities cleared and the textual reading and arrangement of the Persian manuscript sources had to be corrected, before a single page of my narrative could be composed. To give examples, the Persian news-letters collected by Claud Martin and now preserved in the British Museum in two volumes running to 1500 manuscript pages do not, except in the rarest instances, give the year, and hence the owner has bound them by placing all the sheets of a particular month for these nine years limped together in one place, in the order of the days of the month only. It is only after ploughing any way through these huge collections of reports and concentrating light on their contents from the three languages, Marathi, Persian and English that I have been able to date and interpret this class of sources correctly."

The tangled politics and conflicts of interests of a variety of races, nationalities and other elements—the Marathas, Jats, Sikhs, Rajputs, the English, Naga, Abbots, etc., crowd the Indian political stage. It was a very difficult task that Sir Jadunath took upon himself. He has succeeded remarkably in accomplishing it.

The volume begins with the restoration of Shah Alam on the throne of Delhi in 1772 and presents a glowing and dramatic account of the Delhi Empire till 1788. Maratha activity in northern India—their campaign with the Jat Raja Jawahr Singh and parley with Najib in 1771 serves as a frontispiece to the main narrative. After a masterly survey of initial difficulties of Shah Alam, the poor tools that he could utilise to revive the moribund empire, the historian introduces us to the career of Najaf Khan whom he calls the "last of the great gifts of medieval Persia." Mirza Najaf's rise after the Pathargarh expedition, his temporary eclipse due to Hissamuddin's enmity and the Maratha opposition, Najaf's reinstatement to power after the failure of Ramghat expedition and the retreat of Viraaj and Holkar to the South, Abdul Ahad Khan's ceaseless intrigues and the final triumph of Najaf Khan are depicted in the first portion with a richness of detail and charm of description which can hardly be surpassed.

Equally clear and powerful is the description of the confused bloodstained Chapter of Delhi history between 1782-84 A.D. The internecine contest among the lieutenants of Najaf Khan, Afrasyah, Muhammad Shafi, Muhammad Beg Hamadani and Najaf Quli Khan, the bewildering intrigues and the successive coups are unfolded like the plots of a drama. After all these phantasmagoria melt away, emerge the great Maratha Chief, Mahadji Sindhia, on the scene. The extremely meagre and obscure accounts of Grant Duff and Keene are illumined here by a wealth of minute details on the varying phases of Sindhia's career during 1778-83 A.D. His initial difficulties, the hostility of Delhi officials, of Afrasyah Khan's wives and officers, Major Browne's persistent efforts to turn the Emperor into a puppet in his hands, Sindhia's campaigns against Jaipur, the temporary eclipse and gradual recovery of his power, form the theme of the concluding portion of this volume.

Sir Jadunath's minute searches into the records, news-letters, manuscripts and journals, recall the past back to life and afford us very interesting glimpses into the dead Indian World. One or two illustrations will suffice to show how the great historian invested the skeleton of

India's past with flesh and blood. After the assumption of power Mirza Najaf Khan, he continued to reside at Delhi and "turned into a typical Nawab in his private life." He fell under the spell of a woman of bewitching fascination and began to spend days and nights in attending singing and dancing by professional women." Sir Jadunath here takes a dip into the Akhbarat and reveals the scene of one of the nocturnal orgies. "On 4th and 5th June, 1781, the Amir-ul-umara, taking his entire harem with himself made an excursion to Wazirabad. At four ghazies of the night he ordered the women of his zenana to loot the melon beds on the bank of the river near which his tents were pitched. Then he attended dancing till mid-night, also next morning till one quarter of the day. The baskets filled with these melons were ordered to be sent to his mansion in Delhi." No wonder that the regent developed consumption and met with a premature death.

It is not possible to make a bare mention, within the compass of a review, even of the striking portions of the volume, every chapter of which is packed with solid information. We can not, however, pass over two important points connected with *Mahadji's* life which have been abundantly lighted up here. One is Sindhi's attitude towards Zain ul abidin when the latter sought shelter in his camp after the murder of Afzasyab. Many years back Grant Duff wrote, "Sindhia derived most advantage from the death of Afzasyab Khan and as the assassin sought and found an asylum in his camp he did not escape suspicion of being accessory to the murder." This suspicion of Sindhi's complicity in the nefarious murder is disproved by the contemporary evidences brought to light in this volume. "The second point relates to what Keene calls Sindhi's supine indifference at Mathura while the fiend Ghulam Qadir was torturing Shah Alam and the members of the Royal Family. Sindhi's policy and conduct at this period towards his erstwhile protégé Shah Alam have been the subject of unfavourable comments, but here Sindhi has been acquitted creditably even in this test. His precarious position even after the fall of Agra, his utter insolvency at this period when he was 'compelled to bring out the ornaments of his wives before his court,' so clearly indicated in this volume, exonerate Sindhi from the charge of wilful neglect in saving the Royal Family from the outrages of Ghulam Qadir. Sir Jadunath shows his human sympathy and an excellent sense of proportion by abridging the gruesome details and "giving only a brief general sketch of the kinds of suffering borne by the Royal Family." The account here has become as moving as a tragedy, and the insertion of a humane touch by a reference to Thomas Twining's private journey to Delhi in 1794, when the professional Gujar thieves showed respect to the mere cry of "*Padshah ka horamka Bibi Sahib* (a lady of the imperial seraglio)" by leaving the litter unmolested, makes the heart sore with grief and cry for retributive justice, and not unnaturally the volume closes with the horrible scene of "the headless trunk of Ghulam Qadir hanging from a tree, a black dog lapping up the blood dripping from the neck and returning to the horrid meal again and again, though driven with stone."

The abundance of information and the charm of the narrative do not constitute the only meritorious features of the volume. The striking quality of Sir Jadunath's historical works lies in the mould in which they are cast. He shapes his narrative not in the form of a "mere chronicle of events" but "as the living scene of causes and effects." He has shown in this volume, too, the interaction of the chain of events upon one another, the interplay of the various factors and influences at every turn of the scene wherein lies the true historian's technique.

Another feature which imparts excellence to this book as the remarkable pen portraits drawn of the leading per-

sonalities. The Emperor Shah Alam, Afzasyab, Muhammad Shah, Najaf Quli, Muhammad Beg Hamadani and particularly Najaf Khan have been portrayed here with their strong and weak points, their virtues and vices. Here again, the solid learning and the stately scholarship of his mature years have given a great balance to his judgment of men and events. A few lines of his estimate of Mir Najaf Khan's character and achievements will show how nicely he apportions praises and censure. "Mirza Najaf Khan Zulfikar-daulah fills a large space in the memory of the Delhi historian only because he was the last great Muslim minister of the Mughal Throne. He shines in the sunset hues of the dying Empire by contrast with the smaller men who mismanaged the state for two years after him and finally passed the Government of Delhi on to the hands of other creeds and other races. As a general, he had not the genius and originality of Najib-ud-daulah nor the robust personal magnetism of the Captains of an earlier age. . . . But he possessed that cool leadership, that power of coordination and that skill in the choice of fitting instruments which were indispensable for success in the new system of warfare. . . ." Again he continues and remarks, "The greatest defect was that he was no administrator himself illiterate, he lacked. . . . the gift of choosing the ablest heads for the civil departments. . . . So that during two years of unchallenged power the revenue administration went to pieces and the resources of the state were neither increased nor husbanded." His summing up is superb and the description of the campaigns, whether at Chausparh or at Lalot, prefaced by topography is accompanied by admirable discussions of the strategy pursued.

Pithy sayings and acute observations interperred throughout the volume, e.g., "A nation's greatest enemy is within and not without," "Clutpavan Brahmanic pride would not stoop to taking orders from a man of the Maratha Caste," "no one can rise above destiny . . . Destiny in only another name for character and Shah Alam's character alone was responsible for the fate that now overwhelmed him and his house," have done not a little to make the volume so attractive.

For more than two scores of years this "Dengall Gibbon" unattracted by the lure of politics or the defeating clamour of popular applause has applied himself to the study of the history of his fatherland with the single minded devotion and concentration of a recluse.

NRIAD BHUSAN RAY

WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE. By Dr. F. K. R. V. Rao, Ph. D. (Canara). Published by Form & Co. Publishers Ltd, 8, Round Building, Bombay. Pages 104. Price Re. 1.

The six broadcast talks given by the author last year at the Bombay Broadcasting House, form the present booklet together with the addition of an epilogue. The talks give a lucid exposition of the various aspects of our economic life, viz. Agriculture, Industry, Currency and Finance, Distribution and Consumption and in the final talk examines in details the need for an economic policy for India. The author is a protectionist and argues with emphasis a case for imposing high basic tariff on all manufactured goods entering the country. There is however a group of economic thinkers who view with alarm, the rigidity of tariff restrictions and reasonings of this school of thought cannot be lightly brushed aside. The author also advocates devaluation of the Rupee Sterling exchange as a means of raising the commodity prices and brings forward all popular arguments in favour of his contention.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

SONGS FROM THE HEIGHTS: By Sanjib Chaudhuri. Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.

That Parnassus is divided from Mental Illores by a mere veil, is a proverbial saying: this book of verse, especially through its recent associations, brings a novel side-light on the topic. The poems in this volume are innocuous enough—they would do credit to a schoolboy of moderate intelligence—but the snubs of its adult author in search for the Nobel Prize moon, have added a lunar touch to these worthless effusions.

Keeping in mind the author's total paralysis of self-criticism, and absence of merest poetic technique or celebration, a rich feast could be spread for the readers by a merciless display of bad, worse and still worse English verse. But a parade of howlers would not suit these columns. Let us marvel at the dauntless ego of the versifier when he says.

"Their ship lags behind,  
My ship runs before;  
Their tosses and tumbles  
While mine sails to shore."

and think with trembling that an Italian Indologist has applauded such "Orientalia". The "Heights" are probably reached in the author's self-debasement in *The King's Love* where he perpetrates sickening sob-stuff in homage to the abdication episode. Neither rhyme nor reason are at the writer's command, this book is a warning to Indian writers who want to cloak their shattered wit under His Master's Robes—bared from Anglo-India—a current form of intellectual slave-mentality.

FIVE ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDIES: Edited by A. K. Mcllwraith. The World's Classics Oxford University Press.

This slender volume makes a necessary trio along with its two well known predecessors in this series which gave us pre-Shakespearean and Elizabethan comedies in a compact volume. In a competent and attractive Introduction the Editor explains that restricting himself to the actual reign of Queen Elizabeth he was inevitably led to choose the five tragedies included in this book. One agrees with him; *Thyestes*, *Coriolanus*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Arden of Feversham*, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, are significant names to any student of English literature. The Elizabethan air moves through these pages, stirring the imagination with a rich, and sometimes sombre, romance of ancient themes.

AMITYA CHAKRAVARTY

CULTURAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN INDIA: By Ram Prasad Pandeya, M.A. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra. Price Re. 1. 1936.

Primarily intended for a text-book on civics (but only about a dozen pages, pp 98-109, are devoted to it), the book is fit for general consumption. The writer, describing new movements in religion, education, literature and politics in our country, would trace the current of life to the past, and would ask, *Quo Vadis?* The first chapter is a good summary of India's achievements in the past; but, with all reverence for Pandit Malaviya, is it not a mere slogan to say "empires come and go, but cultures remain"? Again, it is not the peasant that complains against putting on the ostive cloth but the reis who ought to have known better and set a good example before the unlettered rustic rather than spoil him by vain luxury.

In the treatment of "hietary" (?) movements, there have been grievously faulty omissions. Thus, among the first generations of scholars, one misses at least the name

of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra; among the scientists, names of Dr. J. C. Ghose of Bengal, and Ramannayan of Madras. The writer has moreover a confused notion of early Bengali journals, from 1818 onwards. Is it a fact that *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* came out as a daily in the present century? More culpable is the omission of all mention of mural paintings in the Ajanta caves or later mural paintings in Travancore and Cochin. While dwelling enthusiastically on painting Mr. Pandeya is silent about the work that is being done by the schools of art established by Government, and he does not even mention Jamini Ray, the gifted painter of Bengal, whom no student of modern Indian Art may afford to ignore now, and his account of literary movements does not contain anything at all about the Sahitya Parishads that have been started all over the country.

The political portion may be left to itself, but the chapter on religion raises some questions: How has Christianity raised the status of women? Had any hasty concessions been made to Christianity by the Brahmo Samaj which, according to Mr. Pandeya, had been started by Ram Mohan and of which the credo is given (from what source, one wonders) on p. 29? Has not Sankaracharya referred to the Veda, as Shruti? How has he (Mr. Pandeya) come by the idea that Swami Ram Tirtha enjoys greater popularity than Swami Vivekananda? While Prof. Radhakrishnan's appointment to the Spalding chair has been acknowledged, why has not his permanent connection with the University of Calcutta been so much as mentioned?

The subject treated in the book is of so much interest (in spite of a large number of misprints) as to justify noticing it in some detail.

P. R. SEN

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE, Government Press, Bangalore, 1935

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE, Government Press, Bangalore, Mysore, 1936.

It is always a pleasure to review any work of real merit, especially when it is done with the wholeheartedness and zeal that characterize all productions of Dr. M. H. Krishna. Leaving aside the routine work, such as conversation, collection of inscriptions, more important to note are the surface explorations, that has been carried on at Malurpina, Kundana and Rahamangarh, the last two being hill-forts. In the field of Numismatics, Dr. Krishna has brought to our notice certain oblong copper pieces bearing generally the figure of a tusker elephant facing a trident (?) and some marks or signs above the elephant, which he ascribes to the period between punch-marked coins and die striking, i.e., prior to 1st century B.C. The symbols on the reverse are worth notice, as they undoubtedly bear resemblance to those occurring on punch-marked coins. A paper manuscript of an important Kannada work called *Medhankana Kavya* was acquired for the manuscript collection and a detailed study of it is published. During 1936, amongst ancient sites studied, were Manjarabad, Angada, Melur and Nagar. The important work of conserving the temples at Halebidu and Belur was also continued during the year under review, though excavations on a large scale seems to have been avoided. As regards the collection of Miss the most noteworthy feature is an English translation of the Portuguese work 'Memoirs of Hyder Ali from 1758-70' by Elroy Jose Correa Prieto. A small number of punch-marked coins are also described. In the reviewer's opinion, Dr. Krishna has striven in

certain terms in describing the symbols on these coins. Thus the term "trov-mark" does not properly convey any description of the symbol and is objectionable on various grounds. There are so many varieties of these symbols, few of which occur on these coins, that the term fails to describe properly any particular symbol or its varieties. Thus on the obverse of coin No 4 we find "Sphere surrounded by alternate arrows and taurnes" which is merely a variant of the symbol described as trov-mark in coin No. 1; which in reality happens to be "Sphere with alternate arrows and taurnes". There are also other varieties such as "Sphere surrounded by alternate arrows and battle-axes or battle axes surrounded by circles." Therefore to describe it as merely a "trov-mark" is absolutely wrong. Then the term *chmtya* mark to denote the symbol consisting of pyramidal semi-circles is also erroneous. The symbol is found associated with crescent, peacock, dog, elephant, and a plant. In these cases the term *chmtya* as originally used by Theobald is absolutely out of place. It has been demonstrated by scholars like Dr L. D. Barnett and others that it represents a mountain. Since we find this symbol occurring on the Chalcolithic pottery found by Mr. H. Hargreaves at Nal and certain other places at Baluchistan it is better to regard this symbol as representing a mountain. There is another mistake, in coin No 7. The symbol (c) appears to be three arches placed side by side with the middle one taller than those on its sides. In the present case only two arches are visible.

ADONIS BANERJI

**LAMENT FOR ECONOMICS** By Barbara Wootan  
Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.  
1938. Pp. 322. Price 6s. net

Every student knows that Economics has long been studied as a positive science with a view to explain current economic phenomena, as a normative science to prescribe ideals, or as an art to offer practical guidance. He further knows that its study as a positive science is subject to many limitations. Economic generalisations or laws can never be universal or perpetual. These are essentially relative, relative to the natural environment of the people whose economy is the subject matter of study, as well as to the social environment that the people have themselves created out of the natural environment according to their tastes and ideals, commensurately with their knowledge of the animate and the inanimate world on the one hand and with their competence for utilising it to their advantage on the other. Consequently economics can never aspire to the position of physics or chemistry as a positive science. All these essential limitations are virtually the object of the author's indictment and ridicule of economics as a science in these pages. She thinks that economics is not entitled to the name of science unless and until it can foretell events like astronomy and formulate precise quantitative relations like physics or chemistry. She thinks that the economist has no justification of his existence unless he can doctor like cure all sorts of economic ills. Hence her Lament for Economics.

The "melancholy" achievements of modern economists are, in the author's opinion, due to the imperfection of their tools and the ignorance of their job. The author rejects the scope of economics as defined by Marshall; she does not understand it. And she accepts the one adopted by Prof. Robbins of London; and this is helpful for her Indictment. Few economists, however, would limit the scope to Prof. Robbins' definition and to the position which is summarised by the author as follows: "The modern analytical economist is concerned with human behaviour in the distribution of scarce means between alternatives, in so far as this behaviour is exhibited in the

activities of the market." This view is positively wrong. The modern analytical economist is concerned with human behaviour in the distribution, not of scarce means, but of entire social resources, between alternative uses, in so far as this behaviour is exhibited in the free pursuit of an income from property or labour in an economy deliberately based upon specialisation and exchange, where production is carried on primarily and necessarily in the interest of the owning classes for the employment of their property with a view to find an income for them without labour.

The author's criticisms are entirely based upon the wrong view she takes of economics as a science and of the scope of economic science. So they are wide of the mark. And her "practical suggestions" for founding a fruitful art of economics comparable to that of medicine, point to nothing that is new and has escaped so long economists' attention.

As a piece of literature, the book is certainly delightful. But as a critique of economics, it has little scientific value. And it is from the latter standpoint that the reviewer had to study the book.

P. C. GHOSH

**INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION**: By J. P. Eddy and F. H. Lawton, 2nd Edition. Published by Macmillan & Co. 1938. Price 6s.

Messrs Eddy and Lawton have brought out a new edition of their excellent 'survey of the Government of India Act, 1935'. Such an edition was, in fact, urgently called for, because, since the first edition in 1935, two major developments have taken place in the Government of India—the establishment of Provincial Autonomy in April and the formation of the Federal Court in October, 1937.

These recent developments in the Government of India quite naturally necessitated certain minor modifications in the text of the book. But the authors have also taken the opportunity of extending some of the chapters in obedience to suggestions for improvement that they received from time to time. For instance, the chapter on 'Crown and British India' has been enlarged by the inclusion in it of a brief historical account of Indian constitutional development before the Act of 1935. Similarly, the list of appendices has also been enlarged by the addition of an appendix giving the table of Statutory Rules and Orders made under the Government of India Act, 1935, and another containing the procedural rules of the Federal Court.

There is one innovation, however, in the new edition that deserves to be particularly noticed. On pp. xv-xvii, there has been made a special index to the sections of the Act, quite apart from the general index at the end of the book. This special index must inevitably greatly enhance the value of the book as a descriptive survey of the Government of India Act; for it would enable the student to readily refer to the text of the Act itself, and that in its turn would help to stimulate a habit which the Indian student of political organisation needs to be particularly trained into.

BOOK CITING

**SELECT MODERN CONSTITUTIONS**: By N. R. Subba Rao, M.A., Kumbakonam. Pages 318. Price Rs. 3. 1937.

This small volume deals compendiously with the framework and the actual working of some of the important constitutions of the world. Four unitary states—Great Britain, France, Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State; and six federal ones—U. S. A., Canada, Australia, Switzerland, U. S. S. R., and the German Reich besides India have been described. The value of the book has been enhanced by a select bibliography and an

index. Besides the students it will be highly useful to the intelligent lay reader.

**THE ULSTER OF INDIA OR AN ANALYSIS OF THE PUNJAB PROBLEMS:** By Duni Chand of Amballa. Pages 234. Price Re 1. 1936.

Mr. Duni Chand of Amballa is not a stranger to Indian politics. In this book he discusses vigorously the several problems and various personalities of the Punjab politics. Some of his opinions we are unable to appreciate; and some appear to be dogmatic—it may be due to our ignorance of the details of the Punjab public life.

**THE STRUGGLE OF MUSLIMS IN EDUCATION:** By S. Altaf Ali Brelvi. Pages 60. Price annas twelve 1938.

This is the 42nd publication of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference Series. It is a useful publication written from the view-point of the United Provinces Muhammadans.

J. M. DATTA

**UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA, ITS CAUSES AND CURE:** By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Published by the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City. Price annas eight.

The learned author delivered an address before the University Union, Bangalore, which is reproduced in the form of the book under review. The author who has studied the problem of unemployment from different stand-points concludes that the Unemployment Problem in India is not the same as in other parts of the world, because business in this country is still imperfectly organized, under-employment is chronic and the standard of living is incomparably low. The main object of this work, the author says, is to call attention to the peculiar economic position of this country, to the facilities that lie around in profusion for increasing its productivity and wealth, and to the imperative need for co-operative planning and action on the part of the governments and the people concerned to make the fullest use of those facilities. The author has divided this study into four parts:

(1) Causes of Unemployment—present economic situation, (2) General Remedies, (3) Three Specific Remedies, (4) Inferences and Recommendations. According to the author the unbalanced occupational structure is the main cause of unemployment in India and he remarks that agriculture is a necessary industry in every country, but no nation in modern times has grown rich from agricultural pursuits alone. Some effort, according to the author, would be expected from the people to tackle the problem and here he suggests a complete orientation of the social structure prevailing in India. As suggested by the author, the general remedies lie in restricting the growth of population, training the individual to promote efficiency in the family, training for collective work and directing education into other new channels. With this view the author suggests three emergency schemes to increase production and enlarge employment: (1) Rapid Industrialization by multiplying factories and industrial establishments, (2) Rural Reconstruction by increasing production from agriculture and from cottage and home industries in rural areas by the co-operative effort of the people; and (3) Establishment of Practical Training Institutions to provide the last stages of precise knowledge needed for the practice of callings connected with industry and agriculture, for educated youths and adult housewives.

There is a good amount of literature on this subject published in the last few years. Many eminent persons have discussed the problem from various stand-points, but none has tackled the problem from the Indian social point

of view. In this respect Sir Visvesvaraya's suggestions are original and worthy of serious consideration. The author is a well known administrator and an original thinker and has done a lot towards the industrial development of this country. So these suggestions, coming from such a reputed author, should be read carefully and put into execution by those who want a correct solution of the problem of unemployment. We commend this instructive work to all who have the welfare of the country at heart. The printing and get-up are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**THE CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.** In Two Vols.: By Sadhu Santanath. Published by Seth Motilal Manickchand, President, The Research Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, E. Khandedesh. Pp. 1110+xxi+xxx.

The author's *Sadhanā*, which is a portion of this work was reviewed in the last December issue of *The Modern Review*. In it we expressed our opinion about the views of Sadhu Santanath. Let us add here a few words more. Though the author promises in the introduction that he seeks Truth sincerely and earnestly in his examination of religions yet after a perusal of his work, the reader is led to think that, instead of doing so, he has hurled, right and left, meaningless criticisms to all thought systems of the world, with a motive both heretic and harmful. The author, however, is clever enough not to commit himself to any positive standpoint, which goes in to expose that he has no philosophy of his own. They say, one is always tempted to find fault with others' tools, when one does not possess any.

Santanath is a blind advocate of reason in religion and ignorantly depreciates the value of intuition in spiritual life. Reason, of course, must be given the place of pride in religion, as it equips the aspirant with an intellectual understanding of Truth. But reason cannot go beyond the limited sphere of the senses. This is why the Vedie seers declared that Absolute Truth is never attained by reasoning; it is intuition or supersensuous experience that gives one the whole and spontaneous vision of Truth. Intuition, however, is not opposed to reason as the author wishes us to believe, but the former is the fulfilment of the latter. To banish intuition from religion is to deprive religion of its soul.

What strikes us most in this voluminous work is the vast learning of the author, who seems to be well-versed in almost all religious systems of India and abroad. The work is published for presentation only to scholars and literateurs, and is preceded by descriptive contents and followed by an index. We are afraid the views paraded by the author do not justify the huge expenditure involved by his publications.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**THE NIGHT SIDE OF BOMBAY:** By O. U. Krishnan, B.A. Published by O. K. Sreedharan Talap, Cannanore.

The book purports to portray the night life of Bombay with a view to focussing the attention of social reformers on this question. The style is breezy, but does not inspire one with the resolve of reform, nor does it equip the would-be reformer with sufficient materials to fight the evil.

**THE GANDHI SUITORS:** By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Printed by G. S. Press, Mount Road, Madras. 1938. Pp. xi+152.

This is a truly remarkable book. Its aim is to give the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi "the traditional form of the teachings of the other great sages of India." Gandhi's principal ideas have been converted into 108

pithy Sanskrit sutras, and in place of the usual annotation, are given explanatory extracts from Gandhi's own writings and speeches. The sutras have been admirably framed, and the cardinal points of his teachings chosen with discrimination and understanding.

The book deserves wide circulation, particularly among those who wish to understand Gandhiji in the proper way.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**THEOSOPHY AS BEAUTY** : Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is a pamphlet under the joint authorship of G. S. Arundale, Rukmini Devi and C. Jinarsadas. It is a part of the propaganda literature which is now and then brought out by the Theosophical Society. The topic discussed here is evident from the title. In addition, we have an answer here to the question, what is Theosophy? The answer is that "Theosophy is as you take it." It is a religion, a philosophy and a science. But above all, "it is life as we live it" (p. 15).

**THE LATEST REVELATION** : By P. G. Basu, B.A. Published by the author, from 27, Kshettri Maharaj Lane, Salkia, Howrah. Pp 62+XXII.

At the very outset, the author gives a catalogue—a fairly long one—of the special features of his book. The very first of these is that "The work is a revelation all through." After this, has the reviewer anything to add?

**SAGE OF SAKORI** : By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Pp. 177.

We have read so many books of this kind in recent times that we hardly expected to find anything extraordinarily new in this book. With a few changes of names, it is the same old story—of renunciation, of 'conquest of egoism,' of admiring crowds of disciples gathering round the hero, of butts converted into temples and graveyards raised to the status of a city, and so on.

As a matter of fact, sages like this have no life to narrate. A sage's life is a quiet spiritual evolution of which the stages can hardly be visualised, much less described.

Just as the humdrum day to day life of any of us is not romance, or the life of an office clerk who attends office from a long distance travelling daily to and from in a railway train, is dull and eventless, so is the life of a saint viewed outwardly. The comparison here is not intended to be disrespectful, it is only to show that the biographer of a saint has to tell things which are either uninteresting or have to be believed without proof, or he simply describes the unrestrained frenzy of a 'mad dog crowd.'

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

## ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

### SPECIMENS OF SANSKRIT DRAMATIC POEMS:

By V. Sriramulu, M.A., L.T. Published by P. Srivatsasrao, Sarani Press, Narasaraopet.

The work gives English translations of selected acts, one each, from seven well-known dramatic works in Sanskrit. Short prefatory notes are added to the translations giving brief accounts of the authors as well as of the plots of the dramas. The special features of the selected acts are also occasionally pointed out. The aim of the learned translator is to make available in one handy volume the portions of dramatic poems in Sanskrit which appealed to him most. It will be of interest to the inquisitive student of literature. The set-up and printing of the book is, however, scarcely satisfactory. Abundance of typographical errors and orthographical peculiarities of South India that are not infrequently met with make reading far from pleasant.

CHINTAITARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

**TASER BESH** ("LAND OF CARDS") : By Rabindranath Tagore. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Price Re. 1.

In this enjoyable play the poet enables the reader to have a laugh at an imaginary country of which the inhabitants are governed by conventions and lifeless customs. They have no will of their own and are afraid even to laugh at ancestors or do any other thing which is not 'correct' or 'decorous,' or which is against their 'culture.' To this country come a king's son and a merchant's son across the ocean. The prince represents the spirit of youth, which breaks through whatever is effete. His advent makes for the re-humanization of the inhabitants of the strange country whose people had become like cards. They come to feel the promptings of a will of their own and to behave like men and women of flesh and blood.

So the play is not merely enjoyable. It has a lesson for all countries, like ours, which are under the dead hand of customs and conventions.

**BANGLA-BHASHA PARICHAYA** ("INTRODUCTION TO THE BENGALI LANGUAGE") : By Rabindranath Tagore. First edition. Published by the Calcutta University and approved and selected by the Visva Bharati Loka Siksha Samad. Demy 8vo. Pages 17+180. Price not mentioned.

This is the latest work, in prose, written by Rabindranath Tagore. It is, as usual with all his writings, marked by originality of thought, interpretation and observation. Though the subject is neither poetic nor humorous, there is poetry in many passages and humour latent in more. The book is written in what is known as spoken Bengali. The style is charming throughout.

Though the book is professedly a work on the Bengali language, it treats of literature also. The first section is devoted to what Language has enabled Man to be and do. Language is a wonderful and mysterious instrument. A people's individual character is inextricably interwoven with its language; both grow together.

The book is not formally concerned with prosody or rhetoric. But those who write on those subjects will be able to derive many helpful hints from it. Similarly, authors of books on Bengali grammar, phonetics and linguistics and Bengali lexicographers cannot do without studying it.

D

**APHIMER PHUL** : By Anuruddha Roy. Published by Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.

This book has raised various problems which do not appear as speculative theories but are so assimilated in the conception of the different characters that the main figures of the story, as observed in their light, seem to live and move in a strange atmosphere of intellectuality and moral crisis. The plot and the characters are wonderfully interwoven with problematic situations and it reflects great credit on the author, who has given life-like interest to matters of abstract political philosophy.

These problems are : (1) If the domestic obligations of a cultured woman should be subservient to her ambition regarding a higher social outlook. If both can be united in life without being prejudicial to one another. (2) When the husband is convinced that his cultured partner is being misled by her environment and subtleties of reasoning and is positively ruining herself and his family, what sort of control should he exercise to save the situation when mild resistance and covert suggestions are failed? (3) Whether the desire for a higher life should be allowed to blunt the moral sense of a youthful aspirant in regard

to the ways and means pursued for the achievement of his objects.

These and other problems of such nature are suggested in the pages of this book, and in many trying situations their solutions are offered through the experiences of the different characters conceived by the author.

The author has at his command an inexhaustible wealth of material, showing the varied experiences of criminal life, as if studied at first hand.

The defect of the book is that these facts often become so congested that they almost stifle the march of the narrative and expose the dry bones of a detective story.

Taking all points of view into consideration I feel sure that the book will take a place in the front rank of our fiction literature. Though there is much of romantic interest in it, it has throughout an intellectual appeal and less of emotional beauty, which to a Bengali reader is evermore a point of chief attraction. But this story, in spite of little shortcomings is really an admirable work showing superior taste, great cultural power and much general knowledge. We have scarcely read a novel of this kind since the days of "Pether Dabi" by Sarat Chandra, and both these works have striking affinities, though they are written from two different viewpoints of political history.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN

## HINDI

**YUGANTA** : By Sumitra Nandan Pant. Published by the Indian Printing Works, Almora. Price Rs. 12.

As the title suggests, this small collection of poems betokens fundamental changes in the poet's outlook and technique. As such it will inevitably draw the attention of critics, and of all those who admire Pant's poetry. Through the *Rupabhas*, a monthly journal edited by the poet, we have had further glimpses of what the new ideal is going to be. One may venture, however, to remark that the poet so far has not yet achieved that divine fusion between art and philosophy without which either of these cannot help undermining the other.

BALRAJ SAINI

**EUROPE KI SUKHIADA SMRITIAN**: By Suomu Satyadeo Paribrajaka. Published by the Satyaman-Niketam, Jwalapur (U. P.). Pp. 340. Price Rs. 1-8.

The author of this book is a well known traveller and he has done well in bringing out his sweet memories of Europe in a book form. The impressions of our author are interesting in many respects and are put into black and white in a very attractive form. The conversations are a relieving feature of the story.

**NABIN BHARATIYA SASAN VIDHANA**: By Mr. Ramnarayan 'Yadavendu', B.A., LL.B. Published by the Navayuga Sahitya Niketan, Agra 1938. Pp. xiv+270. Price Rs. 2.

The new Indian Constitution is the subject matter of this book. Hindi-knowing public will be able to have all the various points of the Government of India Act discussed and arranged according to particular topics. Opinions of eminent Indian and foreign political thinkers are laid under contribution in the criticism of the above-mentioned Act. This is a timely and useful publication.

RAMES BASU

## GUJARATI

**JIVAN BHARATI** : By Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar. Printed at the Navrang Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard 1939. Pp. 799. Price Rs. 2-8.

This large volume of nearly eight hundred pages contains about 117 contributions made at various times

and in various places by Mr. Kalelkar affectionately known in Gujarat as Kaka Kalelkar in the cause of Literature divided into five sections: (i) Discourses, (ii) Parichaya, (iii) Discussion on Language and (iv) One National Language (for India) and (v) Common Script. Though a Maharashtrian by birth and upbringing, he writes Gujarati like a cultured Gujarati bred and born. It is marvellous to see how he has entered into the spirit of Gujarati language and literature and how well he has been able to harmonise Maharashtrian ideas and thoughts with those of Gujarat. He writes an easy but inspired style and his writings are the result of deep study and cogitation. He has long since come into the front rank of the thinkers and writers of Gujarat, though he is equally at home in Hindi and Marathi. *Jivan Bharati* is a book which contains the best specimen of his work and as such should find room on every table and on every literary shelf. It is a literary storehouse.

**AKHAND DARSHAN**: By Jamiatram V. Acharya. Printed at the Urmu Printing, Karachi. Paper Cover. 1938. Pp. 103. Price As. 6.

A series called the Prabhū Tatva Pracharak Granth-mala is projected by the publishers. This is its first volume, and treats of Yoga, Karma, Jnan, etc., which would lead to the Vision Beatific.

**SAHITYAKAR QUARTERLY (PREMANAND ISSUE)**: Published by the Baroda Sahitya Sabha, Baroda. Paper Cover. 1938. Illustrated Pp. 272. Price Rs. 2.

Premanand was one of the best classical poets of Gujarat and celebration of his Jayanti has become an annual function with a number of literary bodies in Gujarat. Baroda Sahitya Sabha takes the foremost place in this behalf, and this issue published in commemoration of a poet's Jayanti is a notable one; notable especially in the sense that it is comprehensive. Its compilation was entrusted to Mr. Manjular R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B., a Research scholar and there is not a single utterance or writing of worth about Premanand which has not found a place in this collection, which is illustrated with rare and apt illustrations. It is a veritable *rode mecum*, indispensable for every student of Premanand's works.

**NARMAD NUN MANDIR: PROSE SECTION**: By Vishwanath Maganlal Bhatt. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. Illustrated thick cover. 1938. Pp. 591. Price 2-8.

The late Kavi Narmadashankar was a veteran writer, in fact the creator, of modern Gujarati prose. He has written extensively on a number of subjects, literary, social and historical. Selections have been made from these writings and published in this book. The selection has been made with skill, discrimination and sympathy and thus forms a valuable guide to readers of the Kavi's writings.

**SHANT SUDHARAS**: By the late Mansukhbhai Kiratchand Mehta. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. Cloth Bound 1937. Pp. 278. Price As. 12.

Jain Sadhu Vinaya Vijayaji has written a poem in Sanskrit whose title is this book. It is translated and annotated by Mr. Mehta who has contributed a long preface explaining the principles of Jain metaphysics. A deep study of Jain philosophy is required to follow the trend of the work.



## FASCISM OVER EUROPE

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

IF THERE is a right way of doing things you have to come back to that way of doing things just as you come back to the Ten Commandments though they may have been broken from their very beginning. The League of Nations is the right way to do things—the way of Give and Take—and I believe in the League of Nations as I believe in the Ten Commandments! With such a forthright declaration a speaker the other day concluded a remarkable analysis of the state of affairs in Eastern Europe.

There are so many different ways of approaching a subject or approaching history. But the most easily communicable way is undoubtedly the way of the speaker or writer who has had his own vision or part in events and speaks of what he knows and of what he has felt. There is more of a clue to history in the chance experience of such people than might be discovered in any amount of objective study. This particular speaker said that he learned no history at his school, but because Byron had been at that school he was made to learn and repeated parrot-fashion: "The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece! Where burning Sappho loved and sung" Later when his work took him to Eastern Europe, to all that medley of neighbouring and mixed-up peoples with their rising nationalism, Byron's championing of nationalist feeling began to have some meaning and sent him back to history back at least to the Congress of Vienna of 1815.

A map of Europe at the time of the Congress of Vienna shows Central and Eastern Europe divided into three large groups. There was the Germanic group under the Hapsburg Emperor; the Russian group under the Czar; the Ottoman Empire under the Sultan. But the Greek rebellion against Turkey began an uprising of nationalism which moved on to the Great War—in fact precipitated it at Sarajevo—and which was everywhere succeeding in 1918. By 1918 all the three overlords had gone, various *de facto* governments had come into existence, and the Peace Conference of 1919 was presented with the greatest changes in Europe since the breakdown of the Roman Empire.

It is so often the fashion to blame the

Peace Treaties for all our present ills. But the truth is, as regards Central and Eastern Europe alignments, that the Peace Conference did not innovate so much as ratify. It did not create new governments. Its achievement rather was to draw lines around the *de facto* governments of the day on self-determination principles. This comes as rather a shock to those people who conceive of the Treaties as an attempt to surround Germany with a number of weak States looking to France to uphold with them the new *status quo*. There was no such stuff in the peacemakers' thoughts. In proof of this one can point out that the ethnological maps of Europe, drawn up in pre-war Germany, are not very different from the maps of the new Europe. Where there was an element of doubt, the doubt was resolved against the defeated community. But is that so very surprising?

In any event there is no way of settling boundaries which will do justice to everyone. Ethnological maps themselves prove that. To look at these maps is to realise how hopelessly tangled up the peoples are and to begin to wonder, perhaps, whether self-determination has such a pre-eminent right to come before all other considerations. The self-determination of the Sudeten Germans, for instance, has just lost to Czechoslovakia her ancient mountain frontier. The loss of that frontier has made Czechoslovakia a vassal State of Nazi Germany. So that the self-determination of the Sudeten Germans has destroyed the self-determination of the Czechs! And 10,000,000 people have been sacrificed for the sake of 2,850,000 (though many competent and independent observers believe that not even half of that 2,850,000 really wished it to happen).

Mr Chamberlain, speaking at Birmingham a week ago, said he regretted nothing. I prophesy that he will regret that statement through all eternity. To have no regrets for the tragedy of Czechoslovakia is to show oneself as deficient in imagination as in the milk of human kindness. A proud and ancient kingdom has become "a German one way street." And Mr. Chamberlain has no regrets.

In that same speech Mr. Chamberlain disparaged his critics and accused them of being irresponsible and ignorant. *Irresponsible* is hardly a description which can be applied to such a man as Sir Archibald Sinclair, amongst others, but let that pass. The charge of ignorance is more pertinent. For whose fault is it if we are ignorant? Mr. Chamberlain will not enlighten anyone as to his proposals, not even his most eager followers. In such circumstances it is inevitable that the most serious leakages and rumours should be rife. One such leakage is worth noting. It is said that on 6th September last the Runciman mission to Czecho-Slovakia arrived at a solution of the Sudeten problem which was accepted by all parties, but that the ground was cut from under their feet by the *Times* bombshell.

If that is really true, it is intolerable. An agreed solution, a solution along the lines of give and take, a solution in keeping with the League idea, was blown to pieces by a leader in the *Times*. And instead of a peaceful settlement we had the so-called Munich settlement, which by no stretch of language is really entitled to the name of settlement, because it was imposed by the threat of war. Mr Chamberlain may feel complacent about his visits to Herr Hitler, may recall the cheers of the German people which showed that they favoured peace even though their Nazi rulers did not, but history will judge by results. And will not history remember the expressive phrase of M. Jan Masaryk, who has said that at Munich his country was "sold down the river"?

Czecho-Slovakia was sold and the price, presumably, was to be a long peace. But instead of a long peace, peace is a long way off. The only certainty that has come out of Munich is the certainty that Germany is now in a far stronger position than ever before, far stronger than in 1914, if she wishes to wage war against the Western democracies. All the external factors are favourable to her. She lost the Great War for two reasons. (1) She was blockaded and (2) she had to fight on two fronts. Even so, it is probably true that if her generals had not been incompetent she would have got to Paris in the first year of the war.

But if another European war should come these unfavourable conditions will no longer operate. Germany cannot again be blockaded because, as a result of Munich and her one-way street to the East she can now obtain all the supplies she needs from Eastern Europe. And as for her fighting on two fronts, it is by no

means certain that she would have to fight Russia. This is again thanks to Munich, where France and England not only troubled themselves not at all at letting Germany move a whole stride nearer Russia, but even went out of their way to cold shoulder Russia out of the discussions.

Why should Russia succour the Western democracies, who are too timid to give any support to the democratic interest in Spain, who have sold the democratic interest in Czecho-Slovakia, and who keep Russia out of international conferences because they are so anxious to keep in with the Fascist and Nazi Dictators?

Russia, however, like America, is to be envied because she feels strong enough to speak out her mind. About a fortnight ago she gave the Western democracies a shock by encouraging the idea of receiving a trade mission from Germany. At the same time anxious watchers of the German press, and of Hitler's utterances, noted that Nazi attacks on Russia had been easing off while the democracies, and certainly in Hitler's most recent speech, were taking the place of current bogey. It looked as if Hitler was getting ready to fight or blackmail the democracies, and as if Russia was getting ready to stay inside her own frontier. . . The method worked . . . Lord Halifax is now reported to be conferring with the Russian Ambassador and the German trade mission, at any rate for the time being, has gone into cold storage. Another set-down for the Nazis is that Russia has broken off diplomatic relations with Hungary, dubbing her a "vassal state", because of her recent adoption of the Italo-German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact.

Hungary certainly has not appeared in a very engaging character. But it has to be remembered that she has been nursing a grievance, her revisionist grievance, for twenty years. And grievances more than all other things keep people reactionary and static. Moreover the country which had benefited at her expense, Czecho-Slovakia, was a democracy, and was giving democratic encouragement and increasing prosperity to those poverty-stricken peasants she had taken over from Hungary in some of the ceded areas. So there was an additional reason for Hungarian landlords to hate the democratic Czechs.

In a different form one can see the same kind of dilemma producing the same reactionary tendencies in Poland, as a result of

Marshal Pilsudski's brilliant campaign against Russia in 1920, has within her borders a vast non-Polish territory and half a people—the Ukrainians. The other half of the Ukrainians are mostly in Russia. If the self-determination principle were applied in this region, of course, this Sub-group, the Ukrainians, would join up in an independent State. But Ukrainian territory is some of the richest in the world, especially on the Russian side where the most has been done for it. Thus no liberalising, co-operative policies can grow on Polish territory. They might lead to local freedom. . . . Quite apart from the fact that Poland, with her tragic history of partitions and oppression, needs years and years of security before she can throw off her slave mentality.

Thinking on all this unease in Eastern Europe—an unease which has grown so much greater since Munich when Herr Hitler came into this one-way street which leads to the Ukraine and Roumanian oil and all the resources he so covets—one sees so clearly that the one restraining force which was needed here, and which was thrown away almost from the beginning, was the League idea. It can never be repeated too often that the League idea, the idea of give and take (and nothing taken by force), is the only idea that can reconcile differences between peoples. Instead of this idea all the new or enlarged States in Eastern and Central Europe went chasing after the idea of special Ententes. They tried to ensure their own security by making themselves stronger than the countries they had despoiled—thereby only ensuring that these countries would live to despoil in their turn.

As has been pointed out by one acute observer of affairs in Eastern Europe, instead of playing the League game the countries have been playing a game more like the childish game of noughts and crosses. One group has been trying to win all along one line, while the opponent of this group has been trying to win along the line in the opposite direction. But if the League idea had really been put into operation none of these wasteful struggles need have persisted. The Article in the Covenant which should have been kept in mind, Article 19 which envisages *peaceful change*, was an instrument we never had the courage to invoke.

It is one of the ironies of history that France, who to this very day is the most truly democratic people in existence, threw away the League idea in Europe and nailed the League instead to the impossible principle of maintain-

ing the *status quo*. That she did so of course was because of her fear of Germany. And she has, in the melancholy result, only achieved this: Germany has risen stronger and more militarist and more destructive of European humanism than ever before. All France has demonstrated is that there is no escape from the League idea. Once give up the idea of give and take, once substitute instead the idea of relying on superior force, and you may be confronted from the other side with a frankenstein such as you never dreamed of.

But France is not the only offender. If she failed to live up to her own innermost democratic convictions, England for her part has shut her eyes to the lessons of her own past history. Ever since the days of the Armada we have known that we cannot follow our own independent existence if there is anyone on the continent making himself so great as to interfere with other people following their independent existence. Thus we knocked Phillip II of Spain on the head. We knocked France twice on the head, first under Louis XIV and again under Napoleon. Twenty years ago we knocked Germany on the head. It was believed, with the League of Nations in existence, that it would never be necessary to knock anyone on the head again. The collective security of the League members was to ensure that no one resorted to force and disputes were to be settled, by give and take, at the council table. But from the very beginning the present Government has ignored the League and pooh-poohed the idea of collective security. From the very beginning it discouraged the League from taking any effective action in response to appeals made by China or Abyssinia or Czechoslovakia or Spain. *Each and every one of them, be it noted, defeats for democracy.*

(But the fundamental weakness of the League and the ultimate reason of the attitudes both of France and Great Britain is that, although it was by the ideals and persistence of the United States' President that the League idea took shape, the United States refused to join the League and so made it much more difficult for Great Britain to exercise a restraining hand on France as against Germany. France, without the active support of the United States, could not be sure of security with the result that all her foreign policy since the Great War has been influenced and dictated by fear of Germany.)

As a result we are brought to this pass. We are either preparing to knock Germany on the head again, or else we are preparing to betray

democracy finally in company with the Dictators. It is a deplorable fact that there are many people in this country who believe that the British Government is a pro-Fascist Government. Indeed at a public luncheon the other day Professor Haldane prophesied that, if we went to war with Germany, this country would be betrayed from the top, from within the ranks of the Government. I believe he actually specified the two members of the Government who would do the betraying!

If such speculations are rife today, the Government has no one to thank but itself. It keeps the whole country in ignorance, accuses its critics of being ignorant, but does nothing whatever to lighten this ignorance. Indeed listening in to Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham the other night, the thought jumped into my mind: he does not speak like the Prime Minister of England, he speaks like the Prime Minister merely of the Conservative Party. The Government's methods are on a par with the leader writer in the *Times* who derided the other day those "amateur strategists" who go about these days pointing out that the National Government has lost the next war in advance. But the point is that these strategists (and, by the way, the *Times'* own military correspondent is said to be of their number) should be answered. So long as the Government keeps us all in ignorance, so long as it merely derides its critics—and tries to set-up a kind of Chamberlain fetish instead of appealing to an instructed public opinion—it is evincing a Fascist mentality (and Fascism is catching on amongst its supporters).

And, by the way, what is the answer to these strategists? They say over and over again to the National Government you have lost the next war in advance (1) by letting the Fascists establish bases at all the vital points in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast of Spain, so that France can neither bribe over her troops from North Africa nor can we keep open our trade routes, our food routes; (2) by allowing Nazi Germany into Czecho-Slovakia and the road to Eastern Europe so that she can never again be blockaded and starved out; (3) by allowing Nazi Germany to become so strong that Italy and all the neutral States of Europe must willy-nilly be on her side (they cannot afford to be on the losing side); (4) by antagonising Russia so that in the next war there is no guarantee that there will be a Russian front to keep the German forces divided until America can come in; and because (5) thanks

to your policy of allowing Nazi Germany into Czecho-Slovakia, with the result that all the neighbouring States must fall into her lap, Russia, if she decided to come to the aid of the democracies, would have to fight her way through very difficult territory.

It is very interesting to raise all these points in conversation with those who cling to Mr Chamberlain and his umbrella! Very interesting and very depressing. Though they applaud Mr Chamberlain for keeping out of Spain and leaving the Spanish Government to their doom, it comes as a shock to them to realise that the Russian Government, with far more reason, might come to the same conclusion *when it came to rescuing them and France from a similar defeat.* It had been their comforting thought that since Hitler has yelled out so definitely, in particular at Nuremberg in 1936, that he wants the Ukraine, the Nazis and Communists are bound to fly at each others' throats. Indeed I have heard some good people express a hope that Nazi fury would work itself out against Russia—and leave us to pursue our comfortable ways.

All this selfish washing of hands, this indifference to what goes on in China or Russia or Spain, so long as we keep out of it, is justified on the grounds that peace is worth any price. But peace at any price is a fallacy which finds no support in history. Peace is one and indivisible. As a result of our negative attitude the initiative has passed out of our hands. Our life is a succession of waiting periods, waiting to hear what the German Dictator or the Italian Dictator is going to say next. The issue of war or peace is in their hands and they know it. And they believe that they can use the threat of war to blackmail us into giving them whatever they ask. At the moment of writing France is the next victim on their list. Hegemony of the Mediterranean has always been Mussolini's ambition. It has been said that it is his one consistency. To this end he has invaded Spain and conquered Spain. He has assured the trusting Mr. Chamberlain that he has no territorial ambitions in Spain. He would like the assistance of Mr. Chamberlain as a "mediator" between the claims of France and Italy, i.e., he would like Mr. Chamberlain to hand him Tunisia on a plate as at Munich he handed Czecho-Slovakia to Hitler on a plate. (And whoever controls Tunisia controls passage through the Mediterranean.) Some idea of this impending crisis swept the country about a fortnight ago, when Franco entered Barcelona

and it was realised that the Spanish war had been won by the Berlin-Rome axis.

But why do people in this country have to wait till the *expected* happens before they wake up to the consequences? Why do they pull the wool over their eyes?

The wool in the case of Spain of course was "communism". They laid the flattering unction to their soul that the Spanish Government were a horde of Communists while General Franco, who began the rebellion, was a patriot. The war had not been in progress a week before Italian aeroplanes, crashing on French territory, proved that Italy was intervening in Spain. Even so they tried to deceive themselves with the belief that other countries were also intervening, though it was plain for everyone to see that the only Communist intervener, Russia, was such miles away from Spain as to have no effective means of intervening—and no *strategic motive whatever*.

And so it has gone on, gone from bad to worse. Our "wish-fulfilment" Government has gone out of its way to make friends with the ruthless invader of Spain, has explained away as long as it could that invader's cynical disregard of his non-intervention undertakings. And when it was no longer possible to explain such conduct away, has clutched next at the invader's promise that he has no territorial ambitions in Spain.

Yet less than four years ago, when he was beginning his campaign against Abyssinia, that same invader, Mussolini, bought off French opposition by entering into an accord with M. Laval. That accord was concerned with Italian claims in Tunisia, claims which were to be liquidated by agreed stages, *all Italians in Tunis becoming French subjects by the year 1965*. . . Today, after so short a time, Mussolini denounces that Agreement.

We are entitled to ask: How long will it be before he repudiates his promises with regard to Spain? How long will it be before he denounces the Anglo-Italian Agreement?

Meanwhile, underneath all this chicanery, Spain has been destroyed. The Spanish people have put up a heroic fight. It may well be that future ages, looking back on the twentieth century, will find more to wonder at in these tragic happenings in Spain than in any other phase of our present history. What a crime, they may say, to have put back the clock in Spain for the sake of the ambition of an upstart Italian dictator.

For the Spanish Government, before this terrible rebellion intervened, was beginning to settle the outlines of the new Spain in accordance with the wishes of that diverse collection of peoples that go to make up the country of Spain.

Spain is a collection of peoples rather than a people. This of itself is enough to suggest that, whatever form of government she may affect, nothing could be less likely than that it should be centralising and *totalitarian*. Yet we have been asked to believe that the Catholic Franco, with his imported totalitarian outlook, is the real soul of Spain. . . Franco has been allowed to conquer Spain because it suited the Berlin-Rome axis. And no one has cared about what suited the Spanish peoples.

The Spanish peoples are made up of four *distinct nationalities*—Castilians, Galicians, Basques, and Catalans. The Spanish Government had just granted autonomy to the Basques and the Catalans. (75 per cent of the Catalans and 84 per cent of the Basques had voted for autonomy.) They were preparing to grant autonomy to the Galicians, where 73 per cent had voted for it. "The greater part of the risings and political troubles in Spain during the past hundred and fifty years", it has been said, "have been directly due to the efforts of these peoples to regain their rights and liberties."

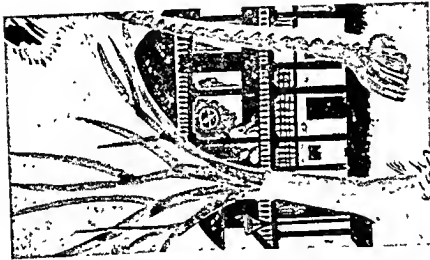
They were about to see their age-long struggle crowned with success. But we have destroyed the four Spains to make a Roman holiday for Mussolini.

Westminster,  
6th February, 1939

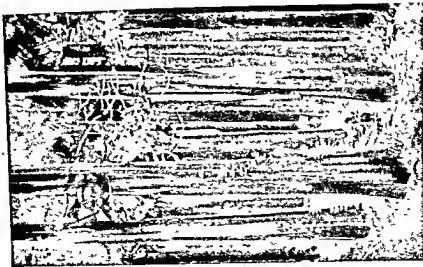




The Elephant and the Rider  
By Nandlal Bose



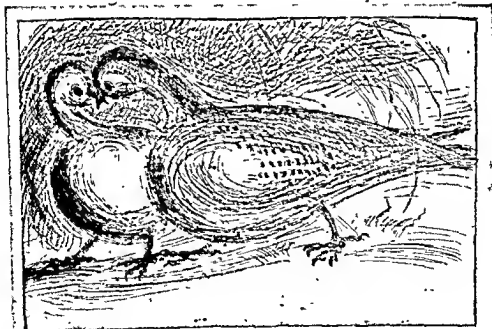
The White Tree  
By Nandlal Bose



The Pine Forest  
By Nandlal Bose



Arjun  
Drypoint by Nandalal Bose



Doves  
Etching by Ramkinkar Baij

## KALABHAVAN ART EXHIBITION

We educated Indians cannot certainly be accused of being 'art-conscious'. Art to most of us is a puzzle. A few have made a cult of it, no doubt. We look at them askance; an admixture of awe as well as incredulity is our natural response to their dissertations. We are more at ease with the Old Masters or the new ones, for the simple reason that the High Priests of Art have put their seal of approval on them, and, we need not be afraid of admiring. An Art Exhibition, therefore, should leave us cold and even uncomfortable—we are launched within the precincts of four walls into an uncharted sea. But, it remains to be explained how then Art Exhibitions in Calcutta are no longer exceptional in character, reserved for the Christmas "season", when bejewelled visitors troop in into this city to attend the

haps an artist also desires for warmth of response which is not less potent a factor to make him live and live by himself and true to his own self. Is that warmth, that mild glow from spirit to spirit through the medium of a canvas or paper or stone or clay or anything else, available in Calcutta? And is our culture broadened and deepened to such an extent, in spite of the obvious disruptive tendencies that are at work in it, as to endow us with that taste for forms and sounds, valuable in themselves and valuable for our very existence? Calcutta has seen some art exhibitions of late, and, these raise naturally the above reflections in the minds of some of its culture-students. The Kalabhavan Exhibition of paintings, modellings, etchings, drypoints, coloured woodcuts, linocuts, etc served as the immediate occasion for some of us to indulge in this musing. It had chosen Rames Bhavan of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to hang up the exhibits. The place is not a favourite haunt for wealthy patrons or the so-called cultural society. The Parishad house smells too much of the dusty manuscripts. A good market cannot be expected there, and most of the exhibits were not for sale. In a sense, therefore, the exhibition was a challenge to 'the cultured' of the city. If they cared for art, they were to make their way to Rames Bhavan. An Art Exhibition is not to be a side-show to a Firpo-tea or just 'a new thing to see' for the leisured class by the side of its favourite drives or haunts or shopping quarters. The Kalabhavan Exhibition put our educated section on trial in this respect. It remains to be proved that we stood it with credit.

The Kalabhavan Exhibition was a test also for our artistic sense or sensibility. Indian Art we have learnt to admire. We no longer feel amused at its strange departure from all norms of known and unknown objects. We do accept our revived Indian Art. We even set a store by its very defiance of the holy canons of western art or of that false naturalism which copies nature but cannot see into Nature. Indian Art of this century is, however, a revival. It had too much of the character of a revival about it. Its associations with the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon is proving too close to be severed, although the gods are dead or dying.



At the grinding stone  
After a Haripura Congress Poster  
By Nandalal Bose

Viceregal parties are persuaded, as part of the ceremonials, to see art and observe the ritual completely by buying pieces. Exhibitors of course cannot be indifferent to that—they too must live, and to live, seek a market for their wares—but, it appears, that they look for comforts from some other quarters as well. Per-



with the present generation. The Mughal or Rajput style was a delicate refinement. Both suited to some of our moods. But in a period of storm and stress these are refuge and only a refuge for some moments. There are no doubt precious moments that lend a charm and grace to our existence. But such moods do not sum up our entire life, or evoke our deeper emotions. The two trends in this Indian Art Revival were thus a traditionalism and a neo-

a faith, and are bewildered by heterodoxy. The Kalabhavan Exhibition puts us on our test in this respect.

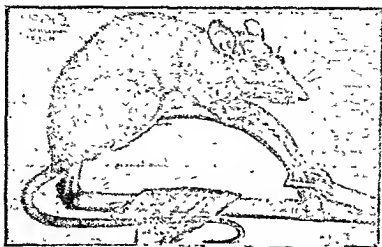
The Visvabharati claims to be universal as a University in its point of view. It is no wonder, therefore, if in the prevailing atmosphere, the Kalabhavan grows a similar outlook. By a natural evolution, its creators are shedding the lineaments of the discarded past or the fineries of poetic exoticism. Vision is broadened: to be Indian is not to exclude the world and to be lyrical is not to disown the sombre shades or the high seriousness of life. 'Indianism' is no longer the passport; Hindu and Buddhist pantheons are receding to the background—just as our nationalism-cum-Hinduism which was the source of this cultural movement, is no longer a living force. We have developed a saner view of western life and its cultural expressions. To a certain extent, with less powerful mind, it results in a reaction in that the superfluous, and the effervescence, of western civilisation send them reeling and make them forget the great achievements and the daring experiments of that very civilisation. Both the true and the false rings of this modern life can be discovered even in our life and our literature today. At last some of the true rings are produced by the Kalabhavan artists in their creations. A strength and vigour is now noticeable in their works which comes as a refreshing surprise. They are very vital. Standing in front of the Haripura Posters of the master-artist Nanda Lal Basu one felt like witnessing the mighty surge of the great movement which within the Congress Nagar was trying to lift its head—the tumultuous roar of the millions, who are waiting to find their political voice through some revolutionary tribute, a Gandhi, a Jawaharlal or a Subhas Chandra. This fact might escape them—the leaders. But the artist has heard it, the seer has seen it, and its very inward character and truth is imparted by Nandalal in broad, bold lines on paper which should never perish. Just as the mass movement bears strange parallel to such movements world over, the posters in their simplicity and strength remind of similar artistic efforts in the west. The posters, however, are in the truest tradition of the soil as well, in style reminding one of the Bengal pats as well as the Ajanta frescoes. They too were popular in the true sense; for, they were creations of artists who belonged to the people and painted for the people. Such are these posters. In style and subject matter they are popular, in spirit they



A goat

By Benodebihari Mukerjee

lyricism in style and subject. The dangers were evident. In the first case, inspiration turned its back on life and thought in the present; in the second, it avoided the call and urge of our vital existence. But inspiration, when it is true, can break through any charmed circle, and, when it does so, it embarrasses the less inspired votaries of the tradition and the less gifted adherents of the cult. They have come by



The trap  
Etching by Durgakumar Ray

represent the newborn vigour of the popular mind and movement, and, in art, they are a healthy, happy and great record of a great artist, and hopeful promise of an artistic school which is taking shape

It would be wrong to stop with the Haripura posters at the Exhibition. As one moved on, not less moving creations met and challenged attention. Words are too poor a vehicle to bring out the charm, subtlety or the consummate art of a Nandalal etching or drypoint—a 'Landscape with Sal Tree,' or the big chained Promethean figure of an 'Arjuna', the landscapes on restricted palette that remind one of Chinese paintings, or the paintings like 'Radha's Viraha' or "Svarna Kumbha" (Golden Pitcher)—All these are great achievements by themselves. There are so many of them that one could spare little time even to do justice to other significant creations of the other artists. Tagore's paintings are recognised as new achievements even for him, and, some of these works show the impenetrable depth of beings the poet has seen through. Of the others, S. Benodebihari Mukerji's landscapes deserve a fitting tribute. Artists of the Indian tradition were at first slow to take to this mode. S. Mukerji imparts to his landscapes a solemnity that catches the very spirit of nature. He has the power to re-create Nature. His woodcuts and etchings again do honour to

the gifts. In these lines, the former students and teachers of the Kalabhavan lead easily. The names as we know include besides that of Nandalal Basu, those of S. Ramendra Nath Chakraborty, Manindra Bhushan Gupta and Binodebehari Mukerji. It is a happy sign that the students of the Kalabhavan show promise, which, if undisturbed, is likely to continue the tradition created by their masters. Noteworthy among them are Ram Kinkar Baij who is likely to be a great success in sculpture and in etching, Viswarup Basu in coloured woodcuts and etching, and Durga Kumar Roy.

The Kalabhavan Exhibition was a challenge and a fulfilment too. It has not, as any one can see, broken away from the Indian Art Revival movement. But it has developed in technique, style and outlook, into something more than what that movement signified in the former phase. Like every growth it is different from what it was in the past and is, at the same time, the result of the past. The artistic movement represents the parallel tendencies in the socio-political life of the people. The artist, if alive, responds to them without compromising Art. But the connoisseurs who make a fashion of art are bewildered. To them the new Art is a challenge. And is Kalabhavan Exhibition such a challenge?

G. H.

## COMMENT & CRITICISM

### *The Jewish Refugees and India*

I have gone through the letter written by our worthy brother Taraknath Das from New York in the January issue of *The Modern Review*. One would really admire the very generous attitude of our friend in suggesting you to admit persecuted Jews of Germany amidst ourselves. I am one amongst those Indians who feel that India should stop admitting any refugee from any part of the world, as we have a lot of misery and unemployment existing amongst us due to being generous all these years in admitting various refugees from time to time.

Our friend quotes the example of civilised barbarism of the West in persecuting these Jews in Germany, but forgets 90% of his brethren in this country who are living

in a worse condition due to no fault of theirs, but to the exploiters, who all along have cared for themselves forgetting the miseries of such a vast population. If religious and racial persecution has no room in Hindu India, then let all the Hindus in their home first think of the unfortunate Indian brethren who cannot dream of one square meal every third or fourth day and the women folk to cover their bodies. Charity should first begin with ourselves to improve the lot of our own suffering brethren.

Why count upon poor India whose multitudes live in half starvation and nakedness? There is the rest of the rich world, the Americans, the Britishers, the Italians and the French.

Karschi

KISHINCHAND D BHAGYANI



Srimati Pramila Raje



Shrimant Jaysingrao Ghatge, Chief of Nagal

Srimati Pramila Raje, sister of Vijaysingrao Bhonsle, Raja of Akkalkot, was married to Shrimant Jaysingrao Ghatge, Chief of Nagal, in January, 1939



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Anatole France

Anatole France is not only the best prose writer in French but he is the most versatile of all intellectual savants, France has produced since the glorious days of Voltaire Observes Jaladhi Lal Roy in *The Twentieth Century* :

Monsieur France was the most versatile writer of the pre war generation. He was vastly learned and carried the mantle of his vast erudition with nimbleness and wit. In spite of his prodigious learning, he was never dull and that is the sign of a great writer. He clothed his enormous learning with simplicity and he scattered his pearls of wisdom at the opportune moment. He had been novelist, short story writer, critic, historian, orator and socialist pamphleteer. As a short story writer, he was almost on the same level with Guy de Maupassant. His 'Bahissar' and 'le Puits de Sainte Claire' are models of precision, method and style. In fact they are the most perfect models for any beginner who is aspiring to be a short story teller. As a historian, France was brilliant and his 'la Vie de Jeanne D'Arc' (the Life of Joan of Arc) is still one of the greatest biographies of modern times. It is difficult to finish this monumental work without shedding tears. It is the most beautiful and moving book Monsieur France has written.

The fame of Anatole France will rest upon his magical and inimitable style.

It is difficult indeed to appreciate his style in writing. The sonorous music of his prose should be read aloud, and how beautiful it sounds when you read French aloud. As a novelist France had his defects. He did not develop characters like Balzac or Zola. Neither did he impart strength to them like Flaubert or Stendhal. France was too intellectual and used his characters as his mouthpieces. Sylvestre Bonnard, M. Bergeret, Jerome Coignard, Nicéas and Brotteaux, all these moving personalities in his books are but the personal reflection of Anatole France's own mind. What they think, and what they do, they only faithfully portray what the great master wants to do himself in life. They are all too clever, too high-brow and too much of Epicureans, to be loved by the common run of men and women. They lack the breadth of life, of flesh and bone.

The genius of Anatole France is episodic.

France lacks the dramatic quality of Balzac or the sweep and wide brush of Zola or the psychological penetration of Marcel Proust. But as an artist Anatole France stands supreme. His style has the perfection of simplicity, which is the hardest to attain and the most lasting, because it is the least dependent on literary fashions. His love of beauty and of lucidity found a medium of expression free from vulgarities and yet absolutely characteristic of his genius. In form and thought there is not the slightest appearance of effort, and yet the reader is kept constantly on the alert by some happy

turn of phrase which throws the subject into an unexpected and often ludicrous light. The name of Anatole France will take its stand by the side of those of Montaigne and Voltaire as a landmark in the history of French thought.

His love of peace and quiet, his intellectual outlook, his pity for the oppressed, and his dream of the united states of Europe, all show an amazing vitality and lovable personality. He represents the genius of France—that elusive quality which has reserved for her the intellectual empire of Europe. His genius is 'la claire genie Latin' and his passionate adoration of everything classical marks him out as one of the great intellectual giants of the French Republic.

## The World in Travail

The world seems lacking in moral grandeur. There is a breathless energy, a feverish search, elemental chaos. It is not rest. It is want of poise. Observes Prof Amarnath Jha in *The Indian World* :

Every generation believes itself to be on the road to progress. But who that watches what is happening today in Europe and Asia can retain an attitude of hopefulness and complacency? Honoured leaders advocate in public and international affairs the laws of barbarism. They preach naked selfishness in world affairs. In 1918, Woodrow Wilson, the idealist who little understood the tortuous ways of politics, said "The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by - to is also the day of secret covenants." For a brief period that hope seemed to be near fulfilment. In 1928, Germany, the United States of America, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia in solemn covenant expressed themselves as being "deeply sensible of the solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made, to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated." And yet what had Herr Hitler to say to the German nation on the eve of the plebiscite? "The bases of my programme," he said, "are blood, fire and personality," and in a speech in East Prussia, he observed: "I will soon be leader of the greatest army in the history of the world."

Signor Mussolini stated in 1934: "We have defended the independence of the Austrian Republic, an independence which has been consecrated by the blood of a Chancellor." Yet early in 1938 the German Government handed to the Austrian President an ultimatum with a time limit attached, ordering to nominate as Chancellor a person to be designated by the German Government and to appoint members of a cabinet on the orders of the German Government; otherwise, German troops would invade Austria. Two months later, during Herr Hitler's triumphal tour through Italy, Signor Gayda wrote in the *Giornale d'Italia*, professing the keen respect of Berlin

Calcutta as an example, for which some statistics for the imports both along rivers and canals and the railways are available, it is found that the supply of fish available per annum per head of the population works out at not more than 10 seers, which is about 1/4th to 1/6th of the normal requirements for an adult. The amount of fish available in Calcutta has decreased since these statistics were compiled. With the increased facilities for transport more and more fish is now re-exported from Calcutta and as a result comparatively much smaller quantity at much higher prices is left for local consumption.

Bengal is very rich in the varieties of fish that inhabit its waters, but unfortunately no separate comprehensive accounts of these are so far available. Over 1600 species of fish have been recorded from India and some 250 of them are probably found in Bengal. A great majority of these, however, are of very little economic importance. The fishes which are particularly favoured by the Bengalees are the fresh water carps, the chief among which are the *Catla*, *Rohu*, *Mrigal* and *Catmbas*, the Indian *Shad* or *Hilsa* and the *Topsi*. In addition some small scaled fishes like the *Koi*, snake-headed fishes like *Saui* or *Sandi* and the scaleless silurids like *Magur*, *Singhi*, and a few other forms which are generally included under that comprehensive name *Jeol Mackh* or the fish that can be transported alive and sold as such to the consumers, and the larger species like *Baal*, *Pabda*, etc., from the majority of the edible fishes of Bengal. In addition *Bhetka*, which is essentially a marine form, but which also flourishes in the estuaries and, to some extent, in fresh waters, is greatly in demand with the Europeans and some classes of the Indians.

### Holland in the Great Plan

Dutch culture spreads over most countries of western and northern Europe. In view of its very limited territory and population it seems out of the question that it can ever again play first violin in the European orchestra. But its moral influence today is out of all proportion to the actual power it can exercise in the physical world. Observes Dr. Ketwich Verschuur in *The Theosophist*:

*It goes without saying that but for Holland's consistent policy of living in peace and friendship with all countries, of maintaining perfect independence and neutrality, of strictly and objectively applying the regulations of international law without the slightest preference for either side, it would have been impossible to remain out of the World War.*

The great value of Holland's neutrality during these terrible four years becomes obvious when one considers the important services it could render as an island of peace in the mid-st of the raging conflagration, where good will and helpfulness were equally given to whatever country the suffering fellow man, who asks it, might belong, and where a large number of fugitives of different nationalities, but principally Belgians after the German invasion of their country, found a cordial reception.

In the beginning of her reign Queen Wilhelmina had already drawn general attention by offering asylum to Mr. Paul Kruger, the old President of the South African Republic, who had to flee before the English invading troops and was conveyed to Europe on one of H. M. S. cruisers specially sent to Delagoa Bay for the purpose of saving the old President the bitter affliction of falling into the hands of his enemies. A French statesman called Queen

Wilhelmina on account of that fact "the only man on a European throne."

One of the last refugees after the Great War was the German Emperor Wilhelm II. It will be remembered that his extradition was asked by the Entente Powers and refused by the Hague Government. By no means because of the sympathy the fallen monarch enjoyed in this country, for the great majority of the people were in sympathy with the cause of Belgium, England and France, but only because its sacred tradition of giving asylum to all political refugees should not be violated whatever the consequence might be of the refusal of a demand put to Holland by a predominant and victorious coalition.

And finally neutral Holland had the opportunity for humanity's sake of keeping up to a certain extent the international relations between the warring parties by putting the organs of its diplomatic and consular services abroad at the disposal of all the warring nations, and in this way contributing as much as possible to relieving the terrible sufferings of innocent private people, men, women and children, caused by the hardships of war all over the world.

### Sir Carolin Carrot

Deficiency of vitamin A in the average Indian diet represents one of the major nutritional problems in this country. This fact was emphasized by the Central Government's Health Commissioner in his recently published report. Carrots are rich in vitamin A. Writes Dr. H. C. Menkel in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The humble carrot has been honoured by science in true knightly fashion. Its name will ever, hereafter, be highly revered, for has not that name been selected as the "symbol"—"carotin"—for the yellow pigment stuff which nature employs for compounding the mystic and highly important vitamin A? This vitamin is highly essential during youth, to promote balanced growth and development. Its property in adult life is to maintain health.

Deficiency of carotin in the diet is manifest by stunted growth, chronic ill-health, low resistance to infection, particularly to such infections as produce eye, ear, sinus, and lung diseases. The effect of vitamin A deficiency is widely manifest in India.

How to correct this defect and its consequences is a practical problem to which the Nutritional Institute at Coonoor has given much attention. They recommend more extensive use of cod-liver oil, and red palm oil as an addition to the diet. Neither of these two recommended substances are likely to find much use among the masses, because of the high cost and difficulty to obtain them readily. Milk is also a good source of vitamin A, but its liberal use is likewise restricted due to the expense factor.

It is just here that the carrot may provide a helpful solution to these vitamin and financial problems. It compares well with cod-liver oil, red palm oil, and milk as a ready source for carotin or vitamin A. Carrots contain two-thirds as much vitamin A as cod-liver oil, butter and whole milk, and twice as much as coconut, ground nuts, and wheat bran.

The daily use of the carrot for children and adults, and its extensive cultivation should be encouraged in every possible manner.

This vitamin withstands ordinary cooking temperatures with little loss, but loses its power gradually on

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## After Munich : Germany's Prospects in Central Europe

Dr. A. J. Toynbee, Research Professor of International History in the University of London and author of the annual *Survey of International Affairs*, discusses in the *International Affairs* the prospect of Germany, after Munich, in Central and Eastern Europe. He first considers some of the factors that are favourable to Germany.

Germany has now nearly eighty million inhabitants, almost double the population of the next most populous European Power, almost as large a population as that of Great Britain and France added together. Not only is Germany now by far the biggest nation in Europe that is united in a single national State, but, immediately adjoining her on the east, she has a whole cluster of rather small, rather newly fledged nations, so that Germany's strength is juxtaposed with, and enhanced by, the weakness of Germany's eastern neighbours. Again, Germany, in combination with her partner in the Berlin-Rome Axis, now insulates France and Great Britain from everything on the Continent that lies beyond the eastern frontiers of the Reich and Italy. The Axis divides France and Great Britain from everything eastwards as far as Vladivostok. In war time the Axis Powers would be able to cut Anglo-French communications with Eastern Europe and Russia, not only overland but also by sea through the Baltic (certainly) and through the Mediterranean (very probably). Another point relating to the small States to the east of Germany: the Reich has now so great a preponderance of economic power over these States that she might be able to place them in a position in which their only chance of prosperity and livelihood would lie in co-operation with Germany on German terms. They might not like it, but they might have no alternative. In a similar way she has such a preponderance of military power over them that she might be able to place the small States in such a position that their only chance of security would be in co-operation with her against others on her terms. Then, again, some small nations east of Germany have historic quarrels with one another as well as with Germany, and as some of these East-European quarrels have been perpetuated and embittered by the Peace Settlement of 1919, Germany might be able to play off her East-European neighbours against one another.

He then discusses the factors that may prove unfavourable to Germany:

To begin with, Germany's present superiority in numbers is being diminished by the higher rate of increase of population in countries to the east of her. In a similar way, I suppose, the social and economic preponderance that she has over them is being reduced by the relative rapidity with which, since the War, those same countries have been developing their social and

economic life. Then one might ask whether Germany would in fact be able to exercise any effective military and economic control over the activities of these countries without seriously interfering in their internal affairs and arousing the resentment that such interference would necessarily produce. There I would say that I suppose she will try to interfere in their internal affairs, not directly, but indirectly through native governing elements which, for the sake of keeping their position in their own countries, might play Germany's game by giving her an invisible control and domination.

Another point is that all the countries in this area, however bitterly they may quarrel with each other, have perhaps one thing in common in their common dislike and fear of Germany. And the mutual antagonisms between them cut both ways. While it is true that these make it possible for Germany to play off these countries against each other, at the same time they make it difficult for Germany to do that and still remain friends with all these countries alike. I mean, it would be difficult for Germany at the same time to gratify both Hungary and Czechoslovakia, or both Hungary and Roumania. They would be a difficult team to drive. Then there is nationalism. Owing to the rapid progress of every European nation towards political maturity, together with the gradual ecentration of nationalism throughout the world, the strength of national feeling in Eastern Europe has perhaps already risen to a pitch at which these nations will insist on real independence and will refuse to be content with a mere existence on sufferance under Germany's shadow. They have struggled hard against German domination in the past—Magyars, Italians, and Slavs have all done that—and they have had a taste of self-government in the twenty years which is likely to make them more than ever unwilling to acquiesce in foreign domination. And even if Germany were to succeed in bringing neighbouring countries into some kind of German system, perhaps there is still a possibility that, within this circle, a cabalier group headed by Italy and Poland might form itself with the object of keeping German preponderance within limits. Already there has been a struggle over Carpatho-Ukraine in which Hungary, Poland and Italy have jointly opposed Germany. In this instance Germany has won.

Again, the governing elements in some of these countries are very unpopular, not least because they are inclined to play the German game. They might be overthrown by popular upheavals, and Germany would be the loser thereby. And supposing that the resentment against German domination in Central and Eastern Europe did rise to a pitch at which these countries came to think of Germany first and foremost as the threat to their liberties, their attitude towards the Soviet Union might change correspondingly. From having seemed a menace, anyway to the governing element in those countries, Russia might come to be thought of as a rallying point, and even looked to as a saviour. Russia is certainly a considerable Power, and she is a Power with almost unlimited stretches of territory in the East-European countries' rear, so that a co-operation between them and Russia would give them room to manoeuvre, so to speak.

back to the high estate from which it had fallen. "Monet is only an eye," he said, though he added, "but what an eye!" He resolved to go deeper. A picture ought to be something more than an "impression" of a passing effect. It ought to be a thing carefully and slowly built up, a balanced, organized thing. Back to nature certainly, but not in the photographer's sense. Rather in the spirit of the anatomist who starts by finding the skeleton, then the muscles, nerves, and arteries, and finally the skin.

Patently, in a kind of agony of research, he probed into the anatomy of nature, working out his own formulas and forging his own tools. Anything would do, provided he could hold it down on the dissecting table while he worked at it—his wife, a couple of peasants playing cards, a pound of apples on a crumpled napkin, a corner of his garden, a glimpse of the Montagne Ste-Victoire in the valley of the Arc. But he was a slow, clumsy worker. He was no born painter like Monet. Painting was to him an interminable, painful business. Volland sat to him a hundred and fifteen times and at the end Cezanne said he was satisfied with the painting of the shirt front. His wife fidgeted ("Why can't you sit as still as an apple?" he asked the poor woman), the apples rotted, the light changed, everything changed. And still he went on, complaining regretfully that the world would not stand still but always extracting a little bit of the universal and eternal from beneath the veil of the particular and transient.

Never was so earnest a man less superficially gifted. But in the end he did construct a convincing, bony world, a solid three-dimensional world very different from the flimsy, accidental world of Monet. What he wanted, he said, was to "do Poussin again, after nature," to be "classic" in the true sense of the word, to get back to "essentials," to "the sphere the cone, and the cylinder" (a good phrase but a fatal one, for out of it his followers evolved Cubism and abstract art). His achievement in putting art back on the firm base from which it had slipped was immense. His work has the effect of making almost all his contemporaries look shallow and trivial.

### Declaration of Lima

The Eighth Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru, which adopted a large number of resolutions and declarations, has been characterized as a failure by the Fascist press. This exultation, however, is not quite justified. The *Philippine Magazine* points out some of the achievements of the Conference.

Due to Latin America's historical connection with Spain and Portugal, and the large number of Italian and German, and also Japanese, settlers, anti-democratic propaganda agencies have been very active for some years, foreign political blocks have been formed, and fascist penetration has been alarming enough. Had the Lima Conference resulted in nothing more than the calling of world attention to this real danger, the Conference would have been amply justified.

But much more than this was accomplished in the adoption of the Declaration of the Solidarity of America (also called the Declaration of Lima) and two associated Resolutions—one condemning racial and religious bigotry and intolerance everywhere, and the other condemning in the Americas any collective political activity by aliens.

The Declaration of Lima reaffirms the principle of continental solidarity and the determination of the American republics to collaborate in the principles upon which this

solidarity is based, reaffirms the decision to maintain these principles "against all foreign intervention or activity that may threaten them" and states that "in case the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American republic is thus threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, co-ordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation established by conventions in force . . . using the measures which in each case the circumstances may make advisable, it [being] understood that the Governments of the American republics will act independently in their individual capacity, recognizing fully their juridical equality as sovereign states . . ."

The other important agreement was the Declaration of American Principles which constitutes a virtual underwriting by all the Americas of Secretary Hull's famous declaration of July 16 on the canons of international conduct. It runs . . .

"Whereas the need for keeping alive the fundamental principles of relations among nations was never greater than today, and each state is interested in the preservation of world order under law in peace with justice and in the social and economic welfare of mankind, the governments of the American republics resolve to proclaim, support, and recommend once again the following principles as essential to the achievement of the aforesaid objectives: (1) The intervention of any state in the internal or external affairs of another is inadmissible; (2) All differences of an international character should be settled by peaceful means; (3) The use of force as an instrument of national or international policy is proscribed; (4) Relations between states should be governed by the precepts of international law; (5) Respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitute the indispensable rule for the development of peaceful relations between states and treaties can be revised only by agreement of the contracting parties; (6) Peaceful collaboration between representatives of the various states and the development of intellectual interchange among their peoples is conducive to an understanding by each of the problems of the other as well as of problems common to all, and make more possible the peaceful adjustment of international controversies; (7) Economic reconstruction contributes to national and international well-being as well as to peace among nations; (8) International co-operation is a necessary condition to the maintenance of the aforesaid principles."

### The Philippine Magazine continues:

It is not generally known that there was a time, even long before the outbreak of the World War, when the General Staff of the United States Army was concerned with the problem of a possible attack upon the United States by Germany from the direction of South America. With the development of aviation, the nearness of the South American coast to northern Africa is no longer such a prominent factor, but the fact remains that various European powers have ambitions relating to South America that run counter to vital United States interests. These ambitions are not, directly, for colonies, although the fascist nations would like nothing better than fascist sub-colonies in South America, governed by puppets under their control, who would assure them of co-operation in case of war through the supply of war materials and food-stuffs.

In this, and related considerations, any evidence of closer American unity, any demonstration of American solidarity strengthens the position of United States immeasurably in world affairs. That may have been chiefly in the thoughts of the diplomats of the United States, and indications that this is true are already developing in the news of the day.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

By GOPAL HALDAR

A FRENCH minister is of opinion that, if war is to start, it must start this year. An Indian student of the World Affairs, on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, is naturally thus weighed down by the big and fateful potentialities of the events. They are likely to decide the fate of his people as of others. Every cloud has, therefore, to be watched,—and, a thunderstorm is about to rage any moment.

### BARCELONA FALLS

A dark cloud hangs over Spain. Barcelona has fallen and its fall has only hastened the collapse of the Republican resistance in Catalonia, if not in the whole of Spain.

But Barcelona owes her defeat not solely to Franco's forces or Italian legionaries. Its fall was brought about by the passive conspiracy of the two so-called democracies, France and Great Britain, who stood stolid against all Republican appeal for food and arms from outside.

### REPUBLICAN RIFT IN THE LUTE

Defeat is more disastrous often enough on the moral front of a people, and Catalonian capitulation has affected its brave leaders in a similar way. Figueras, the temporary seat of the Government, had to be blown up almost a week after the seizure of Barcelona before the advancing insurgent forces, and President Azana flew off to France while Premier Negrin and his party were thinking of continuing the fight for Spain with Valencia or Madrid as the centre until the Government are assured on three points: no reprisal to the supporters of Republican cause; clearing of the country of all foreign troops; and, lastly, right of the Spanish people to choose their own Government. But none of these a victorious enemy would be anxious to accept or observe. Franco would hear of nothing but complete surrender. Senor Azana knows the Republican cause is now hopeless and the best course open to the people is to admit it and try to mitigate the coming suffering of their partisans in Spain and avoid any unnecessary bloodshed. Dr Negrin and his colleagues differ from him, probably because they realise, from the attitude of Franco, that nothing worth saving can be saved by even such peace, as Senor Azana desires for, now at any rate, when Franco is in a position to dictate peace. For Dr. Negrin the best road is the road to Madrid, by the side of Majia's unbroken army, to Valencia, still unconquered.

But the resistance is bound to prove a

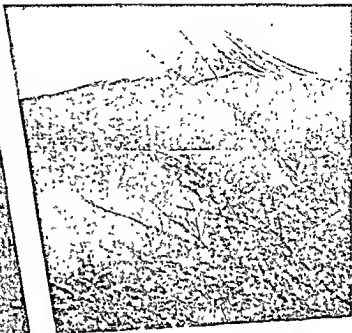
failure, however long and valiant. Franco is more certain of victory and the democratic countries of France and Great Britain, after they have starved out and robbed of new arms the Republicans of Catalonia, are settling terms for *de jure* recognition of the Nationalist Government. They are said to have asked Franco for a policy of no reprisal against the Spanish democratic partisans; but their appeal has received no more favourable response from the General. M. Berard of France is hurrying between Burgos and Paris with terms of settlement which Franco is not at all anxious to agree to. But if Franco does not agree, Daladier and Chamberlain are of course to agree with Franco.

### EFFECTS ON PARIS AND LONDON

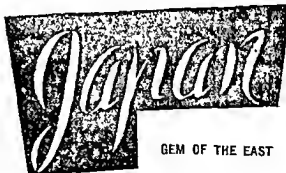
Back from Rome, Mr. Chamberlain talked of his belief that Italy would evacuate Spain, and declared, "We had endeavoured to maintain strict impartiality in accordance with our desire that the Spanish question should be settled by the Spaniards themselves." At Rome, Signor Gayda wrote in the *Giornale d'Italia*, interpreting with more authority the Roman dictator's assurances: "General Franco's victory cannot be completed until the demobilization and dispersal of the 200,000 'Reds' gathered in France and until the former Government members and big military leaders are also dispersed and silenced." This of course will by no means silence Mr. Chamberlain, who will still maintain that Italy has no territorial designs in Spain; and so the Empire route in the Mediterranean and the British possessions in the East are, thanks to his Anglo-Italian Agreement, as safe as before. Of course, efforts may be made by British diplomats now to arrive at a settlement with Franco and to forestall Italy in certain respects in Spain in return for a recognition of and a loan for reconstruction to Nationalist Spain by Britain; but such moves, when the present market-value of the British power is known, is not likely to succeed greatly.

"Impartiality, more strong than traitors' arms, quite vanquished it," wrote the *Manchester Guardian* on the Republican debacle in Spain, and concluded significantly, "It will be strange if we also do not suffer for the virtue of our Government." It was evident even from the beginning, as we have repeatedly pointed out that both for Britain and France, a Franco-victory was fraught with dangerous consequences. Majorca in the Balearic islands was already in





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Italian hands, and, while France was thinking of balancing the position by claiming for herself Minorca and Spanish Morocco at this crisis, the Italian envoy is carried to the former by a British ship *Derwentshire* to put an end to the French hopes in the matter. With the Italian lords of Franco on the Pyrenees, France is confronted on three sides by hostile powers. And the Italian navy and aeroplane have already threatened to cut her off from her Mediterranean empire and stations. Insect troops and planes are concentrating war British and French Somaliland, Insect forces are leaving for Libya and are being massed on the Tunisian frontier. The immediate demands of the Duce have been put forward in November last: Tunis, Jibouti and Suez, and, the French will be soon forced as Britain her ally, urges, to "reasonable concessions" on these. A new and liberal statute governing the status of Italians in Tunis, a free port at Jibouti with the control of the French-owned Jibouti-Addis Ababa Railway and Italian share in the administration of the Suez Canal and some frontier concessions in favour of Italy in Tunisia and Somaliland—these are likely to be the outcome of a period of uncertainty that France is bound to face now. Indeed, the neo-Roman conquerors who dream of reviving the glory that was Rome would not be satisfied unless the Mediterranean is again turned to an 'Italian lake'—to 'our Sea'—and the Mediterranean rival is destroyed to leave Rome the Mistress of this sea. As the *Revue de Deux Monde*, writing before the fall of Barcelona, reminds, France is the Carthage of the hour and a "Mediterranean Munich" will prove it.

Speaking for the moment Mr. Chamberlain declared on the possibility of that terrible eventuality:

"that the threat to the vital interests of France, from whatever quarters it came, must evoke immediate co-operation in this country."

Herr Hitler equally emphatically defined his attitude in the Reichstag speech of January 30.

"If Italy is involved in a war it is absolutely certain that Germany will be on the side of Italy. Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany will secure European civilization."

One may differ on the question of European civilization and its safety, but between the two declarations which is to prove more real, none will need be told. 'Appeasement' is not Herr Hitler's line; he relies on armament and all that it signifies.

#### NAZI ECONOMICS AND HERR SCHACHT

Nazi might is at its highest now. If it does not menace European civilization, it at least

menaces Germany's economic life. This is probably the opinion that Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichbank, held, and his disagreement with the Nazi Martian economics is supposed to be the cause of his dismissal from the office and replacement by the new votary of the Nazi economic cult, Herr von Funk. Herr Schacht has worked wonders for Germany, in the pre-Nazi and in the Nazi era. He piloted the country out of the inflationary period of 1923 as an orthodox economist of balanced budget and sound finance. He piloted again the Totalitarian state from 1933 in pursuing the very opposite policy until he was forced to warn that the country, by that course, had returned to 1923 conditions. He was unwilling to rush any further in completing the 'four-year plan' of armament, and, so the pilot is dropped. "In 1923," points out *The Economist*, "he proclaimed that what is not economically possible can not be accomplished by any monetary magic. In 1933 it was the other face of truth which needed emphasis: that if a thing is economically possible financial means for carrying it out can be found." That economic limit too has been again reached by the Nazis. Shortage of labour, longer hours, inefficient labour, etc., said *The Economist*, account for the fall of productivity in Germany. Chronic overworking of capital and failure to provide for funds for maintenance or replacement of works is leading to a decline in the efficiency of capital. Fall of exports and shortage of imported raw materials are chronic conditions. The financial system is equally difficult.

Germany has accumulated an internal floating debt of at least 65,000,000,000 marks, or about £5,500,000,000 since April, 1935. Since then the vast rearmament programme has been financed by renewable bills. Under the Nazi system German companies could issue and circulate these bills to fulfil their contracts without having any money backing. Between April, 1933, bills to the nominal value of 60,000,000,000 marks were issued. By November, 1938, only 10,000,000,000 marks worth had been redeemed. To this enormous sum was added after April, 1938, a further 15,000,000,000 marks in long-term unrenovable bills, and these had to be bought with money.

Dr. Schacht insisted as a condition of his remaining President of the Reichbank that the system of using renewable bills should be discontinued. Industry, he insisted, should be run in future on capital raised from the money market. Then came the Czech crisis, and another effort which exhausted what ready money there was. This made Dr. Funk determined to return to using renewable bills, no matter what Dr. Schacht said.

#### COST OF RE-ARMAMENT

Hitler has set the pace and huge armaments are piled up on every side.

Nearly 9,500 million gold dollars were spent on armaments in 1933 by the nations of the world, according to the *Armaments Year-Book*, published by the League of

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indissolubly. It is almost an axiomatic truth with dialectic materialism that theory and action, policy and programme, must go hand in hand. Both are, in fact, merely the two sides of the same shield. There it is that lies one of the secrets of the dynamicity of Marxism.

Therefore, for any country, "leftism" is, in its broad technical sense, such a phrase as to be entirely without any meaning whatsoever unless immediately translated into definite action. "Leftism" without a programme is an anomaly of thought.

Like the word "swaraj" "leftism" can also be defined in a hundred ways to suit a hundred convenient tastes and be made just as vague as you like. So, to avoid any aimless guesswork, let us be clear in our ideas and have a working definition of the word to start with. For our present purpose I will state "leftism" as *the philosophy and technique of revolutionary socialism (through the use of physical force, where necessary), which is the generally accepted meaning in Marxian dialectics, from where the term has been borrowed by the socialists in India.*

Can the Indian National Congress formulate any such *programme of action*, now, and can it be realized even in theory ?

If we look into the history of the only successful communist State in the world, U.S.S.R., we find that a leftist programme for the Nation was adopted only *during and after* the armed Revolution of 1917 and *not before* it. Even then, the Revolution was brought about not simply by the attempts of the Nation itself, but was only made possible by a favourable international situation. Marxism had existed for a long period as the philosophy and action of a particular party *outside the Government*, and in order to be successfully operative as a programme of the official machinery of an entire land and people, it had to wait for the Great War in Europe. Even today we find independent countries like Spain, Czechoslovakia and China, in trying to socialize by themselves through the increasing will of certain sections of their peoples, succumb one by one to the powerful international allies of fascist imperialism. Leftism in an isolated nation cannot survive as a broad national programme against a united and much efficiently equipped and internationally organized attack of imperialist forces, unless and until that same nation is thoroughly disciplined from within itself and in full ripeness of time helped from without by an advantageous situation in international affairs.

It is for this reason that modern socialism

has devised, for the time being, its latest technique, viz., that of the "United Front" for the guidance of the national policies in countries under imperialist sway. Capitalist countries throughout the world in their various stages of mass revolution, should, according to the principles of the "United Front", adopt special tactics suited to the special national conditions. So, viewed even from a socialist angle in an imperialist land, a purely leftist programme for an entire heterodox composite nation like the Indian, is not practical politics at the present moment, and not supported by the historical experience of contemporary socialism in different lands.

However, the future depends not on the "ism" but on the actual programme, the clear and definite items on the national routine sheet. In the meantime, the dissenting members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress have been wise to withdraw. Let us examine why.

As is abundantly clear to all serious students of world politics that the very fact that the imperialist powers everywhere are using all possible means to fight socialism tooth and nail, proves conclusively, that the latter is gaining grounds in a steady progress, and judged at least by the Press and Platform in India—not to mention the results of the last Presidential election of the Congress—it is also evident that the same is getting a stronger and stronger foothold in this country, as time moves on. Whatever Power or Institution comes in direct conflict with this growing sentiment is destined to become unpopular, as a reactionary.

Now, even from our limited national experience of a century, we know that through every great struggle against a bureaucratic government down to the inauguration of the new Constitution in India, the more intense the Government resistance became on the one hand, the stronger the popular movement grew on the other, and the more bitter did the national sentiment rise against that repressive Government. But all through, the fight was psychologically between an alien Government and the people of India; thereby helping to build up a united Nation and a united Congress. If today the struggle is side-tracked to one between the Congress and the Nation, on whatever score that might be, the same bitter animosity will grow between these two forces simply through the laws of resistance, bringing down in that undesirable fight all the power and prestige of the Indian National Congress, so painfully built up through generations, humbled

dited not only in India but also before the united bar of international opinion. The people may rise or be roused against the Congress, and half the ground gained by Imperialism. So, whenever the slightest hint appears of mobilizing catchy and popular sentiments like socialism or "leftism" against a central national organization with a united front, immediate action should be taken to remove all elements of opposition, thereby shutting out every possibility for any further growth of popular antipathy towards that organization.

Thus, by withdrawing the strong and dis-sentient element within the Congress executive, the leaders have shown wise and rare statesmanship, avoiding by this tactics the lurking danger—that fatal calamity of an otherwise inevitable conflict within the Nation, viz., between the Congress and the people. Hence, we must not look at the last action of the leading Congress operatives from the narrow angle of personal or 'dictatorial' discontents or discomfitures against any individual or party success, but from the larger and broader national viewpoint of the solidarity of the Congress which is particularly essential at the present critical moment, both nationally and internationally.

There is one more danger ahead.

We must always be careful of tempting catch phrases. It is now common knowledge with the world how fascists like Mussolini and Hitler started their careers with swearing by socialism, and how later on, they gradually but steadily played the destinies of the peoples into the hands of organized imperialist capitalism with a militarist ideology, always leading the nations and gaining ground by the hottest socialist slogans unbacked by actual socialist programme of work. Let not this phase of history be repeated in India, and let not the fascinating "isms," either in theory or in premature practice, supply a ready and inviting handle to the forces of Imperialism for which they have been waiting ever so eagerly since the Congress came into undisputed power. That is why a programme must accompany an "ism," at least to prove its *bona fides*.

Before the inevitable mass forces are let loose by a "leftist" programme, if it really be "leftist" in its import, one should gauge carefully how far one possesses that amount of intimate contact with the masses so as to ascertain accurately the preparedness of the proletariat, and also should properly estimate one's own power of disciplined control over those forces once released throughout India. To rush head-

long forward with a fascinating "idea" is not the whole of leadership.

Hence, what is urgently needed to decide before the next session of the Congress begins, is to be definite whether India is yet ripe for a full-fledged "leftist" programme and if so, to formulate a clean-cut line of action. The voluntary resignation of the opposing members has left the field clear for an unhampered preparation of an advance programme.

Before taking on themselves in the name of the Nation the full responsibility of everything implied by the word "leftism," it would be advisable that the "leftists," concerned should be thoroughly aware of the dangers ahead. The dangers are at least twofold.

(1) That, forces will be released, in varying stages of indiscipline, throughout India, which, if not controlled with a thorough mastery over the masses, will deliver the Congress directly into the hands of Imperialist militarism, which, recoiling on the people, will develop into Fascism through its usual tactics as elsewhere.

(2) That, under such circumstances, the agencies responsible for bringing the Congress and the people into such a pass may not get the full support of the Nation, as is already evident from the sharp and big rift in the flank of the Congress revealed by the last Presidential election.

We must not confuse the "leftist" issue before the country with either the "extremism" of the Bengal Partition days or the "Swaraj Party" politics of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru. Both the latter methods were constitutional oppositionalisms in one form or other, and were not so fundamentally "dangerous" to an Imperialist Government. "Leftism" belongs to an entirely different category and should be judged on its own merits. A success with the one does not necessarily mean success with the other. For that purpose, the contemporary socialist history of the nations will provide a better lesson.

I will now conclude this article, on the eve of the Congress session, with the words of the world's leading "leftist," Joseph Stalin of U. S. S. R., quoted by John Gunther in his article on "Stalin" in *Harper's Magazine* for December, 1935 :

The art of leadership is a serious matter. One must not lag behind a movement, because to do so is to become isolated from the masses. But one must not rush ahead, for to rush ahead is to lose contact with the masses. He who wishes to lead a movement must conduct a fight on two fronts—against those who lag behind and those who rush on ahead. (Italics mine).



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Fast and Lord Linlithgow's Opportunity*

As, according to Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot had not kept his promise, which was made to end his people's satyāgraha, Gandhiji undertook a fast—unto death, if necessary. Writing about it, he has explained that as he looked upon the Thakore Saheb as his son, he undertook the fast to “melt his heart.”

It is to be regretted that the fast did not produce any effect upon the heart of the Thakore Saheb. It did not melt his heart. Perhaps, though we do not know, the only reaction was a hardening of his heart.

The fast produced some effect upon Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It is not known whether it was his heart which was touched. But it may be guessed that the fast produced a “brain-wave,” as they say in colloquial English, in His Excellency's cerebrum. He hit upon the device that the Thakore Saheb's promise, construed differently by His Highness and the Sardar, should be submitted to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court for the latter's judicial interpretation, which should be accepted as final. His Excellency's idea was approved by Mahatmaji and the fast ended.

On this topic we wrote on the 25th Phalgun last (9th March, 1939) for the Chaitra number of our Bengali monthly *Prabāsi*:

“এখানে ইহা লক্ষিতব্য যে, মহাত্মাজীকে ফেডারেশনের একটা অঙ্গ ফেডার্যাল কোর্ট পরোক্ষভাবে অগ্রিম মানাইয়া লওয়া হইল।”

“Here it is to be noted that Mahatmaji has been indirectly made to accept and recognize in advance a limb of the Federation, namely, the Federal Court.” (*Prabāsi* for Chaitra last, page 883.)

We repeat the same observation now. Whether hereafter the Congress accepts, recognizes and works, the British-made federal scheme or not, a part of that scheme already stands recognized by the supreme leader of the Congress—which, by the way, has repeated its absolute opposition to it (the scheme) at Tripuri.

Another thing to be noted is that Mahatmaji's acceptance of the mediation of the Chief Justice of the Federal Court may be interpreted as an admission that the Congress is not yet so powerful and influential as to be able to do without the intervention of “the third party” even in its dealings with the Indian Princes, who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

If according to the Congress policy and programme a Constituent Assembly is convened hereafter and it draws up a constitution for independent Federated India (including the Indian States), it is to be hoped that by that time the Congress will become sufficiently acceptable to the Princes and sufficiently influen-

tial with them to be able to persuade them to join the Federation—of course, without the mediation or intervention of "the third party," the British Government, which can have no *locus standi* in Independent India.

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Reported Promise of Separate Communal Electorates to Rajkot Muslims*

*The Indian Social Reformer* of the 11th March, 1939, writes :

In a statement issued immediately after his breaking the Rajkot fast, Gandhiji thought it necessary to give the following assurance to Muslims in Rajkot —

"I had no hesitation in telling them without any argument that their special interests would be safeguarded, that if they wanted separate electorates in Rajkot with reservation of seats I would see to it that they got them . . . It is necessary for me to see this in order to ease their minds and to ease the minds of Mussalmans throughout India."

We draw the attention of those who are smug in their complacent belief that the States have only good things to learn from British Indian politicians to this deliberate insinuation of communal electorates into the Indian States by the most outstanding Congress personality who himself resisted them at the Round Table Conference. When it is remembered that the States at the London Conferences staunchly resisted all efforts to bring in separate electorates into their Central representation it seems all the more objectionable for popular leaders in British India to force upon them what they have been ever ready to denounce in British India itself as the worst aspect of communalism and the first impediment to national unity. The Muslim League which opposes Federation primarily because of the States' refusal to give one-third representation to Muslims, must be grateful to Gandhiji for playing their game so readily.

There is no reason to think that the statement from which our contemporary has made an extract is not authentic, and hence, some comments may be made on what Gandhiji has promised there.

With the help of his numerous loyal followers he can make the Congress and the Congress Ministries in eight provinces do what he wishes. But he has neither the legal power nor sufficient moral influence upon the Rajkot Durbar to make it grant separate communal electorates to Rajkot Muslims with reservation of seats for them. The promise is by implication perhaps extended to "Mussulmans throughout India", including Mussulmans in all Indian States besides Rajkot. Perhaps Gandhiji himself does not believe, and no one else believes, that he has sufficient influence to be able to prevail upon all the Indian Ruler-Princes to grant separate communal electorates to their Muslim subjects with seats reserved for them. If that be so, he has made a promise which is beyond his power to fulfil.

Of course, if the Paramount Power fall in with his views and be willing to and can exert sufficient pressure on the Rulers to agree to create separate Muslim electorates with reservation of seats in all the States, there may be some chance for his wishes being fulfilled. But the Paramount Power has been already finding it difficult to persuade many, if not most, States to join the Federation. It is not likely to agree to increase that difficulty.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision. And that Decision, misnamed "Award", applies only to British India. In the extract from Mahatma Gandhiji's statement printed above, he not only definitely accepts the "Award" by implication but extends it to the Indian States to which British imperialists did not extend it by the Government of India Act of 1935, passed by the British imperial Parliament. His statement, therefore, cannot but be regretted, if not also condemned, from the Indian National Congress point of view as well as from the point of view of all other Indian Nationalist bodies and individuals.

### *New Indo-British Trade Agreement*

When a trade agreement is arrived at between two independent and democratically governed countries after mutual consultations between the duly appointed and accredited representatives of the people of the two countries, the people of neither country can legitimately find fault with the agreement, though one country may have gained more by it than the other. In the case of Indo-British trade agreements it may always be said to be a foregone conclusion that India will stand to lose, because India is a dependent country and subject to that very exploiting country with which the agreements are or are to be concluded. True, on the Indian side there are unofficial advisers. But they are only advisers, and their advice or recommendations, even if unanimous, may not be accepted by the Government of India, which is a foreign government subject to the foreign paramount British Government. Moreover, the advisers in the case of India are not all Indians, nor do the Indian advisers represent all the provinces and regions of India. The provinces and regions which are more backward in trade and industries than the rest stand in greater need of their interests being safeguarded than those of the others. But it



is precisely these provinces and regions which have had no representatives among the advisers.

The new Indo-British trade agreement, of which the details have appeared in the dailies, consists of 16 Articles.

The following *Reuter's* telegram represents Britain's reaction to the agreement

LONDON, Mar. 22

The Anglo-Indian trade agreement holds out prospects of Lancashire cloth exports to India reaching 425 million yards a year with fair possibilities of still higher figure as against trade now in the region of 266 million yards, is the considered opinion of leaders of Lancashire cotton trade contained in a statement by Lancashire Committee for Indian trade relations. It says Indian side proved intolerably hard bargainers. It was clear that India has yet to learn that the best and most lasting agreements are inspired by mutual consideration. The provisions affecting Lancashire cotton trade fall short of what Lancashire would have considered equitable, but represent considerable advantage to Lancashire compared with the present position and more so compared with the position that would have arisen if no agreement had been made.

Moreover India gives clearly implied recognition that access to her market for reasonable share of her consuming power in textiles is something she will be obliged to grant if she expects this country to consume her products. This may prove a precedent of permanent far-reaching value to Lancashire not only in India but elsewhere and may turn out to be the point in the agreement most favourable to the United Kingdom. The statement concludes "In the circumstances, the United Kingdom Government has done the right thing to settle as it has done."

The "Manchester Guardian" in a leader on the trade agreement says there is nothing to get enthusiastic about it. Still there being few limits to economic folies of head-strong nationalists the agreement must be welcomed as an alternative to no agreement at all and perhaps bitter trade hostilities.—(*Reuter*)

"Indian side proved intolerably hard bargainers"! Of course!! Britishers have had practically a monopoly of the Indian market for generations—a monopoly secured by the unjust exercise of political power. Hence, anybody who does not agree to virtually uncontrolled industrial and commercial exploitation of India must be considered an intolerably hard bargainer.

"India has yet to learn that the best and most lasting agreements are inspired by mutual consideration." That may be true in the abstract in the case of parties of equal political status. But what consideration did Britain show to India so long as she had not been hard hit by the Swadeshi-Boycott movement and also by Indian and Japanese competition, and so long as under pressure of public opinion the policy of discriminating protection had not been introduced?

Indian nationalists may be considered head-strong and guilty of "economic follies" But they think that Britain buys raw materials from India, not out of feelings of generosity or charity,

but because she finds them cheaper than similar non-Indian goods and is therefore satisfied that it is to her interest to buy from India. Indian nationalists do not want any consideration. They want to buy the best articles at the lowest prices, wherever obtainable, and to sell to purchasers anywhere for the highest price that may be secured. Imperial preference, generally speaking, has not been to her advantage.

Some reactions in Indian business circles are noted below

Mr. S. N. Mitter, President, Bengal Mill-owners' Association, says in the course of a statement on the draft Indo-British Trade Agreement:

I need advance no argument against the terms except to cite hard facts that speak for themselves. Under the existing circumstances United Kingdom purchased 580, 532 and 394 thousand bales of Indian cotton in 1936, 1937 and 1938, respectively, not out of any compassion for the Indian growers, but because it paid her to do so. Under the new agreement for a similar off-take of Indian cotton she will not only enjoy an average basic duty of 15 per cent *ad valorem* (as against the existing 20 per cent) but also additional rewards in the shape of even lower duties on imports of United Kingdom piecegoods. No guarantee has been given by the United Kingdom to increase the purchase of Indian cotton except that, if their purchases of raw cotton fall below 400,000 bales after the first year of the agreement and below 450,000 bales in any subsequent year, the basic duties on U. K. imports of cotton piecegoods may be increased. It is needless to say that this is hardly any improvement over existing conditions."

Mr. S. N. Mitter concludes:

"On the other hand, there is no provision for a maximum limit beyond which imports of United Kingdom piecegoods, cannot go, except that if imports exceed 500 million yards the rates of the basic duties may be increased. But if imports from the U. K. do not exceed 350 million yards, the duties are to be reduced still further by 2½ per cent *ad valorem*. Now, let us see the present position: Imports of cotton piecegoods from the U. K. during 1936, 1937 and 1938 were 360, 229 and 230 million yards respectively. That means a case for an immediate lowering of the duties on British piecegoods from 20 per cent to 12½ per cent *ad valorem*. This, coming on top of the increased duty on imported cotton, is sure to spell disaster to the cotton textile industry in India."

"I fail to understand what induced the Government of India to agree to such terms, which far from bringing any advantages to India in any form will only serve to cripple effectively her largest industry, and will jeopardise its very existence in those parts of the country where the industry is still in an initial stage of development, e.g., in Bengal."

The Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, says in the course of a statement:

The protective duty of 25 per cent against Lancashire on the import of piecegoods, which was already reduced to 20 per cent in June, 1936, has now been brought down to 15 per cent by the new Agreement. Moreover, the minimum limit for the import of Lancashire piecegoods

into India has been placed at such a high level, namely 350 million yards as against the last year's total import of 266 million yards and this year's estimate of about 200 million yards, that it is not likely to be reached during the next year, particularly owing to the large accumulation of stocks at present with the Indian mills. The result will be a further reduction of 2½ in the import duty as per terms of the new Agreement.

Protection to the Indian textile industry has been further reduced, and that indirectly.

In addition to this direct reduction of 50 per cent within a short space of three years in the protection granted to the indigenous industry, the recent proposal of doubling the import duty on raw cotton will have the effect of further reducing the protection by about 8 per cent as a result of increase in the cost of production of Indian mills. Taking into consideration the import duty on machinery, stores, etc., the Indian textile industry is thus virtually deprived of any protection at all. The new Agreement coming in the wake of the doubling of the import duty on cotton will thus prove seriously detrimental to the interests of Indian industry.

How the increase in the minimum import of British piecegoods stipulated in the agreement will reduce Indian production is then pointed out.

The effect of the stipulation regarding the maximum import of piecegoods of 350 to 425 million yards from Lancashire as against the present import of 200 million yards will mean a curtailment of about 150 to 225 million yards in Indian production. It is highly objectionable that Lancashire should thus be granted preference in the Indian market at the cost of the indigenous industry. If preference has to be granted it should be only against other foreign exporters and in no case against the indigenous industry.

Cotton off-take by Britain has also been reduced

### *Congress President and Tripuri Session*

If, after Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar had pronounced it as his opinion that Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's illness was of a serious character and if he went to Tripuri before recovery the malady might become more serious, the Reception Committee had been able to postpone the sittings of the Congress for a few days, perhaps Sj. Bose would have been able to take part in it after complete or partial recovery and do his duty as president to the best of his ability. Whether even in that case the undesirable things which happened during the Tripuri session would not have happened, nobody can say. Therefore there need not be any speculation about it. That in spite of serious illness he proceeded to Tripuri taking all risks, stands to his credit.

Owing to physical prostration and the consequent advice of his medical attendants to take complete rest, he could not attend the open plenary session of the Congress on any day. And previous to the opening of the session he had not been able to attend the concluding sittings of the Subjects Committee.

One unforeseen result of the illness of the president was that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to officiate for him at some of the sittings of the Subjects Committee and throughout the open session of the Congress with the help of Pandit Jnanaharla Nehru.

So it was as if Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had not withdrawn his candidature for the presidentship and had been elected president.

he has. Nevertheless we may be permitted to say that we do not see any such probability. Moreover, nobody can say when and how peace is going to be stabilized in Europe. And why should Britain make any delay in introducing federation till stable peace has been established in Europe? The British Government may not be ready yet to fight any first-class power or combination of first-class powers, but it seems to feel strong enough not to make any concessions to popular opinion in India. Should Britain have to fight any enemy in Europe and at the same time to deal with civil disobedience in India and should she be unable to fight both simultaneously, she would much rather conclude an inglorious peace with her European enemy than satisfy nationalist India.

We do not know for certain whether Britain is trying to conciliate the Arabs. If she is, there may be several reasons. (1) There are independent Arab States which may side with the Palestine Arabs, (2) the Palestine Arabs have been putting up the kind of fight which Englishmen understand and fear, and which they consider troublesome, and (3) there are European powers which may be stirring up trouble in Palestine with a view to fishing in its troubled waters. So far as the Indian situation is concerned, all these three factors are absent.

Britain may be "feeling herself weak in the international sphere." But so far as the Indian sphere is concerned, the several warring Congress parties, the communal separatists and communal strife and riot mongers, the landlords and peasants fighting one another, labour and capital at war in different places, and the subjects of some States and their Rulers at loggerheads—these do not make Britain feel herself weak in the Indian sphere. No Indian leader, no Indian organization, is equal to fighting on five internal fronts in addition to fighting British imperialism.

An ultimatum can be effective, if the sanctions can be trusted to be effective. Not having ever taken part in satyagraha and not knowing its technique, we should not be dogmatic in pronouncing any opinion on the practicability at present of "all-India satyagraha for a long period." But we fancy, the 'Congress provinces,' of which the Ministers have gone in for various kinds of planning, will be the least disposed to launch any kind of civil disobedience movement.

Undoubtedly there has been a popular awakening in the States. But their rulers are also organizing themselves. And there is the Paramount Power to back them.

Though we are not in favour of an ultimatum, we are at one with the president in thinking that "If only we sink our differences, pool all our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we can make our attack on British imperialism irresistible", provided we choose the proper weapons and adopt the right methods.

We know that, just as unity is required for a great struggle, so a great struggle itself may make for and produce unity. But the question is, is there such a general appreciation of the need and value of the struggle against British Imperialism and the conviction that it is for the general good, as to make one feel confident of its success, if started.

Regarding the Congress' attitude towards the Indian States S. J. Bose observed :

I am definitely of the view that we should revise our attitude towards the states as defined by the Haripura Congress resolution. That resolution, as you are aware, put a ban on certain forms of activity in the states being conducted in the name of the Congress. Under that resolution, neither parliamentary work, nor struggle against work (?) should be carried on in the name of the Congress. But since Haripura much has happened. Today, we find that the Paramount Power is in league with the state authorities in most places. In such circumstances, should we of the Congress not draw closer to the people of the states? I have no doubt in my mind as to what our duty is today.

Besides lifting the above ban, the work of guiding the popular movement in the states for civil liberty and responsible government should be conducted by the working committee on a comprehensive and systematic basis. The work so far done has been of a piecemeal nature, and there has hardly been any system or plan behind it. But the time has come when the working committee should assume this responsibility and discharge it in a comprehensive and systematic way, and should, if necessary, appoint a special sub-committee for the purpose.

The fullest use should be made of the guidance and co-operation of the All India States' People's Conference.

The attitude towards the States has been partly revised—actually and also by a resolution passed in the open session at Tripuri. As for the Congress Working Committee assuming the responsibility for conducting the popular movement in the States for securing civil liberty and responsible government, Mahatma Gandhi has been exercising the power to stop satyagraha in any State and start or re-start it in any State according to his individual judgment. When the Working Committee is formed—it is non-existent now (24th March, 1939), it will be formed according to Mahatma Gandhi's wishes. So whatever it does will be his doing.

There can be no question of "the advisability of our making" an "advance in the direction of Swaraj"—whether it be final or not.

That will need adequate preparation. In the first place, we shall have to take steps to ruthlessly remove whatever corruption or weakness has entered our ranks, largely due to the taint of power. Next, we shall have to work in close co-operation with all the anti-imperialist organizations in the country—particularly, the Kisan movement and the trade union movement. All the radical elements in the country must work in close harmony and co-operation, and the efforts of all the anti-imperialist organizations must converge in the direction of a final assault on British imperialism.

May we suggest that, not only the Congress but the Kisan movement and the trade union movement should be purged of corruption, and that truculence and greed should be removed from them wherever they exist?

There are in the country elements which are not radical but which yet are nationalist and anti-imperialist. If the Congress cannot work in harmony with them, it should at least not antagonize them.

The address concluded with words of hope.

Friends, today the atmosphere within the Congress is clouded and disensions have appeared. Many of our friends are consequently feeling depressed and dejected. But I am an incorrigible optimist. The cloud that you see today is a passing one. I have faith in the patriotism of my countrymen, and I am sure that before long we shall be able to tide over the present difficulties and restore unity within our ranks.

A somewhat similar situation had arisen at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and thereafter when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory started the Swaraj Party.

May the spirit of my latter guru, of the revered Motilal, and of other great sons of India inspire us in the present crisis, and may Mahatma Gandhi, who is still with us to guide and assist our nation, help the Congress out of the present tangle, in my greatest prayer.

### Speech of Seth Govind Das

Seth Govind Das, chairman of the reception committee of the Tripuri session of the Congress, delivered an enthusiastic speech. He dwelt at some length on Mahakoshal's devotion to Congress. The facts he stated went to show that he was not indulging in self-laudation. His reading of the international situation was on the whole correct. As regards the problem of India's defence, he said:

Under the circumstances, it is doubtful how far Britain will be able to defend India. She will have to defend herself, and she cannot do so until she has complete control over her army and her foreign policy. Thus it is obvious that the problem of India's self-defence cannot be separated from the bigger question of her independence.

But will the enemies of India wait till she has had ample time after winning independence to complete her preparations for self-defence?

The defence of India is a puzzling problem. It is abundantly clear that Britain is determined not to allow India to become self-govern-

ing, that in order that she may feel quite safe in her position as mistress of India she will not Indianize the army, navy and airforce of this country entirely or sufficiently to make the defence of India only or mainly by Indians practicable, and that in case Britain's own safety were threatened in some great war she would not hesitate to leave India to her fate or even to do something worse, which we will not specify.

Seth Govind Das spoke very feelingly of the woes and disabilities of Indians overseas. The paragraph devoted to that subject concludes with the words:

Last year I saw with my own eyes, the pitiable condition of our people in Africa. It is there that we fully realise the fact of our political bondage. Had we been independent we would not have tolerated this condition even for a single day. I could understand only after visiting Africa why after fighting for the rights of Indians overseas for so many years Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the conclusion that the question of Indian settlers is dependent for its solution upon the question of Indian independence.

In describing the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Seth pleaded for his dictatorship. We are not in the least convinced that we stand in need of a dictator, or that even Mahatma Gandhi is or always has been an infallible guide. The commander in the battlefield is no doubt a dictator. But it is false analogy to think that a struggle for freedom going on for decades and even for generations resembles a day or two's battle or even a war of longer duration. Prone-ness to submit to dictatorship implies or indicates want of intellectual capacity, of backbone, of judgment and of the power of acting voluntarily in a collective capacity on the part of the rank and file. It also implies their slave mentality. Sethji has not added to Mahatmajiji's glory by saying:

"Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by the leadership of Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists."

It is undoubtedly true that the Congress is the biggest and the most powerful organization in the country, but it is not true that "all Indians are with the Congress," though Sethji says they are.

Seth Govind Das was quite well aware that S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose had been elected president contrary to Mahatma Gandhi's wishes. Therefore, it was scarcely graceful, in a speech meant mainly or partly to welcome S. J. Bose and the delegates, to refer to the fact that "a practice has grown up to elect as the Congress president the person upon whom Mahatma Gandhi's choice falls." That was tantamount to telling S. J. Bose, "According to

"Congress will never have Federation forced upon it," he says. So understood the words are quite satisfactory. But he does not say that Congress will never be persuaded to work the "Made in Britain" federation after suitable alterations have been made in the scheme in consultation with prominent leaders. In fact the charge against some Congress leaders was that they could and would be persuaded to do so.

Srijut Shukla concludes his letter by asking:

Is it not too much to build a theory on a mere surmise as to what might have been said at a private conversation?

We did not build any theory on the Gandhi-Muirhead interview. Nor did we build any theory on what had been rumoured about the object of Mr Bhulabhai Desai's visit to England last year. These were merely mentioned in connection with positive indications, viz, that resolutions were passed in more than one provincial Legislative Assembly in favour of working the Government federal scheme after some alterations had been made in consultation with the leaders, and also that "Recently the Congress President had to pull up a prominent Madras member, warning him not to carry on any propaganda in favour of the scheme."

Let us add in conclusion that, whilst we would set the highest value on a federal constitution framed freely by Indians themselves, we would not consider those Congressmen or other Nationalists traitors to the cause of Indian freedom who would, in the absence of the above-mentioned kind of federal constitution and failing to get it, be for the time being in favour of working the Government federal scheme suitably altered in consultation with the Congress and other Nationalist leaders. We do not think that those Congressmen who are working the provincial part of the Government-made constitution of India have ceased to be nationalists or soldiers of freedom.

What is wanted is that, if there be any Congress leaders who are trying to get the Government federal scheme suitably altered to make it workable, let them frankly say so. There should not be any pretence on their part that they are absolutely and thoroughly opposed to the entire Government federal scheme and want its rejection lock, stock and barrel.

### "Principal" Tripuri Resolutions

*Harijan*, dated March 18, 1939, writes, "The following are the principal resolutions passed by the 52nd session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri: " and prints the resolutions on "The National Demand," "Indian

States," "Constitutional Changes," and, "Foreign Policy." Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's resolution, which took up most of the time of the Subjects Committee and the open session of the Congress, is not printed by it. But whether it be a principal resolution or not, we shall have to make some comments on it.

### Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's Resolution

The resolution which was moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant at the plenary session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri and carried by a majority, runs as follows:

"The Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past twenty years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies, and that these should continue to govern the Congress programme in the future.

"The Congress expresses its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during last year, and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

"In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis, the Congress regards it as imperative that the Executive Authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhi."—*The Hindu*.

So far as we are aware, no responsible office-bearer of the Congress—not the President at any rate during the first year of his incumbency of the office and the few days of his second term which had elapsed before the moving of the resolution—had worked for, proposed or suggested any departure from "the fundamental policies of the Congress," whatever they may be. One would, therefore, like to know why it was felt necessary for the Congress to declare its firm adherence to those policies. The resolution does not mention any reason.

As the fundamental policies of the Congress are not mentioned, we cannot test the accuracy of the assertion that they have governed its programme in the past twenty years all along.

"Policies" and "programme" are mentioned in the resolution. "Principles" are not mentioned. It is easy to understand that programmes may change and even policies, but principles should be more permanent (if we may say so) in this impermanent and changing world.

To take an easy illustration It is a principle

that the government of a country should work for its material prosperity (not of course for its material prosperity alone to the exclusion of the moral welfare of its people). Now, that prosperity may be promoted, according to changing circumstances, by the policy of free trade, or of fair trade, or of protection, and programmes may vary according to change of policy, whilst all the time the principle should remain unchanged.

We venture to think that the Congress should have affirmed its adherence to some fundamental principle or principles.

It is not quite correct to suggest that the Congress has followed any single "programme" during the last twenty years. There was a schism in Congress ranks under the leadership of Deshbhandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Congressmen were divided into the two parties of Swarajists and Non-changers, following somewhat different programmes. Both the programmes were not formulated and worked "under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi"—not at any rate to an equal extent.

As regards "aspersions cast against any of the members of the Working Committee," the President has said that he did not cast, did not mean to cast, any aspersions against any members of the Working Committee. Similarly, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the mover of the resolutions, has said that it is not meant to censure or throw any reflection upon the President. If it had been his (the Pandit's) intention to censure the President, he would have done so openly, not indirectly or by implication.

Owing to these two disavowals, it is unnecessary to inquire what aspersions, if any, were cast against any members of the Working Committee, and if any aspersions were cast against any, who they were; nor is it necessary to discuss whether this resolution amounts to a censure on the President.

Our definite impression is that some members of the Congress are in favour of working the Government federal scheme after suitable alterations have been made in it, and that some of them have worked to that end. We do not know whether any members of last year's Working Committee were among them. We do not think that those who worked to that end did anything morally wrong. But it would certainly be morally wrong for any one among them to say that he had not worked to that end. In the present and some past issues of *The Modern Review* we have given reasons for our

impression that there is "pro-Federationism" in the Congress.

It is also our definite impression that Pandit Pant's resolution would seriously curtail the power, authority and influence of the President—we do not mean of the present President alone, but of his successors, too, so long as that resolution remained in force.

### *Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress*

Since Mahatma Gandhi's "walking out" of the Congress in 1934, it has been a "make-believe" that Mahatma Gandhi is not in the Congress. The expression "pious fraud" should not be used in discussing his position.

It is immaterial whether he is a four anna member or not: he has enjoyed and exercised as much power and influence in the Congress after 1934 as before that year. And he would have continued to do so substantially, even if Pandit Pant's resolution had not been passed. For Sri Subhas Chandra Bose has said more than once that, though he could not promise implicit and complete obedience to Gandhiji, he would do everything in his power to deserve his confidence.

What difference then does the resolution make in the position of Mahatmajji *vis-a-vis* the Congress?

In an article on "Federation" which Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* (dated October 1, 1935), he said:

"Whatever influence I still possess among Congressmen is solely due to my constant appeal to reason and never to authority."

For that "appeal to reason" Pandit Pant's resolution substitutes the authority of that resolution. Formerly, Mahatma Gandhi's reasons, according to him, influenced (we say, also "ruled") the Congress. Now the resolution lays down that the Working Committee is to be formed according to his "wishes" (not his reasons), and of course the men of his choice are to work according to his wishes.

What was the necessity for this change? Had Mahatmajji's reasons ceased to have any influence over the minds of all or any appreciable section of Congressmen? If the sway of reason be supreme, this resolution should be unnecessary.

The resolution says "that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory" during the coming crisis. We attach the greatest importance to Mahatmajji's wisdom and leadership. But we do not think it is correct to say that he alone can lead the country and the Congress to victory during the

coming crisis. Nobody knows when the crisis may come, if it comes at all. Nobody knows how long Mahatmajī will live—though we all wish him a very long lease of life. Should he be disabled or should he cease to live in the flesh before the crisis comes or during the crisis, would there be no hope of victory for the country? We do not think the prospects of India's freedom are so gloomy as that.

It may be added here that it would not be correct to suggest that the credit of whatever success the Congress had achieved so far, belonged to Gandhiji *alone*. If that were so, the discredit of all the corruption, etc., existing in the Congress should also go to him *alone*.

### *Pandit Pant's Resolution and the President's Position*

According to Pandit Pant's resolution, the Congress President is to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji (the sponsors of the resolution would not agree to the President's nominating the Committee *in consultation with Gandhiji*). His wishes must prevail. That leaves no power to the President. According to the Congress constitution it is the President who has the power to nominate his Committee. But the resolution reduces him to a noentity or a sort of "Gandhiji's Rubber Stamp." Congress jurists can determine whether this is constitutional.

Perhaps it is unconstitutional. If so, instead of acting unconstitutionally and having a figure-head of a president and going to all the expense and trouble of electing four-anna members, delegates, the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee, and a President, why not make Mahatma Gandhi, Life President of the Indian National Congress? We made this suggestion in the Chaitra number of *Prabāsi* published on the 14th March, 1939.

Whether Mahatma Gandhi will agree to be both in the Congress and of it, to be its dictator both in reality as well as in name, is more than we can say. But we may discuss why be "walked out" of the Congress.

According to the A. P. I. message, dated Wardhaganj, February 22, the resignation letter jointly sent to Subhas Babu by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Mr. Mehtab, Acharya Kripalani, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Seth Jammalal Bajaj and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, contained the following sentences:—

"We feel that you should be left entirely free to choose your cabinet that represents your views."

"It is but right, therefore, that you should select a homogeneous cabinet representing the views of the majority. You may trust us to give you all possible co-operation in matters where we see eye to eye with you in the policies that you may put before the country."

But Pandit Pant's resolution deprives the President of the freedom to choose his cabinet representing his views, and as the cabinet cannot be of his choice, he cannot put his policies before the country.

The twelve resignant members of the Working Committee or at least some of them may have fought in the Subjects Committee or in the plenary session of the Congress for leaving him "entirely free to choose" his "cabinet that represents" his "views," but no such fact is recorded in the reports of the proceedings of the Tripuri Congress in the newspapers, or it may have escaped our notice.

### *Why Gandhiji "Left" the Congress*

Though Mahatma Gandhi has been exercising supreme power and influence over the Congress for years, he has not hitherto been officially vested with such power and influence by resolution of Congress. Now that he has been practically so vested, it may be interesting to recall why he "left" Congress and to speculate whether there is any prospect of his "coming into" it again.

On account of an impression that he had come to have that

"I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic and representative institution in the country the Congress had degenerated into an organization dominated by my personality and that in it there was no free play of reason,"

on the 17th September, 1934, he declared his intention to retire from the Congress. Subsequently, at the Congress held at Bombay in October of the same year, many leading Congressmen made impassioned appeals to him to reconsider his decision. But he remained firm, and said:

"I strongly desire to go out of the Congress in order that the Congress may flourish and grow to its natural height. At the present moment, somehow or other, I am weighed down with the feeling that the Congress is being suppressed by my presence, that the Congress is not giving the natural expression to its views. Therefore, it has become an artificial body and nothing can be so harmful to the growth of an institution or a nation as that it allows itself to be suppressed even for the sake of love."

Perhaps those who sponsored the Pant resolution know Gandhiji's mind. Perhaps according to their knowledge of his mind he now thinks that owing to changing times, he will be

a help rather than a hindrance to the natural growth of the Congress, that the Congress, which "had degenerated into an organization dominated by [his] personality," with "no free flow of reason in it," will now under his dictatorship become "the most democratic and representative institution in the country," that now under his formally declared leadership the Congress will "flourish and grow to its natural height," that the Congress will not now be suppressed by his presence, that it will give the natural expression to its views, instead of remaining "an artificial body" and that there will be "free play of reason" in it.

In 1934, at the time of the Bombay Congress, he said that "nothing can be so harmful to the growth of an institution or a nation as that it allows itself to be suppressed even for the sake of love."

In supporting Mr. Pant's resolution in the Subjects Committee and in replying to those who had contended that its acceptance would tie the hands and feet of the president, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar remarked:

"Any one should be happy to have his hands and feet tied up if it was for Mahatma Gandhi."

In view of this observation of one of his closest friends and most loyal followers, Gandhiji will be able to judge whether the danger of the Congress suppressing itself "for the sake of love" still exists.

Devout believers in God know and feel that He does not like that anybody's hands and feet should be tied up even for Him.

We do not know whether Mahatmaji will formally join the Congress now. One may have doubts. For on the occasion of his "walk-out" in 1934 he said:

"By my test I cannot be satisfied with any majority, however decisive, given as the price of my remaining in the Congress. Such a position cannot flatter my pride or vanity; it can only humiliate me. I do not want to become the patron of the Congress."

One is also reminded that years ago in *Young India* Gandhiji said in effect that it was a thousand times better that a man were undone through his own mistakes than through perpetual guidance by any other man however wise.

### *Responsible Government and Un-responsible Leadership*

The Indian National Congress has been fighting for responsible government and has got it, of a sort, in the Provinces, and is for a struggle for the same commodity even in the Indian States. But so far as its own organiza-

tion is concerned, it has been for years really, though not in name, under un-responsible leadership, and now a formal and official demand has gone forth for the same un-responsible leadership.

Mahatma Gandhi is not even a four-anna member of the Congress, and therefore he is not responsible to any individual Congressman nor to any aggregate of Congressmen. He enjoys power without responsibility.

### *In Praise of Stalin-Hitler-Mussolini-Gandhi*

Seth Govind Das, chairman of the reception committee of the Tripuri Congress, started praising Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini by saying that Mahatma Gandhi occupied the same place in the Congress as Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini do among the Bolsheviks, Nazis and Fascists respectively. What a glorious company to be in for the saint of Segson!

Another bearer of a Vaishnava name, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, was also all praise for Hitler and Mussolini!

Alas for the Vaishnava name Govind! Vaishnavism teaches ahimsa and humility. Hitler and Mussolini stand for ferocity and arrogance.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant thinks that Hitler and Mussolini have done great things for their respective countries. Let us assume without admitting it that they have done so on the material plane. But of what sort of men do the German and Italian nations under them consist? They are puppets and tools in the hands of their masters. They have no freedom of thought, judgment, expression or action. They dare not speak or act against their dictators. If the latter trample under foot the rights of other races or people, if they break faith, if they are ferocious, these German and Italian men must also do likewise and be the same, or at least keep quiet. Do our Congress leaders want Mahatmaji to be the same kind of dictator, and do they want the Indian nation and the units of which it is composed to be like the intellectual and moral slaves produced by the foreign dictators? Do they want the Indian people to be slaves to their dictator at home and cruel and faithless tyrants abroad? And all for a handful of dust and of silver, for mere territory and more material wealth.

Leaving aside the spiritual and moral dissimilarity between Mahatmaji and the foreign men with whose names his honoured name has been bracketed, let us draw attention to another kind of difference.



Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini are dictators in the organizations of which they are themselves members. But Gandhiji has been informally for years and has now been formally constituted the dictator of an organization of which he has not been for years and is not now a member

### Other Principal Congress Resolutions

The resolution on the National Demand deserves full support as far as it goes. But it does not mention or clearly indicate any step to be taken "to achieve independence." There is no programme in it.

It is to be noted that it does not mention any "ultimatum," which was included in the presidential address and at which there seemed to be a veiled sneer in the speech of the chairman of the reception committee.

The resolution contains the words, "Rejecting the Government of India Act and with a full determination to end it, it (the Congress) has decided to take advantage of the measure of Provincial Autonomy that this Act provided," etc. This portion of the resolution would have been quite accurate if it had been worded as follows:

"Rejecting the Government of India Act but neither rejecting nor accepting the Communal Award, on which it is based, and with a full determination to end it but hesitating whether to end or to conserve it in British India and extend it to the Indian States," etc.

The resolution on the Indian States is very judiciously worded and is worthy of full support. The second paragraph of it expresses graceful appreciation of the constitutional reforms introduced in some States, in the words:

"While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognized this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people,

Perhaps the foremost among these States is the small state of Aundh. There are other States like Sangli, Cochin, Mayurbhanj, etc.

The resolution on the constitutional changes in the Congress should be supported, except on one point. The A. I. C. C. is authorized to bring about even changes in the Constitution of the Congress and "to give immediate effect to such constitutional changes." We are not competent to pronounce any opinion as to whether the delegates can divest themselves of the right and duty to consider these changes and to approve, amend or reject them, or whether they can deprive the whole body of Congress members of the right to consider them through

their elected representatives. But the bestowal of final authority in this matter upon the A. I. C. C. does not appear to us wise.

We support the Congress resolution recording its entire disapproval of the British foreign policy, but we have our doubts regarding the appropriateness of the epithet 'deliberate' when it is said that "this policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy." Perhaps the betrayal was due to a feeling of weakness or to the fear that if Britain came to the rescue of Czechoslovakia Japan might launch an air attack on Burma or the North-eastern frontier of India. One hesitates to be dogmatic on such subjects.

### Scepticism Regarding Subhas Chandra Bose's Illness

In a note in the Chaitra number of *Prabāsi*, written on the 9th March last, we guessed several alternative causes which might have led the reception committee of the Tripuri Congress not to postpone its sitting, thereby making it necessary for the president to go to Tripuri while still suffering from illness. One of our guesses was that perhaps it was not believed, even on the strength of bulletins issued by his doctors, including Sir Nilratan Sircar, that he was really ill. It was a mere guess on our part on the 9th March. But now we find from the Congress President's article on "My Strango Illness" in our current issue that there really were people who thought S. J. Bose, the Congress soldier, was malingering!

The pity of it, and the shame of it!

### Why Congress Working Committee Not Yet Formed

Sriji Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, has set forth in a statement to the Associated Press of India, dated Jharia the 25th March, the reasons for the delay in forming and announcing the year's Congress Working Committee. The statement begins:

About a week ago, after the Tripuri Congress was over, an agitation was started against me (to the effect) that I was not announcing the formation of the new Working Committee and that I was responsible for causing a stalemate in the affairs of the Congress. No such agitation was started, I believe, against the members of the previous Working Committee when they created a crisis in the Congress affairs lasting about a fortnight (till the All-India Congress Committee met at Tripuri) by suddenly resigning in a body.

The clause in the Pant resolution requesting the President to form the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi, he considers *ultra vires* and unconstitutional.

Sir John Simon: "The provisions made in the Act of 1935 were the result of a great deal of thought on the part of everybody in the House of Commons, and I do not think that I can suggest that there can be a change."

Mr. Sorenson: "Is he aware that the greater portion of the politically conscious people in India are demanding a further development of Indian self government?"

No reply was given.—*Reuter*.

Not in the least surprising.

### **Finance Bill and Supplementary Railway Demands Rejected in Central Assembly**

NEW DELHI, Mar. 25.

The Finance Bill in the recommended form was rejected by the Central Assembly by 50 votes to 42.

The Muslim League Party and four unattached members remained neutral in the voting on the Bill.

The Assembly also rejected by 62 votes to 45 a supplementary demand in respect of railways to defray charges which would come in course of payments during the year ending 31st March, 1939, in respect of working expenses. A number of speakers criticised the failure of Government in this connection to furnish adequate explanations for this demand in the House or before the standing Finance Committee for railways.—*A. P.*

### **President Savarkar's Message to Bihar Hindus**

MONGHYR, Mar. 24

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President elect of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference which commences at Monghyr to-morrow, has given the following message to the Hindus of Bihar:—

"My message to the Hindus of Bihar is to the effect that the Hindus should give up the idea that there is something disgraceful, something anti-national in defending the legitimate interest of Hinduism. To me nationality consists in guarding the interests of every community whether a minority or a majority. Such nationalism is perfectly consistent with organisation of the Hindus to protect their rights and interests, cultural, political and social.

"But if anybody comes to tell us that nationalism in India means the ever increasing humiliation of the Hindus, ever-increasing surrender of Hindu rights to the clamour of the Moslem minority, then the Hindus should forthwith denounce this kind of nationalism as not only anti-Hindu but anti-national or rather because it is anti-Hindu it must be anti-national. Every Hindu must declare it as proudly as the Germans do or the Englishmen do with respect to their own nation.

"Hindus are willing to deal with the minority on the basis of perfect equality whether in proportion to the population or merit, but they are not prepared to yield an inch more to any section, be it Muslim or British, simply because the Hindus are in a majority. We are determined to keep it as Hinduistan and not going to allow it either to be Pakistan or Englishstan"—*U. P.*

### **Presidential Address at Bihar Hindu Conference**

An unprecedentedly stupendous gathering of Hindus assembled at Monghyr on the occasion of the 8th session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference last month. President

Savarkar's speech has been thus very briefly summarized by the United Press representative:

MONGHYR, Mar. 25

"It is a happy sign that the Hindus have become alive to the idea of national unity and are organising themselves. That is why although I am a Maratha, I am presiding at a Conference in Bihar." Thus observed Mr. Savarkar in course of his Presidential speech at the 8th session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference which commenced at Monghyr this afternoon. There was a large gathering.

Mr. Savarkar said many people looked at the Hindu Mahasabha with suspicion, because they wrongly thought that it stood for reviving religious superstition. The Hindu Mahasabha, he explained, stood for 'Hindutwa' which embraced Hindu society, culture, language, etc. It was much more than a mere 'ism'. His grievance against the Congress was that it was pro Muslim. It was this tendency to which the Hindu Mahasabha was opposed. In the Swaraj which the Hindu Mahasabha envisaged, minorities would get sufficient protection, that is any one who called himself a Hindustani would be treated on equal footing with others, but no one would get more than his population ratio demanded.

The President further said that at present under the Congress Governments the Muslims were getting much more than they really deserved, all in the name of nationalism, while it was the Hindus who had made all forms of sacrifices and were responsible for making the Congress what it was today. He maintained that he was hearing the same complaints about the sufferings of Hindus at Muslim hands which he used to hear in his boyhood, and referred to the Banua raids by tribesmen on innocent Hindu men and women to illustrate his point.

In conclusion, he said "Let us organise ourselves and work in such a way that not only no wrongs would be done to us by any community, but we would get liberty from Englishmen."

### **Some Bihar Hindu Conference Resolutions**

Some of the resolutions passed at the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference have been reported as follows by the Associated Press of India:

"Whereas the present policy of the Bihar Government and the avowed programme of the Congress have created a feeling of uncertainty highly discouraging for new investments and the industrialisation of the country is discouraged, the Conference of the Provincial Hindu Sabha of Bihar declares that it is as much necessary to protect the rights of the tenant and labour as to safeguard the legitimate interests of the landlords and the capitalists so that resources of the nation be not frittered away at this crucial juncture but duly conserved for making all round progress possible in the country, and accordingly this Conference requests the All India Hindu Mahasabha to place the following 'programme of action' before the country:—

- (1) Propagation of swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods;
- (2) Ceaseless agitation for reduction of ratio of exchange to 16d. per rupee
- (3) Collection of statistics of unemployed Hindus and seeing them profitably engaged;
- (4) Introduction of cottage and small industries throughout the country;
- (5) Assurance of at least living wages to labour in all fields of human activities."

It appears that the Bengal Ministers will have to do similar justice to a very notable work, possessed of political and historical value, namely, the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland's excellent book, *India in Bondage*.

In answer to a question in the Central Assembly, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member, said that the book was proscribed by the Bengal Government and "a notification was subsequently issued under section 19 of the Sea Customs Act by the Government of India prohibiting its import into India. So long as the order of proscription stands the question of cancelling the notification under the Sea Customs Act will not arise."

So it is for the Bengal Government to cancel the proscription first, and then the Government of India may be asked to cancel the notification under the Sea Customs Act.

The Bengal Ministers can easily cancel the proscription. It is not necessary to argue that the book does not contain any matter which is really or technically "seditious." It may or may not contain such matter. What has to be considered is that the times and the political atmosphere have changed. Many political workers, convicted of political offences after trial, have been released before their time. The ban has been lifted on many books previously considered politically objectionable. And, as for "sedition," one can confidently assert that *India in Bondage* does not contain any such concentrated indictment of British rule as is contained in the Independence Day Pledge, repeated every year from thousands of platforms and reprinted in thousands of newspapers on Independence Day.

Therefore, to keep *India in Bondage* still proscribed is an anachronism.

academic assistance is open to all those who may be in sympathy with its mission without any distinction of caste or creed.

The Institute has for fifteen years past been engaged upon an all-comprehensive and scientific apparatus of research in the field of the most ancient cultural heritage of India. The project is divided into four sections. Section I is known as 'A Vedic Word-Concordance,' being an exhaustive analytical and critical register of Vedic Vocabulary. Section II embodies a Vedic Dictionary which aims at being a complete record of ancient, medieval and modern Vedic interpretations, Indian as well as Foreign, properly assessed at their varying values in the light of strictest canons of scientific criticism. A Vedic Encyclopædia forms the next section which is intended to furnish all available data on Vedic life and culture. The last section comprises critical editions and translations of Vedic texts. These works are being issued as the Shantkuti Vedic Series consisting of 40 volumes of 500 pages each.

Forty whole-time assistants are collaborating with the Honorary Editor in carrying out this gigantic programme.

The cost of the scheme, from start to finish, has been estimated at 8 lacs of rupees. Out of this, contributions of Rs. 200,000 have already been received and spent. In regard to the remaining need, the valuable patronage secured from the Central and Provincial Governments of India, Indian Universities and States as also from the generous-minded public goes to solve one-half of the problem. The Institute can depend upon this provision to the extent of Rs. 20,000 per annum for a period of 15 years within which it hopes to complete the project.

fees. It may look very philanthropic on paper to seek to provide the rural population with highly qualified doctors. But when the majority of such doctors will not be paid even subsistence allowances from public funds and when their income from private practice alone, if any, cannot be adequate, the proposal appears to be equivalent to leaving villagers without medical help or to leaving them to the tender mercies of quacks.

Whether with the raised qualifications for new entrants a sufficient number of students will join the Medical Schools, is another question which requires to be considered. In the latest published report on the Medical Schools in Bengal it is stated that in the year under report the number of students with qualifications higher than the Matriculation was 138. There are nine Medical Schools in Bengal. Surely these cannot be conducted with 154 students per school!

### *National Art Gallery at Delhi*

The proposal for a National Indian Art Gallery at the Capital was referred to in appreciative terms by H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala in opening the Ninth Annual Exhibition of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society on the 9th March last. The scheme, said His Highness, was sponsored by the Society and would constitute a permanent exhibition of the best and most representative achievements of the different schools of Indian painting through all ages.

His Highness added:

"There is the imperative need for an all India gallery where the rich and varied heritage of the past can be seen and studied and the work of the present collected and preserved. More than all, it is of supreme importance in these days when our diversity is being emphasised and when local and provincial interests tend to grow stronger, the unity of our art and the spiritual experience which is the basis of all art should be visibly demonstrated and should remain as a permanent monument to the fundamental unity of Indian life.

"For such a national gallery no other city in India has the claim that Delhi undoubtedly possesses. The historical capital of this ancient country, it has been placed outside the sphere of provincial jealousies. Its own artistic heritage is second to that of no other city in India. The Moghul and Rajput schools flourished in this city. Some of the noblest monuments of the Moghul period are to be found here. Again, owing to the development of provincial autonomy, a national gallery in any other city, however important, would hardly be national. The All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society were in my opinion wise in deciding to establish such an institution in the capital."

Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh, in inviting His Highness to perform the opening ceremony,

referred to the progress already made with the art gallery plan and said that

a scheme had already been submitted to Her Excellency Lady Lushington and an application together with a plan of the proposed building had been sent to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi for a suitable site on the Queen's way. The expense of the building had been estimated at Rs. 1½ lakhs. The scheme, he said, had met with enthusiastic response from many rulers, ministers and others.—A. S.

### *Folly of Census Boycott*

The Communal "Award" and the Poona Pact were denounced by the conference of Hindu leaders, held under the auspices of the Bengal Hindu United Association last month in Calcutta. The conference condemned the attitude of boycotting the recording of census, as a consequence of which the Hindus were suffering from inadequate representation both in the legislature and the services. It wanted a census where an exact number of Hindus would be recorded.

The conference wanted the Hindu zemindars of the province to give a lead in the work that the Association was carrying on. A Contact Board was appointed to keep all sects in Hinduism in close contact. The Conference urged the necessity of aboriginal tribes being known as Hindus.

### *British Governor Wants Eradication of Communalism!*

His Excellency the Governor of the Panjab has asked the youth of that province to conquer communalism. It is a noble exhortation. But His Excellency should bear in mind that unless the British nation and parliament reverse the Communal Decision, on which the Government of India Act of 1935 is based, the conquest of communalism in India must be an extremely difficult, if not an impossible task.

### *Indo-British Trade Pact Rejected in Central Assembly*

At New Delhi the Legislative Assembly has rejected by 53 votes to 49 votes the European group amendment to postpone consideration of the Indo-British Trade Agreement till the Simla session, pending the report of the Committee of the House which would examine the terms of the agreement.

The Muslim League remained neutral. Some members of the Congress Nationalist party voted against the amendment, while others remained neutral.

The Assembly also rejected by 59 votes

to 47 Sir Mohd. Zafarullah's motion that the Indo-British Trade Agreement be approved.

### "Certified" Finance Bill Passed in Council of State

NEW DELHI, March 23.

The Council of State passed the Finance Bill, in the form recommended by the Governor General, by 27 votes to 12. Muslim League Party remaining neutral.

The recommended Finance Bill came up for consideration in the Council of State. Mr. A. I. Raisman, Secretary of the Finance Department, moved that the Bill be taken into consideration.

Rai Bahadur Ramchandras Leader of the Opposition, took a strong exception to the method of certification used in the case of the Finance Bill.

He said that certification was a measure provided only for emergencies and should not have been made a normal feature, as had been the case for the last five years.

Hon. Mr. Ramdas Panikar, Leader of the Congress Party, opposed the Bill and said that it was a black record for the Finance Bill to have been certified for the last five years. It was useless for them to participate in the discussion on the Bill as it was not open to them to make any changes in it. He claimed that it was never the intention of the framers of the constitution that methods of certification should be used so often. "It is the negation of democratic principles and the least we can do is to dissociate ourselves with the passage of the Bill."—A. P. I.

The process of certification resorted to during five successive years clearly shows what kind of "self-government" Britain has given to India.

### "Madrid Surrenders"

MADRID, March 23.

After a siege of nearly three and a half years, Madrid has surrendered. White flags are hoisted throughout the city. Col. Casado has left the general headquarters. The Central Army surrendered, acting under the orders of its chief, Colonel Pradas.

It is believed that General Franco will enter Madrid on April 1.

Reuter learns that the Nationalist occupation of Madrid will begin at 5 p.m. GMT. The first troops to enter the city will be those from University City. Troops will converge in Puerta Del Sol from north and south.

Nationalists advancing on Madrid are meeting with scant resistance.

#### THE FASCIST SALUTE

The Nationalist salute of the extended arm is to be seen everywhere, although the surrender has not yet been officially announced. The news spread like wild fire and Republican flags disappeared as if by magic. The city is thronged with fugitives fearing reprisals and desperately seeking means of escape, but cars are scarce owing to petrol shortage.

The streets are filled with soldiers who have abandoned the front line. Republican bank notes are refused by shops.

It is not known where General Casado, Chief of the Republican forces, has fled, but he left Madrid before the surrender. The police look on indifferently while Nationalist supporters demonstrate. Nationalist troops are now closing in on Madrid.—Reuter.

### The Situation in Europe

The situation in Europe has been developing so rapidly that news relating to it appearing on any day in the morning dailies may read like ancient history when the evening dailies come out. Similarly, the situation may so change or develop overnight that what had come out the previous evening may look like ancient history the next morning.

Daily papers can supply their readers with what is "modern" history for the time being, as also with what becomes "ancient" history overnight. But a monthly reviewer is not so fortunately situated. If he attempts to chronicle contemporaneous European events he may often run the risk of being taken for an archaeologist. We value archaeology and occasionally publish archaeological articles. But our notes are meant to have other than archaeological interest.

So until European politics acquired relative stability or at least until the development of the political situation there slowed down sufficiently to suit our bullock cart country, it would be best for the aged editor to be a silent watcher, though of course his kind contributors, who are younger and kicking, will continue to write on European affairs and world affairs.

### Germany in Central Europe

Whether after annexing Czechoslovakia and Memel without firing a shot, Germany will annex any more territory in Central Europe is not yet (midday, 29th March) known to us. But whether she acquires political predominance over more territory or not, she will undoubtedly try to win economic overlordship over all her smaller neighbours. Surely none of them can resist her ambition, and they have not combined. Even a combination of all the Balkan and Danubian States cannot perhaps be a match for her militarily.

The one State in the Continent of Europe which can fight Germany singly is Soviet Russia.

### The Position of Italy

The Rome-Berlin axis is a familiar expression. But the two sides of the axis have scarcely ever been balanced properly, and as the days pass their dissymmetry becomes more and more pronounced. Germany has been growing in bulk rapidly.

Whether to keep pace with her or not, Italy has been making demands upon France.

What gains the triumph of General Franco in Spain brings to Italy has yet to be definitely known.

Progressive Party in meeting assembled under the presidentship of Maulvi Abdul Karim (retired Inspector of Schools) has protested against the proposal of introducing separate electorates.

The Statement says that separate electorates are to be introduced on the analogy of the Government of India Act. But there is no real analogy, as that Act is meant for Legislatures, not for municipal bodies.

The Bill professes to allot seats to various sections of the permanent and floating population of Calcutta according to their numbers or the amount of taxes paid by them, etc. But it is only the Hindus, who are entitled to the vast majority of seats on the basis of population, amount of tax paid, public spirit, education, etc., who are to be reduced to the position of a minority!

If the worst came to the worst, the only effective remedy that would remain would be the starting of a no-tax campaign.

### *J. N. Tata Centenary*

It was only fitting that the centenary of the birth of Jamshedji N. Tata should be celebrated by his countrymen. He was a captain of industry with great business ability, vision and courage. To these qualities of his we owe his hydro-electric works, his cotton mills, and his Iron and Steel Works, the largest in the British empire. The Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore is the outcome of his conviction, which is a right conviction, that scientific research is essentially necessary for the promotion of industry. The industries which he promoted were a true form of philanthropy. His philanthropy took another shape in the foundation of the Tata Scholarships for foreign studies. The many fellowships for pathological research founded by his family and the other Tata charities are a manifestation of his spirit.

### *Satyagraha in Indian States*

Mahatma Gandhi has advised the suspension of Satyagraha in some of the States in which it had been going on. As he is the highest expert and authority in Satyagraha his advice should in general be followed. In Hyderabad the State Congress there had suspended Satyagraha more than a month ago.

But the Arya-samajist Satyāgrahis have not done so. We think they are right.

### *Mr. N. R. Sarker On Communal Reservation of Posts in Bengal*

Some Bengal dailies have published a Note written by the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Finance Minister, Bengal, on the resolution carried in the Bengal Legislative Assembly recommending the reservation of 60 per cent. of the posts in the public services for Muslims, 20 per cent. for the scheduled castes Hindus, and 20 per cent. for "caste" Hindus and all other communities. We are opposed to any kind of reservation according to communities, classes, etc. "Open door for talent" should be the principle followed. But if there must be reservation according to communities, Mr. Sarker's note is a very comprehensive and statesmanlike discussion of the subject from all points of view. He clinches his argument by quoting a telling passage from a pronouncement of Premier A. K. Fazlul Huq.

### *Dr. Mrs. Kamala Ray Not Appointed Bethune College Botany Professor*

The appointment of a non-Indian lady of lower qualifications to the professorship of botany in Bethune College, to the exclusion of Dr. Mrs. Kamala Ray, D.Sc., who possesses a higher qualification, cannot but be condemned. We hope the Calcutta University, or some private Woman's College or the Women's Department of some private college, will utilize her talents and learning.

### *Making Little Children Go Down "Man-holes"*

In a letter to the Press Mr. C. F. Andrews has drawn attention to the terribly cruel practice of employing little children to go down the 'man-holes' into the Calcutta sewers to clear them out. Recently he spoke very earnestly about it in the Calcutta University Institute. The very next morning near Lal Bazar a child, sent down the 'man-hole,' was 'gassed' by sewage gas and taken to the hospital.

The practice should certainly be stopped altogether and some mechanical device substituted for it.

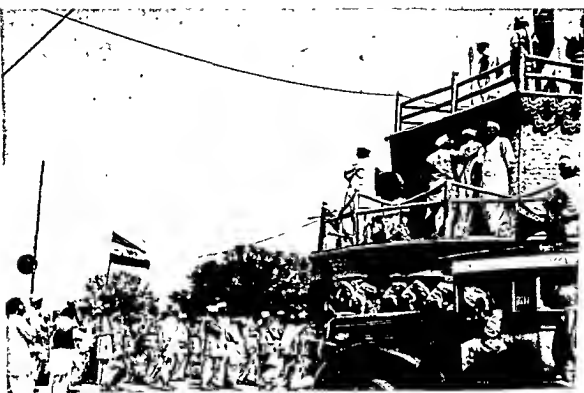
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
Tripuri Session



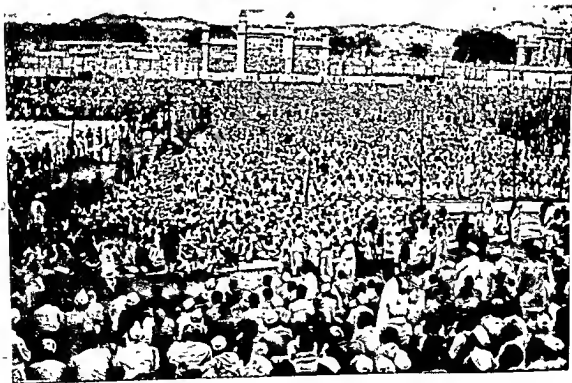
President Subhas Chandra Bose



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Srimati Indira and others  
on their way to Akhadi exhibition



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing after the Flag hoisting ceremony at Tripuri



A view of the open session at Vishnu Dutt Nagar, Tripuri



dollar (when she had one) go the farthest possible. She wore her clothes until there were holes, and then mended the holes so neatly that nobody noticed them. She kept Mr. Alcott's coat mended and brushed. She made the girls' dresses over and turned them inside out, so as to keep them respectable, and trimmed their old hats over so that they looked like new. She taught the girls to help in everything, and to save as carefully as she, which they were glad to do. But they never mentioned their poverty to others and never complained. Thus they made it elegant poverty. They welcomed into their home their neighbors and friends, serving them with the best they had, without apologies. Everybody liked them. The girls were popular with the young people of the village. The home was a headquarters for games, extemporized theatricals, good times and fun, Mr and Mrs Alcott encouraging it all, and often joining in. Ellen Emerson was a close associate with the Alcott girls in their festivities, and the plays were sometimes enacted in the Emerson home, with Mr and Mrs Emerson as happy spectators.

To the Alcott girls, who were eager readers, Mr. Emerson gave the free use of his library, where they, especially the romantic Louisa, found treasures as wonderful as were ever revealed by Aladdin's lamp. Louisa tells us that very early she set Mr. Emerson up in her imagination as her hero and secretly wrote letters to him,—which she never sent. But in later years she told him of her young romance, —to his infinite amusement.

She tells us, too, that Emerson was the "wonderful friend" of the Alcott family, in ways that nobody outside knew, but that were very vital to them. Often they would have suffered severely but for him. Not only did he exert himself constantly to find something for Mr. Alcott to do to earn money—lecturing, writing, etc., but he often drove the wolf from the door by substantial pecuniary help—always in ways least obtrusive, least embarrassing. Louisa relates that after a call from Mr. or Mrs. Emerson or Ellen it was the commonest of experiences to find under a look on the table, or under a lamp, or in some other place secret but certain to be discovered, one or more bills or gold-pieces, often of considerable size.

During many years an essential part of the support of the Alcott home had to be furnished by the women of the family, particularly by Louisa. To earn money she did sewing, taught school, did nursing (during the Civil War) and

wrote short stories, and articles for periodicals. Her writings brought her small pay until she wrote "Little Women". That sprang at once into amazing popularity and from that time on the terrible financial load was lifted, both from her own shoulders and from those of the family. It was no wonder that Mr. Alcott, when asked what he regarded as his most important contribution to literature, answered, "My daughter Louisa."

When Mr. Emerson died, in 1882, Louisa Alcott wrote in her diary: "Our best and greatest American has gone. He was the nearest and dearest friend my father has ever had, and the man who has helped me most by his life, his books and his society. I can never tell all he has been to me, from the time when, a little girl, I sang under his window in the moonlight, and wrote secret letters to him as my hero, up through my hard years when his essays on Self-Reliance, Character, Compensation, Love and Friendship helped me to understand myself and life and nature and God. Illustrious and beloved friend, good by!"

She helped trim the church for the funeral and herself made a beautiful lyre of golden jonquils.

Bronson Alcott read at the funeral a sonnet in which he expressed his admiration and devotion for this immortal friend:

"His body is silent: shall successors rise,  
Touching with venturous hand the trembling  
string

Kindle glad raptures, visions of surprise,  
And wake to ecstasy the slumbering thug?  
Shall life and thought flash new to wondering  
eyes.

As when the seer transcendent, sweet and wise,  
World-wide his native melodies did sing,  
Flashed with fair hopes and ancient memories?  
Ah no! That matchless lyre shall silent lie:

None hath the vanished minstrel's wondrous  
skill.

To touch that instrument with art and will.  
With him, winged poetry doth droop and die;  
While our dull age, left voiceless, must lament  
The bard high heaven had for its service sent."

After the services at the church and at the grave were over, Louisa Alcott sat down and wrote far into the night, preparing an article on Ralph Waldo Emerson for *The Youth's Companion* in order that the children of America might know his greatness and the nobility of his life.

the knowledge or the pleasure he has derived from reading

Some people will be ready to tell you what books you ought to read. They will compile at anyone's request a list of the fifty or one hundred best books, as the case may be. They are very sure themselves, but even if everyone were to agree as to which are the best which is doubtful, not everyone wants to read the best books. That delightful humorist, Harry Graham, once undertook at my request to compile a list of the hundred worst books, but he did not get beyond about ten, I think, two of which I had selected myself. It is my firm belief that people should choose their books for themselves, and should not accept the judgment of others in their selection. My grandfather, Bulwer-Lytton, who was a great reader as well as a great novelist, used to tell the story of a man who wished to improve the quality of his honey, so instead of leaving his bees free to gather honey at their will, he clipped their wings and placed before them only the best and sweetest flowers to be found on Mount Hymettus. But he found that when the bees had been deprived of their liberty they made no honey at all. He applied this to those who restrict the liberty of their children and prescribed for them the books they ought to read. We must be like the bees, and gather our honey from whatever books we may choose ourselves.

Some readers think there is merit merely in having read a good book, quite apart from the advantage which they may themselves derive from their reading. I have never been able to subscribe to this belief. When I was at School, I had a friend who used to return each term from the holidays with a list of good books which he had been given at home, and which he dutifully read through during the term, ticking off each book from his list as he finished it, just as an earnest tourist will tick off from his itinerary, the names of the towns and countries which he has done. That word reminds me of such a tourist, who said to me once.—"The worst of Italy is that you can never say you have done it!" I also remember overhearing in a hotel in Delhi a member of a tourist party which had just arrived, enquire, "Where are we now?", and the leader of the party replied, "Well, according to the itinerary, this ought to be Rome." But I am straying from my point, and I must go back to my school friend. He used to try and persuade me to read the books on his list, and I asked him if they were amusing and he said, "Oh, no,

not amusing". So then I said, "Are they exciting?" and he replied, "Oh, no, not exciting." "What are they then?" I asked, and he said, "They are good books", but he could never tell me what good he had got out of them and I am afraid I was not persuaded to read them. He never seemed to me to know whether the book he had just finished was Boswell's *Life of Johnson* or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, any more than my tourists knew whether they were in Delhi or Rome. The mention of *Paradise Lost* reminds me of a young lady, who at a country-house party overheard a reference to this great English classic, and naively enquired what it was. She was overwhelmed with a chorus of incredulous protest. "What, have you never read *Paradise Lost*?", and she had to confess with shame that she hadn't. The next morning she came down to breakfast looking very white and haggard, having sat up all night, and announced to the company, "I have read it!"

That sort of reading does not seem to me to have any merit, and those that say we ought to read books merely because they are classics without regard to our taste in literature, are intellectual snobs for whom I have little liking. But just as there are inverted social snobs who refuse to make the acquaintance of a Peer, and declare that they are uncomfortable even in the house of an Honourable, so there are inverted intellectual snobs who are afraid of being thought highbrow if they are detected reading a classical author. Many readers have missed the pleasure they could have found in Shakespeare, or the Bible, or Plato, or even in *Paradise Lost*, because these good books have been forced upon them as classics, and they have never suspected or discovered for themselves what good things are to be found in them.

reason. Under the heading of pleasure must be included two different forms: first, the pleasure of meeting new minds, learning new points of view, discovering ideas and thoughts in others which had not occurred to our own minds, secondly, the pleasure of finding one's own feelings, sentiments or opinions expressed by others better than one could express them oneself. I think we have the right to appropriate as our own, those passages in the books we read, which give us that kind of pleasure.

When I was at Cambridge, I was told a story about Oscar Browning, one of the Dons who enjoyed a great reputation in his generation, and J. K. Stephen, the brilliant son of my Father's great friend Sir James Stephen, an eminent judge. Stephen had made one of his brilliant remarks at some College gathering, and Oscar Browning exclaimed in envious admiration, "I wish I had said that, J. K.", to which the other promptly replied, "You will, Oscar, you will!" Though we are not permitted to appropriate the wit of others, we are, I think, permitted to absorb their ideas though not to market them, since it is the magnet of our own personality which has attracted them to us. As we go through life, our minds and character are more the result of our experiences of the people we have met and the books we have read, than of the qualities we inherited.

A writer makes many friends, some enemies too, perhaps through his books, though he may never meet them in person. And a great reader has also a host of friends whom he has never met.

As an example of the good which an author may do without knowing it, I would like to tell you a story that I heard from my Mother! She used to get her dresses from Worth, and when she was Ambassador in Paris the head of that great firm of dressmakers told her he owed everything in life to her father-in-law. As a very young man he had met with misfortune; everything seemed against him, and in utter despair he was contemplating throwing himself into the Seine to end his miserable and seemingly purposeless life, when Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *Night and Morning*, fell into his hands. In that book he read how Philip Beaufort, the hero, met with misfortunes even greater than his own, but instead of giving in he persevered doggedly and finally succeeded in everything. This story made such an impression on the young Worth that he vowed he would follow Philip's example and never give up. The result was that he lived to create his

great business and made it famous throughout the world.

One way of increasing our intimacy with our favourite authors is to keep a commonplace book in which we enter the passages from which we have derived special pleasure, encouragement, hope or inspiration. There are a few rare individuals with such retentive memories that they can keep such passages stored in their own minds and reproduce them at will. One friend of mine, the best read and most cultured man I know, has made a practice all through his life—and it has been a busy life with no more leisure than most of us can claim—of learning some passage by heart every day from the books he has read and enjoyed. But that is a counsel of perfection which few of us have the will or the patience to adopt, and for those who are not privileged to possess the memory of Lord Macaulay the keeping of a commonplace book is a practice to be recommended. Such a book is a diary of the mind, and like any other diary it should be kept up to date, but the back numbers should never be destroyed. Some people as they grow older are ashamed of the opinions or tastes of their youth. This is a mistake, for it is the progressive development of a mind which is its chief interest.

Some commonplace books have been published and have passed into literature. Southey's commonplace book is one of the best known examples of the past. In our own day two delightful examples have recently been published—Mr Maurice Baring's "Have You Anything to Declare?" and "Alan Parson's Book", published by his widow, Viola Tree.

Mr. Baring explains in the introduction to his book how he dreamed that having crossed the stream which divides this life from the next, he had to pass through a Customs House, and was asked what he had to declare in the way of intellectual possessions. These were contained in two boxes which he had placed on the counter, one labelled "Memory" and the other "Notes". Then he woke up, but this dream gave him the title for his commonplace book. "I have always enjoyed reading," he writes, "every adventure that others have met with in the kingdom of books, and it is possible that the Customs House declaration of the literary baggage that accompanied me during my life may be of some interest or amusement to my fellow travellers, and give them the opportunity of comparing notes." This is a delightful book which no one who loves literature should be without. It contains

the opponent of any cause leaves me cold. I am definitely a "pro" and not an "anti."

At Cambridge I met many distinguished men in the world of letters and scholarship among the dons, and among the friends I made of my own generation were three who have since become famous as writers—G. M. Trevelyan, the historian of Garibaldi and England under the Stuarts and Queen Anne, Hilaire Belloc and Maurice Baring, both authors of many books in poetry and prose. I was also privileged to attend Lord Acton's lectures on the French Revolution. Lord Acton was, I think, the most learned man I have ever met. He was equally fluent in English, French, German and Italian and was said to have to read every history in each of those languages. I learnt from him, however, how sterilising to creation great knowledge could be. Lord Acton knew so much that he could never express an opinion of his own. He wrote nothing himself, and only planned the *Cambridge Modern History*, which was completed after his death. I think this is the worst history I know. Like Lord Acton himself, its twelve great volumes are a mine of information,

every section of it having been written by a different expert. It is a most valuable encyclopaedia of historical facts, but not a history. The interest of a history to my mind is provided by the light of one mind brought to bear upon the events which he describes. That interest is entirely absent from the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History*.

I enjoyed Lord Acton's lectures because of his beautiful voice and the dramatic way in which he told his story. I can remember to this day the thrill with which I heard the words, "In October Paris laid its hand upon its prey!" But in those lectures, as in his history, there was too little of Lord Acton himself—he threw no new light on the great subject he was describing.

In contrast I can only mention quite a little book, called *The Expansion of England*, by his predecessor in the chair of history—Professor Seeley—who shed an immense amount of light on the early history of what we now call the British Commonwealth of Nations.

(This article is a full summary of two recent talks broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in their Empire Programme and published exclusively in India by *The Modern Review*.)

## ROLE OF FEDERALISM IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By PROFESSOR BOOL CHAND, Ph.D. (London)

As a branch of political theory 'the federal state is merely the transitory form from confederation to the decentralised unitary state'.<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion to which one comes from the study of the history of federal organisation during the last two generations.

### EVOLUTION OF FEDERALISM

#### 1

The emergence of the true federal state from confederation was itself quite a complicated and difficult process. Although examples of confederal organisation seem to have appeared pretty early in history,

<sup>1</sup> The first confederation in history being the Achaean League—a voluntary association of city states for certain specific purposes under the oath of the Temple of Delphi.

<sup>1</sup> Sobel Mogi: *Problem of Federalism* (Lond, 1931).

II, 1103

2. *Ibid.*, I, 22

yet neither in Greek thought nor in Roman political thought can one discover any systematic theory of confederation, such as might have provided a basis for further speculation. Indeed, the Romans dominated Europe under the aegis of their Emperors and developed in consequence a brilliant unitary sovereign empire, thus dispelling altogether with any need for confederal union. It was only on the downfall of the Roman Empire when there grew up small feudal autonomies and sovereignties, that there was felt any real need for co-ordinating authority. Co-ordination of authority is possible only by some form of union; and three types of union seem to have appeared at this period. The first type of union was by means of alliance between states and provinces or towns, such as the league between Venice and Florence, or England and France to resist papal dominance. The second device employed for co-ordination of authority was by means of a

personal union, such as the union between Denmark and Holstein.

The third form of union, and this is the form that is germane to our present discussion, was by means of a confederation, as for example the Swiss Confederacy, in which the component cantons sent their representatives to the Confederation, and they met together to discuss and settle matters by their delegated authority. The problems with which the Confederation dealt were referred back to the citizens of each canton and decided by referendum. There was no possibility for the development of such confederation into a real organic federalism, for at this time there was no clear conception of state sovereignty; and when the idea of a sovereign state grew up in the 16th century, that in itself stood in the way of the evolution of true federalism. The only scheme of federation that was then possible was that of co-operative federation; for between organic federalism as we understand it today and the conception of state sovereignty there could be no compatibility at all. Such an argument is particularly noticeable in the works of Jean Bodin, who was convinced that unions between states could be based merely upon treaty: he could not possibly reconcile a corporative and constitutional union with his conception of sovereignty. Bodin's conception of state sovereignty was somewhat disturbed by Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law, who formulated the theory of the unions of states, and thus in its turn made the appearance possible of Montesquieu and Rousseau, who, although they had little really original to say about the relations between states, nevertheless did have occasional glimpses of the corporative forms of federation and gave expression to their thoughts in *Esprit des Lois* and *Institutions Politiques*.

But the immediate circumstances that led to the evolution of modern federalism are to be found in the failure, due to inefficient administration, of the Confederation of the thirteen states of North America during the period 1776 to 1787.

At least to certain purposes of common concern, for coherence in peace time, for even when the war is over coherence might be equally necessary but far more difficult to maintain. The underlying political feeling of the time, however, would not allow of the organic unification of the thirteen states. The belief in the state of nature, the conception of natural right, the idea of consent and government on the basis of contract, and as a product of all these, the notion of state sovereignty made anything like a system of integral union impossible. The Articles were, therefore, distinctly made to conform to the idea of a co-operative system of sovereignties, affirming in plain and direct language that in this confederation each component state 'retains its sovereignty, freedom, independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right'.<sup>3</sup>

The thirteen states 'entered into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual general welfare';<sup>4</sup> and created for this purpose a Congress in which (or at the time of the recess of the Congress, in a Committee of States) was vested a defined extent of delegated authority in matters like foreign relations, declarations of war and peace, the supreme command of the army, and navy, judiciary and arbitration, regulation of coinage, post office, etc., and a few general powers like that of the arbitration of disputes between the component states, but the Congress was empowered to exercise that authority only through the agency of the states. It conceded no authority over individuals. Again, it could raise no taxes: it could only request requisitions from the states, the principle laid down being that expenditure of the affairs of the Congress was borne by the various states according to the value of their lands. The central government, thus, under the Articles of Confederation, was endowed with authority but no power to make that authority effective.

It was not unnatural that this Confederation should break down in its actual functioning. The formulation of the Confederation was followed by a period of great stress: industrial and commercial conditions after the war with England were naturally in a state of confusion. Colonial independence from Great Britain meant withdrawal from the British mercantile system, and the impotent central government could not negotiate favourable

<sup>3</sup> *Articles of Confederation* (1781-1787), Art. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

the states were not prepared to allow the organisation of the federal legislative power completely on a national basis. A solution of the difficulty was found by the erection of two chambers to constitute the federal legislature, the House of Representatives formed on a national basis by the representatives of the population elected for a certain number of years, and the Senate formed on a federal basis by the nominees of the state legislatures. Not only was the Senate appointed by the state legislatures, but it was also meant to be 'a collective and federal trustee for the proper interests of the component states'.<sup>6</sup> That is why it was given the position of an intermediate body of governmental powers. Along with the House of Representatives, it was given a share in the power of legislation: with regard to a number of executive matters it was authorised to give the President advice and consent: and in regard to impeachment and trial it was empowered to exercise effective judicial authority.

In harmony with this mixed character of the central legislative organisation, the theoretic foundation of the new structure was also sought in a division of sovereignty between the central and the state governments. In a consolidated centralised system the local authorities are wholly subject to the central government; but in the union proposed by the Convention, the Federalists argued,

'the local authorities form distinct and independent portions of the supremacy, no more subject to the general authority than the general authority is to them within its own sphere.'<sup>7</sup>

The Fathers of the Constitution pinned their faith to the doctrine of divisibility of sovereignty, however questionable the doctrine was in itself, and based their compound system of government in the United States on the practical division of sovereignty between the states on the one hand and the union on the other, so that 'the whole society consisted in a number of partial sovereignties'.<sup>8</sup>

'The equal vote allowed to each State in the Senate was, thus, at once a constitutional recognition of the portion of Sovereignty remaining in the individual States and an instrument for preserving that Residual Sovereignty.'

2

Following from the doctrine of the division of sovereignty, there arose the need for a clear

demarcation of the spheres of authority of the federal and the state government, and it was in the process of the fulfilment of that need that the states revealed their deep-laid jealousy for the maintenance of their own existence. They insisted on granting to the national government only clearly-stated and clearly-recognisable powers, for

'only in such a principle could freedom from friction between Governments be ensured, and only in this way could the States have reasonable assurance of their continuance as efficient and effective members of an integral union'.<sup>9</sup>

The Federalists had argued that the principle that should be adhered to in deciding upon the distribution of powers should be to determine whether any power would better tend to public good and efficiency of government if allotted to the federal or to the state government; and in order to form a correct judgment on that question, Madison had divided the powers of the union into six categories relating to the following different subjects:

(1) Security against foreign danger, involving the powers of the 'declaration of war and granting letters of marque; of providing armies and fleets; of regulating and calling forth the militia; of levying and borrowing money.' [Federalist, XLIII].

(2) Regulation of intercourse with foreign nations, involving the power 'to make treaties; to send and receive ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations; to regulate foreign commerce, including a power to prohibit after the year 1808 the importation of slaves, etc' [Federalist, XLIII].

(3) Maintenance of harmony and proper intercourse among the states, involving the power 'to regulate commerce among the several states and Indian tribes; to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin; to provide for punishment of counterfeiting current coins and securities of the United States; to fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws of bankruptcy; to prescribe the manner in which the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of each state should be proved, and the effect they shall have in other states; and to establish post offices and post roads.' [Federalist, XLIII].

(4) Certain miscellaneous objects of general utility, including such powers as (a) the power to promote the growth of science and useful arts by securing to authors and inventors exclusive right, for a limit of time, to their respective writings and discoveries, and (b) the power to administer the territories and other property belonging to the United States, and to admit new states to the union.

(5) Restraint of the states from certain injurious acts, including the power to impose restrictions on the constituent states in such matters as (a) the conclusion of a treaty or alliance with any foreign state, and (b) the imposition of inter-state duties on exports and imports.

10 A. C. McLaughlin, *Constitutional History of the United States* (New York, 1935), p. 180.

6 Sobe's Mogi, I, 66.

7 Federalist, XXXIX.

8 Madison: Works, IV, 393

9 Federalist, LXII.

questions, to determine where the precise dividing line lay between state and national power and those appeals, it might incidentally be noted, have not always been decided in accordance with the needs of the times

Secondly, federalism, from its very nature, created a highly rigid and unchangeable constitutional machinery, which naturally proved incapable of easy adjustment to the ever-changing economic, social, and cultural conditions of the life of the people governed by it. There is doubtless in every federation a definite provision for the amendment of the constitution, but the process of amendment is always specially laid down and is inevitably different from that of ordinary legislation. In the case of the United States, the amending clause is particularly complicated and the process of amendment particularly tortuous and even undemocratic. The government, therefore has not proved sufficiently responsive to the changing public demand. During the later half of the 19th century, when the pace of industrialisation of life suddenly quickened and the need for a positive state became increasingly and urgently felt, the divergence between the law of the land and the demands of society became specially patent

Before the middle of the 19th century, the state had been primarily a political organisation, whose chief functions were defence, administration of justice, and the maintenance of order. But gradually, under the compulsion of mechanical and technological development, there arose grave social problems, on account of the industrialisation and complication of life, necessitating the assumption of a positive role by the state with regard to such matters as public health, education, and the provision of ordinary day-to-day facilities to the public. From being soldier and policeman alone, the state had to become protector and nurse also, directing the whole social policy of the country, and acting towards the individual as

'doctor, teacher, insurance organiser, house builder, sanitary engineer, chemist, railway controller, supplier of gas, water and electricity, town planner, pensions distributor, provider of transport, hospital organizer, road maker, and in a large number of other capacities'

With the birth of the technique of economic planning, the role of the state as the director of the community's life became even more positive. But scientific planning is possible only if it is operated upon a uniform, general, and national

scale, taking in its purview all the aspects and avenues of production and other activities of the people, and touching all the parts of the country at the same time; and this in its turn is impossible unless there is a supreme and collective political as well as economic agency, which can act for the greatest number of human beings and which can satisfy, so far as possible the demands of the community as a whole for commodities and services

## 2

Statutory division of powers in the federal state interferes with this main condition for the success of modern administration, and there is no wonder that it is becoming more and more irksome as time goes on. Even in the United States, in spite of the extreme difficulty of constitutional amendment, the tendency of actual practice during the last two generations has been towards federal centralisation,<sup>13</sup> that is to say, towards the concentration of powers in the hands of the national government. Since the Civil War the trend of development has been towards the increase of the control of the nation over state action. There is hardly any act of the state legislature today which deals with labour or corporations or which regulates conduct that is not a possible subject of national control through the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, compelling every state not to 'deprive any person of life, liberty, and property without due process of law, or deny the equal protection of the laws'. The effect of this amendment, it is noteworthy, has been not merely to increase national control over state legislation, but has also been to limit the very possibility of state legislation itself. In the same direction has been the emphatic result of the recent National Recovery Administration legislation

This tendency from federalisation to centralisation in the United States is not an isolated phenomenon the causative factors from which it proceeds are not local in their operation, but have been felt throughout the world. Switzerland has had a similar experience since the Napoleonic period. In the German Empire likewise the imperial government tended to direct with increasing frequency the functions of the states. In South Africa the idea of a federation was abandoned and the dominion government became a real union in name as well as in fact. Similar tendencies may be observed in the South American Repub-

13. Memorandum of W. A. Robson, in *Committee on Ministers' Powers*, Vol. II, CMD 4060 [London, 1932], p. 52.

14. See W. Thompson, *Federal Centralisation* [New York, 1923].

lies. In fact, every federal system of government has had an experience somewhat similar in character to that of the United States; in each one the tendency has been for the power of the central government to increase at the expense of the local units.

Along with this historical tendency of federal governments to absorb, whether by constitutional change or by the practical working of the constitution, the powers of the local units, we must also notice another counter-tendency in the unitary states to attempt to break down the monopoly of the central government. Of this there can be found ample evidence in the movement for regionalism in France and in the demand for devolution in the United Kingdom. These two tendencies, however, even though mutually contradictory, are not irreconcilable; for,

*"the fundamental tendency towards the concentration of governmental power over economic life, which is due to improvement in the means of communication and in large-scale industry, monopolies and 'chains,' need not carry with it an implication that federalism in social policy is to be destroyed. The problems of government in dealing with economic life are more objective and the ends are more or less agreed upon, but such homogeneity is not necessarily found when government deals with the problem of social and moral standards."*<sup>15</sup>

The two tendencies, therefore, can be quite easily reconciled by the creation of a decentralised unitary state.

of the Union, a representation of all national republics and regions on principles of equality, with possible representation of all nationalities living in these republics.

(c) to construct the executive organs of the Union on principles which would secure a real participation therein of the representatives of these republics, and a real satisfaction of all needs of the people in the Union.

(d) to allow for the republics sufficiently liberal financial, and in particular budgetary, rights, which would enable them to show their own state—administrative, cultural and economic initiative.

(e) to man the organs of the national republics and regions chiefly from amongst the local population, who would know local customs, language, etc.

(f) to issue special laws which would secure for them the right to use their native language in all state organs and institutions serving the local national minorities, laws which would prosecute and punish with full revolutionary severity all violators of national rights and in particular rights of national minorities.

Thus, this constitution retained all national and economic powers to the central government, and provided for the cultural and social autonomy of the various republics.

'Fundamentally what the Bolsheviks have done is something which does not seem to have occurred as a possibility to western statesmen,<sup>16</sup> but which, now that it has been achieved in one country, seems to be quite an inherent development of federalism.



practically all political philosophers agreed that the 'compromise' basis of the federal state, which the theory of the divisibility of sovereignty implied, was quite unacceptable.

For instance, Rudolf Smand emphatically argued that a theory of the federal state must not be content with assuming as the basis of the federal structure two fundamental political tendencies—one federal and the other unitarian, between which a compromise is made

*'The purpose of the federal state is not to amalgamate these two forces as if they were antagonistic, or to bring them outwardly together, but to be a living unity of them, by virtue of an inward necessity—a unity in which they are not two parts but two forces, and which is itself not their common though heterogeneous bond, but the individual and common law of their being.'*<sup>17</sup> So that 'in a healthy federal state, the individual states are not only objects of integration, but above all things means of integration.'<sup>18</sup>

In our time particularly the conception of a non-sovereign or limited sovereign state is entirely false; for as a matter of fact, we find that every federal state today as collectivity presents itself as a sovereign state with universal determination in its territory. The actual relations between the central state and the member states in any example of contemporary federalism is that the member states, by their very nature, are determinant unities within their particular territories, while the central and collective state is a universally determinant authority. It is, therefore, clearly contrary to any valid conception of state and sovereignty to include the central state and the member states in the same conceptual category or to attribute to both of them the same notion of sovereignty.

*'Either the competence of the member state within its territory is unlimited, and then it is not within the union of the federal state which governs, it is a state, and is sovereign; or it is in some matters subordinate to another universal unity, and in that case it is not sovereign, and the term "state" means with it something quite different than it does with the unity superior to it.'*<sup>19</sup>

From the very nature of organic federalism, the member states must be subject in all decisive points of administration and even in justice to the central state, and therefore they cannot obviously possess either a real statutory or a real constitutional autonomy.

To this theoretic conception of federal relationship, the constitutional distribution of powers and functions between the central and the member states provides no exception at all.

Even in a juridically unitary state, there is a large amount of social legislative and administrative devolution. Functional federalism within the bounds of a legally all-competent unitary states has much to justify itself: while problems of government in dealing with economic life have become more or less wholly objective and ends agreed upon, such homogeneity cannot be said to prevail in matters of social and moral standards. The whole basis, in fact, of the modern 'pluralist' state is to leave the individual to find his highest spiritual development in a plurality of groups, unity in which may be secured on both a functional and a territorial basis. But even this purpose the traditional mechanism of the federal state fails to secure, its sway is limited merely to the states, and not to individuals. Theoretically indeed the individual in the federal state, as distinguished from the confederation, is supposed to have direct relations with the central state as well as with the member states and the rights of individual freedom and citizenship are guaranteed by the federal constitution, but this relationship and security of the rights of individuals is shown partially in a federal state and not fully. It is restricted and obscured by the dual relationship of individuals to a mere duality of state authorities. Federalism is not really distributive, for it is territorial and not functional.

### CONCLUSION

On these grounds, federalism may be looked upon purely as a branch of political pluralism. Its present mechanism and technique must ultimately find its level as a decentralised unitary state with federative authority. It may not do so automatically; conscious alterations may have to be made in the structure of the federal state in order to bring it into line with contemporary developments. Two remedies have been suggested by Sobei Mogi<sup>19</sup> to mitigate the defects of the present federal state mechanism:

- (1) the abolition of the second chamber, Senate or Federal Council, and
- (2) a redistribution of the authority and functions of the collective and the individual states respectively.

These remedies may become operative either by the process of conscious adoption or by that of unconscious adaptation; but whatever the process, the great fact remains that federalism is merely a transitory form from confederation to the decentralised unitary state

17. *Verfassung und Verfassungsrecht*. Quoted by Sobei Mogi, II, 1094-5.

18. Sobei Mogi, II, 1097-8

19. Sobei Mogi: *Problem of Federalism*, II, 1108.

apply bad names to those who would change it. For example, the Hearst press applies bad names to Communists and Socialists. Those who want to change the status quo apply bad names to those who would maintain it.

### GLITTERING GENERALITIES

"Glittering Generalities" is a device by which the propagandist identifies his program with virtue by use of "virtue words." Here he appeals to our emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood. He uses words like truth, freedom, liberty, social justice, public service, the right to work, loyalty, progress, democracy, Constitution defender. These words suggest shining ideals. All persons of good will believe in these ideals. Hence the propagandist, by identifying his individual group, nation, race, policy, practice, or belief with such ideals, seeks to win us to his cause. As Name Calling is a device to make us form a judgment to reject and condemn, without examining the evidence, Glittering Generalities is a device to make us accept and approve, without examining the evidence.

For example, use of the phrases, "the right to work" and "social justice" may be a device to make us accept programs for meeting the labor-capital problem which, if we examined them critically, we would not accept at all.

In the Name Calling and the Glittering Generalities devices, words are used to stir up our emotions and to befog our thinking. In one device "bad words" are used to make us mad, in the other "good words" are used to make us glad.

The propagandist is most effective in use of these devices when his words make us create devils to fight or gods to adore. By his use of the "bad words," we personify as a "devil" some nation, race, group, individual, policy, practice, or ideal; we are made fighting mad to destroy it. By use of "good words," we personify as a god-like idol some nation, race, group, etc. Words which are "bad" to some are "good" to others, or may be made so.

From consideration of names, "bad" and "good," we pass to institutions and symbols, also, "bad" and "good." We see these in the next device.

### TRANSFER

"Transfer" is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept. For example, most of us respect and revere our religion and our nation. If the propagandist

succeeds in getting religion or nation to approve a campaign in behalf of some program, he thereby transfers its authority, sanction, and prestige to that program. Thus we may accept something which otherwise we might reject.

In the Transfer device symbols are constantly used. The cross represents the Christian Church. The flag represents the nation. Cartoons like Uncle Sam represent a consensus of public opinion. Those symbols stir emotions. At their very sight, with the speed of light, is aroused the whole complex of feelings we have with respect to church or nation. A cartoonist by having Uncle Sam disapprove a budget for unemployment relief would have us feel that the whole United States disapproves relief costs. By drawing an Uncle Sam who approves the same budget, the cartoonist would have us feel that the American people approve it. Thus, the Transfer device is used both for and against causes and ideas.

### TESTIMONIAL

The "Testimonial" is a device to make us accept anything from a patent medicine or a cigarette to a program of national policy. In this device the propagandist makes use of testimonials. "When I feel tired, I smoke a bla bla cigarette, and get the grandest 'lift'." "We believe the John Lewis plan of labor organization is splendid; C. I. O.\* should be supported." This device works in reverse also; counter-testimonials may be employed. Seldom are these used against commercial products like patent medicines and cigarettes, but they are constantly employed in social, economic, and political issues. "We believe that the John Lewis plan of labor organization is bad; C. I. O. should not be supported."

### PLAIN FOLKS

"Plain Folks" is a device used by politicians, labor leaders, business men, and even by ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves—"just plain folks among the neighbors." In election years especially do candidates show their devotion to little children and the common, homey things of life. They have front porch campaigns. For the newspaper men they raid the kitchen cupboard, finding there some of the good wife's apple pie. They go to country picnics; they attend service at the old frame church; they pitch hay and go fishing; they

\* The powerful Committee of Industrial Organization of America

show their belief in home and mother. In short, they would win our votes by showing that they're just as common as the rest of us—"just plain folks"—and, therefore, wise and good. Business men often are "plain folks" with the factory hands. Even distillers use the device. "It's our family's whisky, neighbor; and neighbor, it's your price." Our own Mahatma Gandhi has used this method very well in India. The writer's regard for Gandhi is second to none, nevertheless he regards the Mahatma as one of the shrewdest politicians the world has ever known.

#### CARD STACKING

"Card Stacking" is a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception to win our support for himself, his group, nation, race, policy, practice, belief, or ideal. He stacks the cards against the truth. He uses under-emphasis and over-emphasis to dodge issues and evade facts. He resorts to lies, censorship, and distortion. He omits facts. He offers false testimony. He creates a smoke-screen of clamor by raising a new issue when he wants an embarrassing matter forgotten. He draws a red herring across the trail to confuse and divert those in quest of facts he does not want revealed. He makes the unreal appear real and the real appear unreal. He lets half-truth masquerade as truth. By the Card Stacking device, a mediocre candidate, through the "build-up," is made to appear an intellectual titan; an ordinary prize fighter a probable world champion; a worthless patent medicine a beneficent cure. By means of this device propagandists would convince us that a ruthless war of aggression is a crusade for righteousness. Some member nations of the Non-Intervention Committee send their troops to intervene in Spain. Card Stacking employs sham, hypocrisy, effrontery. The best example of this device is Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*.

#### THE BAND WAGON

The "Band Wagon" is a device to make us follow the crowd, to accept the propagandist's program en masse. Here his theme is: "Everybody's doing it." His techniques range from those of medicine show to dramatic spectacle. He hires a hall, fills a great stadium, marches a million men in parade. He employs

symbols, colours, music, movement, all the dramatic arts. He appeals to the desire, summon to most of us, to "follow the crowd." Because he wants us to "follow the crowd" in masses, he directs his appeal to groups held together by common ties of nationality, religion, race, environment, sex, vocation. Thus propagandists campaigning for or against a program will appeal to us as Catholics, Protestants, or Jews; as members of the Nordic race or as Negroes; as farmers or as school teachers; as housewives or as miners. All the artifices of flattery are used to harness the fears and hatreds, prejudices and biases, convictions and ideals common to the group; thus emotion is made to push and pull the group on to the Band Wagon. In newspaper articles and in the spoken word this device is also found. "Don't throw your vote away. Vote for our candidate. He's sure to win." Nearly every candidate wins in every election—before the votes are in.

#### PROPAGANDA AND EMOTION

Observe that in all these devices our emotion is the stuff with which propagandists work. Without it they are helpless; with it, harnessing it to their purposes, they can make us glow with pride or burn with hatred, they can make us zealots in behalf of the program they espouse. Propaganda as generally understood is expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends. Without the appeal to our emotion—to our fears and to our courage, to our selfishness and unselfishness, to our loves and to our hates—propagandists would influence few opinions and few actions.

To say this is not to condemn emotion, an essential part of life, or to assert that all predetermined ends of propagandists are "bad." What we mean is that the intelligent citizen does not want propagandists to utilize his emotions, even to the attainment of "good" ends, without knowing what is going on. He does not want to be "used" in the attainment of ends he may later consider "bad." He does not want to be gullible. He does not want to be fooled. He does not want to be duped, even in a "good" cause. He wants to know the facts and among these is included the fact of the utilization of his emotions.

## DESOLATE NURPUR

By ADRIS BANERJI

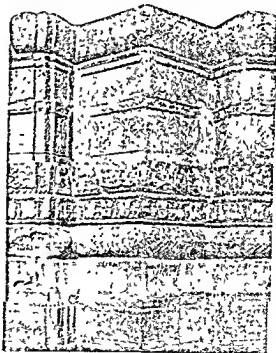
NURPUR lies between latitude  $32^{\circ} 18' 10''$  north and longitude  $75^{\circ} 55' 30''$  east on the Jabhar Khad, a small tributary of the Chakki torrent which flows into the Beas. It is picturesquely situated on a spur 2,000 feet above sea level and 20 miles north of Kangra. It was the capital of a petty hill state ruled by the Pathaniya clan of Rajputs. The old name of the place, as we learn from *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, was Dhameri—the Dal-mal of the celebrated Arab traveller Al-Beruni. The Emperor Jehangir paid a short visit to the place on his way back from Kangra, and in commemoration of the imperial visit the name of the town was changed to Nurpur. The town thus drives its present title from Nuruddin Jehangir. The tradition which ascribes the name Nurpur to Empress Nurjahan seems to be erroneous.

From the *Vishnu Purana* and the *Brihat Samhita* we learn that the region around Nurpur was called Audumbara, the country of Udambaras, an autonomous tribe living in the Punjab in the beginning of the Christian era, and called Odonbares by the Greek historians. The Pathaniya chiefs of Nurpur claim descent from Tomara clan of Rajputs (Tuars). The Tomaras held Haryana, Delhi and the Eastern Punjab on the eve of the Muslim conquest of Northern India. They were displaced in the Delhi region by the Chahamanas (Chohans).

Tradition asserts that some enterprising members of this clan settled themselves at a place now known as Pathan-Kot, the ancient name of which was Pratishtana. The descendants of these settlers were distinguished as Pratishtaniya, which has been changed in course of time to Pathaniya.

The plains around Pathan-Kot being open to incessant attacks, the settlers were compelled to select a place now known as Mau, some six miles to the north of Pathan-Kot, to be their place of safety and retreat. Here they built a stronghold. Surrounding hills and impassable jungles enabled it to defy for a long time the might of the early Turkish rulers of Delhi. As ruler of Paithan and Mau, the rulers are first mentioned as supporters of Sikandar Sur whom Akbar defeated in 965 A. H. Some

thirty years later another prince of this dynasty, Raja Basu or Vasudeva, raised the banner of revolt and was defeated in 1594-95 A.D. and Paithan was taken away from him. It was this chief who built the fort at Nurpur, the fragmentary remains of which can still be seen. Raja Vasudeva was an able prince and was in very good terms with Emperor Jehangir. He died in 1022 A.H. and was



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Carving on the plinth of the temple on the western side, Nurpur, Kangra

succeeded by his son Surajmall. The Emperor conferred on him the title of Raja in recognition of the services rendered by his father, but his rebellious temper led Surajmall to revolt. It was crushed in 1618 A.D., and the prince and his brother Madho Singh sought refuge in Chamba state with all their valuables. Just at the moment when the imperial forces were preparing to march against Chamba, couriers brought news of Surajmall's death. By

## AFTER SPAIN—WHAT NEXT?

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"We invite all men to peace. . . . We mean that *peace* . . . which is desired by all normal souls and which is the fruit of charity and justice." So spoke Pius XII in his first broadcast to the world. Later on, in the same extremely moving speech, he spoke of the world struggling with vast evils and of his duty "unarmed but relying on the help of God, to bring succour." Peace is the fruit of charity and justice, peace will come unarmed. What a dramatic utterance this is at the present time; how it puts in their proper perspective both the mock-heroics of the Dictators and the appeasement-cum-rearmament of the British Government. There is a tendency in England, France and America, to regard the accession of Pius XII as a score for them and a snub for the Dictators. The election of Cardinal Pacelli, they say, right hand man of his predecessor Pope Pius XI, means there will be no change in papal policy. The Papacy will continue to resist the encroachment of totalitarian powers on the church and on the individual. This of course is true. But the Pope has made it plain that if war-loving Dictators are not "normal", neither is a so-called "peace" relying on arms.

The election of the new Pope imposed a lull for the time being on Signor Mussolini. While it was going on, while Cardinals from all over the world were meeting in Rome, it was no time for making new demands upon France. This did not however prevent him from going ahead with warlike preparations. And they have been going on to such an extent as to set the whole world guessing. The Italian Supreme Defence Council has been in session, naval divisions have been called home, troops massed in Libya (so that the Anglo-Italian Agreement here is back where it started), conscripts called up and so on. Plainly Signor Mussolini is getting ready for something. Opinion as to what is divided. Some think that he is trying to scare France into defeatism. Others that he may make a sudden attack. Scarcely anybody, strangely enough, believes in a general conflagration. And yet, if one thing is more certain than another, it is that if the Dictators are going to make

war on France and England they had better make it now.

There are many reasons why the Dictators have everything to lose and nothing to gain by postponing war, if they mean to make war. Apart from the folly of allowing England to complete her rearmament programme, every day makes it more certain that they will have to fight not only France and England but America as well. And even the Eastern States of Europe, which seemed to fall into Germany's power at Munich, are beginning to hold up their heads. In other words the psychological moment is passing. Indeed the prestige of the dictators is at last declining. The speeches of President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt in America, the independent stand made by the Catholic Church, the tragedy of the Jews, even the success in Germany of the B. B. C. broadcasts—all these are having their effect.

But to return to France and Italy. There is a possibility that the crisis may be staved off. France cannot give up Tunis. To do so, as already pointed out in these articles, would mean that passage through the Mediterranean could be controlled by Italy. France and England would then become second-class Powers. But France can offer Italy other concessions. Unofficial envoys, in Rome and Berlin, are in fact trying to find a way out. They are offering to make Jibuti, in French Somaliland, a free port. They are also offering Italy a share in the Jibuti-Addis Ababa Railway. Both these concessions, it will be noted, have to do with Abyssinia. But Abyssinia is a sore and unvalued point to Italy now. She wants to forget it and run herself instead in the kinder airs of Tunis. So it can safely be said that if Signor Mussolini accepts this French compromise, it is because he is unwilling to go to war—at present.

There are two reasons why Italy may not want to go to war. The first is Germany. Germany is the dog and Italy is the tail and the tail can't wag the dog. The next and most obvious reason is Spain. Germany and Italy have conquered Spain for General Franco because they want him to hold the end of the Berlin-Rome axis. At the moment of writing

it is said that General Franco *has* secretly agreed to join the axis. But present-day Spain is not a competent ally. It is generally agreed that Franco could not have won the war without this German-Italian assistance. Two and a half years of war and a still unconquered Madrid seem to support this. By the same token if a general war should develop, how long could Franco keep himself in the saddle? If Spain is to emerge from a civil war to find herself a pawn in a European war, that at last must open her eyes to the meaning of Fascism. Republican Spain would surely rise again. Accordingly Mussolini may think it safer to wait until the Franco regime has consolidated itself (and keep his troops there meanwhile). But during this consolidating process England and France will take a hand. They are in a position to lend General Franco vast sums he will need to re-build the Spain he and his allies have devastated. They can prove to him, what he must know in any case, that it is in Spain's best interests to be neutral. . . . And there is no gratitude amongst Dictators.

Altogether, and especially if Germany is not willing, Italy is in a dilemma. And yet it passes the bounds of human understanding how Signor Mussolini can explain to his people—the people who shouted for Tunis, Corsica, Nice—that all they have got out of their victorious and costly war in Spain is a share in a harbour and a share in a railway serving Abyssinia.

Indeed Italian and German intervention in Spain does not make sense except as a first step in a world war, unless its object was to secure naval and air bases on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean coasts of Spain and so cut off Britain from her trade routes and Empire and France from her colonies and reserves of man power. All this has been apparent from the very beginning, apparent that is to everyone except Mr. Chamberlain who set his heart on an Anglo-Italian Agreement and clung to it in the face of every Italian provocation. Strange conduct in an English Prime Minister! There was a time when England saw the value of Spain as the gateway of the Mediterranean. There was a time when she planted herself on Gibraltar. But the present Prime Minister of England valued Gibraltar so little that, according to General Sir Charles Harington, Governor at the time of the crisis last September, Gibraltar had then only four anti-aircraft guns—two at each end of the rock!

The failure of the National Government

to see to the adequacy of Britain's armaments is actually so glaring as to make it certain that history will fix on it as the outstanding and decisive feature of their regime. From the time of the breakdown of the Disarmament Conference—which broke down because *while there was still time* Britain and France would not "appease" Germany which has since grown so great—it was the duty of the National Government to build up England's defences. But they neglected both the League and rearmament. They have stood aside, impotent and anxiously ingratiating, while Manchuria, Abyssinia, China, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and now Spain, have become the prey of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis. It never occurred to them that at the end of this long series of triumphs the Fascists might find Britain in their way. They were quite unprepared for this obvious emergency. And hence the debacle at Munich with the follow-on of our colossal rearmament programme.

Why was the National Government so neglectful of our defences? As Mr Liddell Hart, the well-known writer on strategy, points out in the current issue of *Time and Tide*, "the Nazis gained power in Germany six years ago, and it soon became clear that they were intent on creating a great air force. But they started almost from zero, whereas we had a first line strength of some 880 machines, and the French over 1,600. It should have been possible to keep ahead. Yet, last September, when we had to face the possibility of war, the German first-line strength had risen to well over 3,000 machines. That figure was about double what we had in this country."

There is no rational explanation of such neglect. Some critics of Mr Chamberlain indeed believe that it was deliberate. They consider him essentially Fascist in outlook and say that he neglected to keep Britain's arms up to the mark so that he could plead that it was impossible for us to go to war over Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia, because of her alliance with Russia, he regarded, as Herr Hitler affected to regard her, "a cannon pointed at the heart of Europe."

It is true that he seems suddenly to have awakened to the consequences of his policy of acquiescence in Fascist aggression in Central Europe and Spain. He sees that the "Munich spirit", if it ever really existed, has no part now in Germany's treatment of Czecho-Slovakia. He sees that the Anglo-Italian Agreement, on which he staked his reputation,

that there is now afoot a growing demand for a Progressive Front Opposition. This demand has been launched, some think unfortunately, by Sir Stafford Cripps and has the enthusiastic support of many of the Opposition Liberals in the House and in the country. But the Labour Party holds aloof and without the support of the Labour Party there can be no such Progressive Front. The attitude of the Labour Party is deplored by many who are appalled at the prospect they see stretching ahead of the country—nothing but a succession of National Governments. The impatience of official Labour with Sir Stafford Cripps is understandable. Still more understandable is their dislike of Liberalism—and only the other day we were treated to the not very edifying spectacle of Sir John Simon, re-canting his former Free Trade principles. But there is no escape from the present situation which is that Labour of itself cannot at present turn out the National Government. After the last General Election they held 154 seats in Parliament. In the next Election it is estimated they may secure 274—274 in a chamber of 615.

Moreover, it is not only the logic of figures which, it is argued, points to the necessity of forming a Progressive Front Opposition. The logic is at work in men's minds as well. The Economic Committee of the Council of the Trade Union Congress has just produced a Report on Unemployment which is said to support the same thesis. This Report, it appears, is not so much concerned with what might be done for the unemployed, were Socialism a present reality, but with measures that can be put into effect now. It will be extremely interesting to see what are the repercussions to this Report. Trade Unionists have produced it—and yet it is always the solid block of the Trade Unionists which is supposed to hold the Labour Party in check, to keep it back from such experiments as that of a Progressive Front. . . . All things considered it looks as if the idea of the Progressive Front is a potent one. Will it be potent enough to overcome the mutual antipathies amongst the various elements in the Opposition? Are the Liberals, the tire-some forever-resurrecting Liberals, more of a danger in Labour eyes than Mr. Chamberlain and his Fascist cohorts? One cannot forget that in the 1929-31 Parliament when Labour was in office it was the Liberals who, by the mouth of their Leader, threatened to turn them out if any but "Liberal" legislation was introduced. And

however, and with whatever justification, Labour dislikes working with Liberals, they have to remember that there is a mass of discontented opinion in this country that wants to turn the Government out but is not Socialist and goes unrepresented. The Liberal point of view is stated in the *Economist* this week in this fashion: "The paradox of the present political situation in this country is that it is not Mr Chamberlain, but Mr Attlee, who is at this moment exerting himself to prevent the formation of an Opposition that might have a chance of turning the present Government out."

I have referred above to the Fascism of Mr Chamberlain and his followers—it is said that it is only the Chamberlain group in the Conservative Party that is Fascist and in support of this one might quote the writer in this week's *Time and Tide* who observes that Mr Chamberlain is always at his most cheerful when it is clear that he is forcing through policies that only the extreme sections of his followers really support—and before leaving the subject I would like to make two reflections. Is it generally known, as it should be, that Mr Chamberlain threatened Tory MPs that anyone who opposed him would be opposed in their constituencies? If Mr Chamberlain, and his Government and his newspapers, are not pro-Fascist, why did they exploit the lie that Spain's Republican Government was a Communist one? The *Times*, for instance, referred to the Spanish Government as the "off-spring" of Moscow—and every unthinking supporter of the National Government would refer to them as the Reds. But this is in fact the truth, that the Spanish Government was composed almost entirely of members of the Left Republican Government, and did not include a single Communist, or even a Socialist. There were indeed only 16 Communists in the Spanish Parliament.

have to fear, we believe, is that Germany should attempt a knock-out blow. And every day that passes makes that less of a likelihood. It is said that Von Ribbentrop, ever the hater of England, urged the knock-out blow. General Goering, on the other hand, favours a policy of consolidating Germany's position in Eastern Europe. And General Goering, in this tug-of-war or for some other reason, has lost 40 lbs. in weight . . . Perhaps he sees that consolidating German influence in Eastern Europe is a task German mentality does not understand. Hungary is showing resentment at imported Nazi policies. Poland has shown a nationwide resentment of Nazi treatment of Poles in Danzig Polytechnic. The Balkan Entente has been discussing methods of resisting Nazi penetration.

Those however who try to believe that Fascism is losing its cunning, as it is undoubtedly losing prestige, should ponder some significant and recent moves. Why are Berlin and Rome making themselves so unpleasant to Holland and Switzerland, interfering with their Press, conjuring up incidents, planting spies in their universities? It is not certain how these tactics can advance their ambitions but it is said that the answer is this. Holland "out-flanks the Maginot Line and sets the stage for a clean sweep through Belgium with its opportunities for air bases within a hundred miles of England." While as for Switzerland, it is the only friendly frontier remaining to France. Other evidence of strategic preparation is, of course, the widening of the Kiel Canal. Last but not least, can it be doubted that Germany is getting ready for a colonial adventure? It is said that Germans are working overtime turning out tropical military equipment.

Germany in fact is preparing for tragedy on a vast scale. If tragedy does not overwhelm the world, it must surely overwhelm her. All the news that comes from there is outsize and dismaying. The Catholic Church is persecuted, the Confessional Church is persecuted, the heads of the Army resign because they disapprove of Hitler's suppression of the Army Chaplains, the head of the Reichsbank is retired and his successor has a brain-storm, and so it goes on. But like the Frog in the fable Germany tries to swell and swell. Not content with a hegemony over Eastern Europe, she is going to reach out as well for an overseas Empire. One fact Herr Hitler never seems to face—the fact that Germany may break under the strain. By a recent decree all Germany is now in a forced Labour plan. By yet another increase in taxation, the Germans become the most heavily taxed people in the world. How long can all this continue? Moreover do the people still believe that it is necessary? One result of Munich, as they must have been quick to grasp, is that Germany need no longer fear encirclement. Why then is all this effort necessary?

But if Germany does not reach a world war as a climax of all these preparations, how can she escape a revolution? If revolution is not to come in Germany, it is difficult to see how the present war neurosis will break. And if revolution does come, it may be that Bernard Shaw will leave to see his prophecy fulfilled. In the *Apple Cart*, as I have often pointed out in these Letters, someone remarks: "I suppose you mean by Germany the chain of more or less Soviet Republics between the Ural Mountains and the North Sea."

London,  
6th March, 1939





followed closely by Rāmi he whispered a joke about her to Rahaman. The soldier, however, did not respond to the jest and spoke of her with evident respect. The Nawab then turned to Chandidas and, smiling, enquired of him about his companion. He got the reply that it would be better to speak to her direct. The Nawab did so and in course of the conversation was struck by her remarkable intelligence no less than by her dazzling beauty. He set apart his garden house for their accommodation and the party, consisting of Chandidas and Rāmi, Sambhunath and Rudramāli, were escorted by Rahaman to this new residence, where they settled down.

Sikandar had meant to decoy Chandidas to his court to kill him. Now that the saint had come, he sent for Rahaman to talk it over and hit upon a plan. The action, he declared, would be fully justified, because it would consolidate Islam in India.—Chandidas had considerably strengthened Hinduism. His removal meant an easy triumph for the Muhammadan faith. Rahaman could not approve of the step proposed to be taken by the Nawab. There were bickerings enough even among the followers of the Faith—the Sheikhs, the Sayyads, the Mughals and the Pathans. The right way would be to establish peace and good will among them; criminal actions even in a religious cause would be worse than useless. A king could make himself useful to his subjects in a hundred ways, but to start on a career of crimes was hardly calculated to advance their interests.

Such advice irritated the Nawab. He could ill brook the purport of Rahaman's talk. After all, for Rahaman to hear was to obey. A king and a soldier were out to kill and to plunder, if their hearts failed them, they might look out for danger. If Rahaman would not kill Chandidas in obedience to the Nawab's command, the penalty for him would be death. Rahaman thought of a way out, and suggested that he would bring Chandidas to the royal presence, and the Nawab might have the pleasure of cutting off his head himself. The Nawab was in a furious mood at the idea; if he had to attend to everything, what were they there for? Surely some little service like this was expected of them! Rahaman's grudging remarks exasperated him so much that he drew the sword out of its sheath and was about to strike him. But just then entered into the chamber a *Bharavi*,\* terrible to look at, and armed with a trident which she aimed at the Chief. The

Nawab was dumfounded and beat a retreat; and taking advantage of the momentary confusion the *Bharavi* asked Rahaman to leave. It was too late; soldiers, obeying the Nawab's summons, had begun to pour in till they filled the room. Their captain, O-man, tried to kill or capture both. Then followed a dreadful fight; the *Bharavi* with her trident proved more than a match for the armed gang; the soldiers were routed, and O-man was made a prisoner. But no vindictive measures were taken. While the *Bharavi* left, Rahaman argued with O-man, offered him wholesome advice, and declared that humanity was one and though the ways might be different, all religions were built on the same basis, the foundation was everywhere the same. True service to one's master lay in checking him against evil ways and helping him to live a godly life. The mild words and the kind treatment touched O-man's heart and he confessed his past iniquities, which were due to his poverty, and promised to mend his conduct in future.

#### THE PRINCE AT THE JOB

The *Bharavi* incident had something of a mystery in it—a mystery that baffled examination; and the Nawab was, strangely enough, indifferent to it. His one unwavering aim was to have Chandidas killed. But how to do it was the difficulty. He brought in hired assassins and held consultation with them, but to no purpose. The Prince, however, one day volunteered his services, he expressed his willingness to do the job by himself. The employment of lured men would delay the work and give rise to all sorts of rumours. He promised to do it in a day or two, it was a trifling matter, after all, this slaying of an individual. The Nawab granted him the permission he sought and he sped on his errand. The hour was most opportune; it was past mid-night. Chandidas was lost in holy contemplation in the garden house where he had been lodged. Sambhunath, Rudramāli and others who formed the retinue were enjoying deep and peaceful slumber. The Prince's men stole into the room on tiptoe and carried him off bodily from his seat, none being the wiser for it. Too late did Sambhunath and Rudramāli realise what had happened, and they swiftly ran after the culprits. The saint had been carried to a wilderness of skeletons, stinking and weird-looking, and there put down amid deafening cries and taunting cheers. But strangely enough, he had not woken up from his trance. What should be done to him?

\* A female ascetic of the *Sāiva* sect.

Some were for "immediate action," cutting him to pieces at once, for delays were dangerous, and people might talk and know. But to kill him then would be (so the Prince argued) to be robbed of an exquisite pleasure, why not enjoy his torture when he would learn about his doom? To their relief, Chandidas just then opened his eyes; and the Prince informed him of what was going to happen. After listening to him, Chandidas asked him with a smile "Then why did you bring me here all the way from the hermitage? You could have killed me then and there. That you have not done so merely shows that you are not equal to the task you dread people's censure. You really think that it would be an action highly improper, and that to kill me would be an act unworthy of yourself. Had you felt glad at it, I should have thought meanly of your birth. And if you have not the support of your people in the net, my death will involve you in great danger. It is not, moreover, in your power to kill me. I am immortal. I live in my works through ages. You may cut me to pieces, it will be merely killing my mortal elements. He who harms one of God's creatures is the greatest sinner alive; there cannot be any expiation of that."

All this talk the Prince could not understand. His reply showed that he was thinking in a different vein. "I do not believe in miracles; they are your main stock in trade. You are as irrational as the wild animals of the forest. Let me kill you. I will hope that in your next birth you may be reclaimed as a Mussalman." With these words the Prince raised his sword to strike, but Rudramāli and Sambhunath had come up by that time. He turned to them and laughed at the idea that a poor Brahmin like Sambhunath and a quill-driver like Rudramāli stood between himself and his victim. But the two men cared nothing for his anger or for his ridicule. Sambhunath came forward and asked him to release Chandidas at once. "If you persist in your senseless course, you will realise what power lies in a poor Brahmin's curse. Your weapons may at best reach a few, but a Brahmin's curse may cover an area as wide as the Universe." But the Prince could not desist at this stage. For him also it was a question of life and death. A loving son, he had risked his life to please his father and to be of use to him, and he had no faith in a Brahmin, friendless and without any resources. He could not be afraid of any curses. Driven to fury, Sambhunath cursed him. He had been prating of his duty to his father; well, his hand would be

lifted against that father. he would be a patricide. He had been about to slay a Brahmin, by a Brahmin's curse his line would die out. Chandidas had tried to stop this, but was violently pushed aside. How much did he regret this lapse! For a real Brahmin's words always came true, and the Prince's line would die out—there was no stopping it now. But what would be the reaction on Sambhunath? His soul would know no rest till the wound his words had inflicted had healed up. The Prince and his men ignored the curse and the remembrance, and rushed upon Chandidas and his friends, but the Bhairavi appeared on the scene—one knew not from where—and with her trident killed two of the men. The remaining four of the Prince's party fled for life, and strangely enough, the Prince seemed all at once to be raving like one mad; he danced and clapped his hands, uttered wild and incoherent words and walked off, forgetful of everything about him.

This, along with the gloomy forebodings thrown out by Chandidas, sobered Sambhunath and he enquired of him what must be done by way of penance for the lapse he had been guilty of. "The lapse may be condoned if the offender, virtuous and self-controlled, retires to the forest with his wife, who must be equally virtuous, and there remain—ever engaged in holy meditation serving his guests with all that they want, not sparing even his own flesh. If any denizen of the forest is hungry, the guilty man must cut off some flesh from his own limbs. I am afraid it will not be possible for you to undertake the course." But how is it that you recommend this step? How can you satisfy the hunger for meat without injuring living creatures? At most you can cut off your own flesh; but that would hardly last more than a month. Your plan is therefore physically impossible. "One who takes a vow like that gets sustenance from a mysterious source. Do you not remember the story of Jatil who, a young boy in a village school, was hard put to it to make the customary contribution to the teacher on the occasion of his mother's *śradh*? Jatil asked his mother, and the poor widow, too poor to help with anything, advised her son to go near the forest and call upon his brother Gobinda. Thus the poor boy in his simplicity obeyed his mother and called after the Lord, though he knew it not. The call was heard, and a pair of curds supplied by an unknown Brahmin. It was apparently too small, but the contents were not exhausted even though hundreds partook

who could tell if they would unite again and to a happy end? Somebody laughingly remarked, 'why not marry again? Here is the *Bhairavi*, beautiful like a rose in full bloom.' The idea shocked them all, but Chandidas who knew the truth found in it nothing to blame, and he pointed out that the *Bhairavi* was no other than Kamalakumārī herself!

Great was their joy at the "discovery." Chandidas congratulated Sambhunath and asked him to proceed to Nannur and live there in happiness; he prophesied that he would be born again, and thus time in Sambhunath's line. Rejoicing at the prospect, they sought his permission to start at once, but he asked them to stay yet for a while, pending the arrival of Rupchand and Ramā to make his cup of happiness full. "Who are they, and what are they to you?" asked Kamalā, no longer a *Bhairavi*. Chandidas described their antecedents and declared they were very dear to him, he had married them and left them with Jayakar, the renowned physician. They looked upon him as their father and he yearned to see them again. Kamalā demurred to this and suggested that such affection from him was misplaced in a murderer, for a murderer Rupchand had been, though his course had the sanction of a religion. "Have you not also killed many men? Has not the Nawab who seems to support you in this charge killed men in thousands? If so, then why blame that poor young man alone? The fact is, we all walk by our own light and pursue courses which seem to us to be the best, only our light may not be the light for all. Do you blame me because I love them? Know that love is not voluntary but it is inspired by individuals who are worthy of love." Kamalā could not answer this, but she looked listless and concerned. Chandidas pressed her about it and she said she had cause enough for worry. The Nawab of Pandua, standing before them and high in his favour, had abducted her younger sister Pramilā, or so it was given out. Her father, to avoid scandal, had spread a news that she had died of cholera. People, however, scented the truth but kept quiet because of his wealth and position. It was an astounding charge, and Sikandar at once denied it. He demanded to know who was responsible for the rumour. Kamalā, however, could not throw any light on the point; she had heard the rumour but had no knowledge who started it. Sikandar had no Hindu wives; he had only one wife, and that lady a Mussalman. No doubt it had been the practice with many Mussalman chiefs

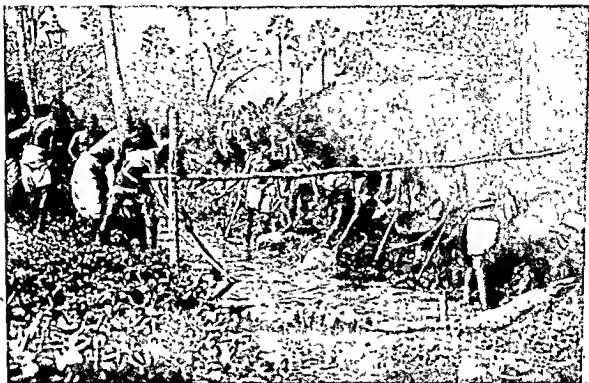
to put Hindu ladies into their harem, but he was not one of them. The Nawab felt offended at the charge levelled against him, but Chandidas comforted him by the thought that a definite charge is better than vague rumours, for it gives one an opportunity to demolish it. He also made a prophecy that things would be straightened when Ramā and Rupchand would come.

A few days passed, and then one morning Sikandar was informed of their arrival overnight. He hastened to the garden house, and was met by Chandidas with a smile, followed by Rāmī, Rudramahī, Sambhunath and Rahaman. The new arrivals also came up. They were a lovely pair, a perfect match, each as beautiful as the other; it did one's heart good to look at them. Chandidas asked them how they had fared at Mankar, and they highly praised the loving kindness of Jayakar and his wife, who had been like parents to them. Jayakar's wife had swooned at the parting, and the physician had come with them as far as Kenduli, the home of the great poet, Jaydev, a friend and kinsman to Jayakar, and the party had been detained there for two days, the time there having been gloriously spent in holy *kirtan*. It had been painful for them to part from him. But Chandidas remonstrated: 'That is not true love which ends in a painful separation. If your love is true, it must end in union, and the end will not be tragic.' Turning to Ramā, he asked her why she was silent. Evidently, she had been offended at the neglect of Chandidas, and with a pout she asked: 'Has your period of one month come to a close, after all at the end of a year?' "We are not masters of ourselves nor of our time. We are guided by the Father of the Universe in the way He thinks best for us." He then turned round and found Kamalakumārī coming forward to join the party. As she came to greet the newcomers, he exclaimed, 'Why, Ramā—no, it is not Ramā—it is my dear sister Pramilā that I see!'

It was in this strange way that the Nawab was freed from the slur cast upon him, and with a vow to extend toleration to all religions in his dominions, he left with his retinue, glad that the infamy which had attached to his name had been removed at last.

Why could not Ramā (or Pramilā, to designate her by her own and proper name) and Sambhunath recognise each other at the first meeting? Chandidas put the question to both of them. Sambhunath said he had seen her once only at his own marriage, and he had not been to his father-in-law's place ever since.

BRATACHARI FOUNDATION DAY CELEBRATION



Bratacharis at water hyacinth clearance work



Mass rally of Bratacharis at the Foundation Day celebrations. Mr. G. S. Dutt, Founder President of the movement, taking the salute

The movement was, however, then known to the world outside as the Folk Dance Movement and it was not till the winter of 1933-34 that I placed it before the public as the movement of a deeper import under the name "Bratachâri". It was in April 1934 that the movement assumed its present shape of a complete ideal of life expressed in a simple code of rules rhythmically framed and meant to be rhythmically recited, applicable and adaptable to persons of all ages and creeds and of both sexes and at the same time furnishing discipline for the formation of character, promotion of unity and joy and for enlisting to practical work of dignity of labour in various forms. It was in this year that the spirit of the movement was summarised in the five basic *Bratas of Knowledge, Labour, Truth, Unity and Joy*. This gave it the character of a movement of universal brotherhood and yet being based in Bengal and for Bengalees on the cultural traditions of the Bengalee people irrespective of caste and religion, it stood for an intense regional patriotism. Thus from the very inception the movement formed a harmonious synthesis of two factors which are now-a-days considered to be mutually conflicting, viz, intense nationalism and the widest possible universalism.

During the last seven years this double character of the movement has intensified itself. The movement has at the same time synthesised and harmonised within one comprehensive dynamic cultural scheme the elements of spiritual idealism and practical efficiency, of work and joy, of culture of the body, mind and character. While the movement aimed originally at conserving the cultural traditions of the Bengali people, it has been joined enthusiastically by men and women of other provinces of India and by distinguished persons of other countries of the world, who have been quick to appreciate its underlying universal and humanistic basis. While presiding at a meeting held on 11th October, 1935 under the auspices of the India Society at the Caxton Hall, London, where I was giving an exposition of the living traditions of the Folk Arts of Bengal, Mr. Laurence Binyon expressed in very significant words his appreciation of the far-reaching importance and universal applicability of the Bratachâri movement. These were his words :

"It seems to me that all over the world—of course, we feel it more in the West—with all our technical advance—we have lost sight somehow of life as a whole. We lost somehow the art of living.

"As far as I understand the various movements Mr. Dutt has started, the Bratachâri movement and others (meaning the movement for the Revival of the Folk Dance and Folk Arts) they have for their aim to recover this sense of the wholeness of life and the lost harmony of men with nature. He has not attempted to impose from above or outside. He has tried to revive arts that are still alive and rooted in the soil, but have been neglected and forgotten or largely forgotten."

This is indeed what the Bratachâri movement connotes in its larger aspects, viz., a revolt against the modern division of life into separate compartments, e.g., religion and science, work and play, physical, intellectual and spiritual culture and it attempts to rebuild life as a whole from its very foundations not only for the people of Bengal but for the people of India and indeed for humanity at large.

Life, as the Bratachâri conceives it, cannot be divided and practised in separate compartments. Physical culture, for example, cannot be differentiated from spiritual culture or from the traditions of the region nor from the pursuit of regional craft and industries. Work cannot be separated from joy as expressed in the shape of regional traditions. According to the Bratachâri, it is an evil to pursue art separately for its own sake or to carry on intellectual and scientific pursuits in a compartment divorced from the culture of the spirit and of the body as well of the rhythmic arts. It is also a mistake to attempt to build up life merely on the pursuit of economic and industrial crafts divorced from the practice of arts of joy which represent a deeper self-expression of the spirit. So the Bratachâri system and Bratachâri discipline combine in one movement all these various aspects or elements of life and attempt to build up life as a synthetic whole. It does not purport to impart technical knowledge or technical training in any of the particular departments of life but what it does aim at is to make each individual a fundamental and integral unity by presenting him with an orientation of life which is essentially synthetic and inclusive,—so that having imbibed this sense of wholeness and having integrated body, mind and spirit one's own self into an undivided unity, the individual might, at his discretion, pursue whatever avocation to which he may be called or for which he may specialise without losing his bearing and the inner wholeness of life.

It was with the object of bringing out into clear and visual relief the less obtrusive but more serious aspects, spiritual, practical and national, of the movement, that it was decided to celebrate its Foundation Day this year.

The response to the appeal for the celebration of the Foundation Day surpassed our most sanguine expectations and it was obvious that among the rank and file of the movement itself and among the more thoughtful section of our countrymen the real meaning of the movement had begun to reveal itself in no uncertain manner. The celebration of the Foundation Day was ushered in by an appeal signed by some of the leading men and women belonging to all sections of the public life in Bengal and to all political parties, inviting attention to the importance of the movement as a dynamic system of discipline "aimed at the physical, mental and moral regeneration of the youth of the country and as offering a solid foundation on which a planned programme of national reconstructive work could be built up." It was recognised in that appeal that "the movement had furnished an impetus to physical education, social service activities and village reconstruction work in the province and had proved to be a potent system of national education" and it was urged that the "time had come when the people as a whole should take it up and expand it in the cause of national regeneration."

The actual celebration of the Foundation Day symbolised in the shape of a simple ritual all the essential and fundamental features of the movement.

Throughout Bengal at hundreds of centres the same simple ritual of work, aspiration and joy was expressed through similar collective activities by Bratachāris belonging to all creeds and castes and all ages. At each place the Bratachāris of the local *sangha* gathered in the open air before sunrise and began the day's proceedings by singing in chorus the Bratachāri mass prayer song, which is suitable for persons belonging to all communities and all religions in the country. Then they sang the Bratachāri National Anthem of Bengal which runs as follows:

"Glory to Golden Bengal, the land of mighty rivers!  
 Glory to the speech of Bengal  
 To the aims of Bengal,  
 To the ideals, traditions and rhythm of Bengal,  
 Glory to the produce, arts, valour, strength, unity  
 and wisdom—  
 To the priceless Contribution of Bengal!"

This was followed by a song of loyalty to Bhārat-Mātā which runs as follows:

With head erect  
 Sing the anthem—  
 Glory to India, the Mother!

Glory to India, the Mother!  
 Glory to India, the Mother!

Glory, Glory, Glory,  
 Glory to India, the Mother!

With head bent  
 Sing the prayer—

"Rain down the stream of Thy blessing, Great God!  
 Thou dispeller of fear from the minds of men!  
 Unto the vast multitudes of India's children,  
 In the cause of human welfare and service,  
 Do Thou bestow enlightenment, unity and strength,  
 Glory, Glory, Glory to Thee, O God!"

Glory, Glory, Glory,  
 O Thou bestower of Victory!  
 Glory, Glory, Glory to Thee!

Then there was a mass recital of the Bratachāri resolve which ran as follows:

I believe in the distinctive character of the cultural stream of Bengal and of India, in their great past and their still greater future. With the object of further developing their distinctive culture and fulfilling their glorious destiny, I shall sincerely try, during the ensuing year, to pursue the Bratachāri ideal in body, mind and character, speech, conduct, work and collective life; and shall try to let flow into my life the stream of the distinctive ideal, rhythm and traditions of Bengal and of India. To carry out the Bratachāri ideal "no dance without duty," I shall devote my body and mind to the performance of



Bratachāris engaged in bustee cleaning work

work and service during the ensuing year; and in co-operation with other Bratachāris I shall undertake the following stems of constructive work and labour: (Here follows a programme of activities to be undertaken, e.g., clearing of water hyacinth, construction of roads, repair of roads, clearance of bustees, sweeping of streets, relief of the flood-stricken, removal of jungles, construction of tanks, making of vegetable and fruit gardens, nursing the sick, etc.). I take this solemn vow on this sacred day—Glory to Bengal and India!

The Bratachāris at each place next marched in volunteer formation and in step with the beats of the indigenous national

armed with spades, brooms, baskets, etc. according to the nature of the work to be undertaken that morning and worked for an hour or two in various forms of village reconstruction work, in which they were joined by the Headmaster and other teachers of their respective schools as well as by members of the local gentry and the public. The morning programme was brought to a close with a Bratachâri national yell.

The Afternoon activities were conducted at a public meeting attended by people of all classes of the locality. A message was read from the Founder-President, explaining the national significance of the observation of the Foundation Day in the right spirit and in pursuance of a common programme for the whole province. This was followed by mass dancing of old heroic national dances such as Raibeshi, and Dhâli dances by all the Bratachâris present. Prominent members belonging to the local public there delivered speeches appreciating the comprehensive character of the movement as embodying a complete national self-expression in all spheres of life. The proceedings ended with the enrolment of new Bratachâris and with the singing of the national songs already mentioned, various forms of national physical aerobatics and games formed a feature of the meeting at every place.

The Calcutta programme for observing the Foundation Day was of an even more imposing character. In the morning Bratachâri squads equipped with spades, shovels, broomsticks and baskets engaged themselves simultaneously in bustee cleaning work in three centres in north, central and south Calcutta. Roads were swept, and the refuse dumped in the Corporation's dustbins. Drains were cleaned and disinfected. Leaflets explaining the importance of clean bustees and cleanly and hygienic habits were also distributed, as well as a large number of stamps stamped with the mark of the Bratachâri society, which were given away to the Bustee people with instruction to throw their daily refuse into them instead of scattering them about in ground and to empty them daily into the dustbins, it being explained that this procedure was essential for prevention of epidemics. The Founder-President himself as well as the Director of Public Health, Bengal, visited all the three centres and joined with their own hands in the bustee-cleaning work. Secretaries and members of the Ward Health Associations of the Calcutta Corporation as well as Ward Councillors and other prominent

citizens of the localities also joined in the work with enthusiasm.

In the afternoon there was impressive mass rally of Bratachâris of both classes, at the headquarters of the Movement, at Natore Park, in which there was a muster of nearly one thousand Bratachâris belonging to sanghas in and near Calcutta. Ages of the Bratachâris of both sexes who joined the rally ranged from five to about 45. All participated in an impressive mass drill to the accompaniment of a massed national band. After a yell of greetings to the President there was a mass affirmation of the basic vows and Bratas. The various Bratachâri sanghas gave fine demonstrations of skill in national aerobatics, national games, such as Hadoo-doo-doo and Coconut-hustling, as well as in first-aid and hand-spinning, and the proceedings ended with mass performance of a number of national dances and songs in which Bratachâris belonging to all communities participated.

A noticeable feature of the Foundation Day celebrations was the voluntary discipline for individual and national purification through social service as well as for the preservation of the cultural traditions of the various communities inhabiting Bengal and India. Those who witnessed the Foundation Day celebrations were impressed by the fact that the movement represented the spirit of renaissance India and the essence of constructive nationalism and that without identifying itself with any particular political party or religious creed, it sought to work in collaboration and harmony with every political party and every religious creed in the country for the social, educational, economic and political regeneration of India.

Indeed the significance of the movement from an All-India point of view had been already recognised in such distant parts of the Indian continent as Baroda and Hyderabad. In the year 1936 at the invitation of H. H. the 15th Maharaja Savaji Rao Gaekwad, the Founder-President visited Baroda in January 1935 with a party of Bratachâris who gave demonstrations of the physical and cultural aspects of the movement. It was on that occasion that the Gaekwad declared his firm belief that the movement would, before long, develop into a great national movement for the whole of India and that its importance lay in the fact that by bringing people of various provinces into close touch through the practice of indigenous cultural traditions of the country, it was saving them from extinction and giving new vigour into the national movement. At

the initiative of Sir Sultan Ahmed, a Bratachari Society for the Province of Behar has been formed at Patna. In December 1936 Sir Akbar Hydari Chief Minister of Hyderabad was so impressed in the course of a visit to a Bratachari camp in Calcutta that he declared that he "felt here present everything that was required to create a great Indian unity that would command respect amongst the nations of the World." The movement, he declared, stood "for physical as well as spiritual development" and for "strengthening the physique as well as the moral stature of the Indian people along lines which would really lead to a permanent national regeneration". because in his opinion the Founder of the movement "had tried to discover what had been handed down in the villages of India from times past and shown how these could be adopted for our needs, for the needs of our students and for reviving the intellectual, spiritual and cultural life to which we were used in our past," and he concluded with the following remarks.

"I feel that 500 years hence, when we shall not be living, our great grand-children would enjoy the benefit of this movement; and I wish and pray that this movement may grow and grow until it spreads throughout the whole land of our Bharata Mata and brings about that unity for which we are all longing namely, a country with one people and with one mind."

Sir Akbar Hydari's visit was followed by an invitation to the Founder-President from the Hyderabad Durbar, to visit Hyderabad with a party of men Bratacharis and a party of girl Bratacharis for the purpose of giving educational demonstrations for the benefit of the educational authorities of the State. This visit to the Hyderabad State was undertaken by the Founder-President in company with a party of 40 Bratacharis, in October 1936. The party had a most enthusiastic, and appreciative reception at His Exalted Highness the Nizam's capital, where a series of Bratachari demonstrations were given. The sentiments expressed on the occasion of these demonstrations by the Educational authorities of Hyderabad, were highly significant. At the demonstration before the Osmania University, the Vice-Chancellor of the University stated

"The Bratachari movement has something very serious behind it. It has behind it true patriotism. It has behind it that spirit which I hope will ultimately unite Indians one. It knows no distinction. It is a movement that is born of the soil. It exalts the dignity of labour with one's own hands. The spirit of Bratachari wants to unite the soul of India."

The Educational Member of Hyderabad, the Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, eulogised

the movement in a public speech in the following terms :

"The Bratachari movement has its roots deep in the remote past and is not something new that has been imported from outside. It has its roots in the past and seeks to give expression to the spirit of the soil. The great thing about the movement is that it is entirely Indian. It is not imperial. It is national. It appeals to us." "It appeals to all Indians and it arouses our national consciousness. It arouses in us the awakening and the feeling that we are all one. One of the reasons which led me to request Mr. Dutt to come here and bring you here with him was that I felt convinced that this movement should not confine itself to Bengal when it is capable of being introduced throughout the whole of India with modifications to suit local conditions. I hope that the whole of India will take this movement from you so that all Indians may feel that they form one united people."

Thus educational authorities of the premier Moslem State of India had seen in the movement not something parochial or provincial belonging merely to Bengal but the living force that contains in itself the secret for bringing about the inner unity of the Indian people and



Bratacharis engaged in clearance work with the Founder-President Mr. Dutt (extreme left)

the complete self-expression of the Indian spirit transcending provincial or religious differences.

The Hyderabad visit had other important and significant consequences. Sm. Sarojini Naidu, who was at Hyderabad at the time of the visit, attended more than one Bratachari demonstration there and was so deeply impressed that subsequently in a communication to the Founder-President, she expressed her confidence that "by harnessing the age-old village dances of the country to modern uses the young people of India were provided with a means of vigorous and rhythmic physical exercise which would greatly benefit them and build up their physical well-being on sound lines."



It was a happy coincidence that in the train which carried the Bratachāris back from Hyderabad to Calcutta was no less a personage than Mahatma Gandhi himself. The Bratachāri party gave him a spontaneous ovation in the Bratachāri manner at the Nagpur railway station and presented him with some literature regarding the movement. The Mahatma was then observing his day of silence. Accordingly his only response at the time to the Bratachāris' greeting was a kind and cordial smile; but subsequent events revealed that he had been greatly impressed with the little that he had seen at Nagpur. A full Bratachāri demonstration was given before him in Calcutta when with his usual frankness he observed:

"I am sorry to confess that this (movement) is a new thing for me, though I should have known about it long ago. I came to know of it only a few days ago, when I saw some of the Bratachāris at Nagpur station who sang some songs. I am trying to study the movement, and after I have done so hope to help in its growth. I am hoping to come into closer touch with you and Mr. Dutt and to know more of your movement in course of time."

While the Mahatma was characteristically brief, his Secretary S. J. Mahadev Dessai shortly afterwards gave in *Hartian*, dated 11.3.39, a long account of the movement as demonstrated before Mahatma Gandhi and himself and expressed his as well as Gandhiji's appreciation of the inner significance of the movement. He not only averred his conviction as to the possibilities of the movement in the sphere of physical culture suitable to India but also his belief that with the addition of a definite programme of work and with a co-ordination so as to make the movement suitable for the whole of India, "it can be a powerful means of raising an army of non-violent volunteers ready to march wherever a situation requires their presence."

The movement is indeed at once provincial as well as all-Indian. It is not mechanical. It recognises the cultural diversity of every provincial and regional area in India. It provides a common scheme by which each province can develop its cultural distinctive

ness and yet form part of a common all-India national movement. The Bratas are of universal application not only to India but indeed to all countries in the world. The rhythmic views of conduct can be adapted for every part of India while retaining their rhythmic character. The songs enthralling to work, to unity and to the formation of character can be adapted into every Indian language while retaining their basic rhythm and their virile and dynamic character; while each province will, within the compass of this frame-work, have the liberty to conserve and develop its own cultural traditions of dance and song and of arts and crafts so as to join all sections of its people through the medium of distinctive historical traditions in which all could take pride and participate. But even in spite of this distinctiveness, there are some dances such as the Raibesh, Dhālī, etc., for men and the Brata dance for women which may provide a common rhythm for all provinces of India and in which all may participate. In this connection the following observations of Col. Donald S. Rockwell of America after he witnessed the Bratachāri demonstration at the Nizam's College, Hyderabad, will be of interest:

"As I watched those strong, virile Bengalis of all ages and faiths leaping and whirling in the intricate patterns of their dances—beautiful of body and limbs—I closed my eyes and saw a vision of these pioneer men and women dancing across India to the beat of her new national consciousness, uniting caste and creed in the bond of service to soul and soil. Here lies the real hope for the political solidarity of Indian men and the physical, mental and spiritual emancipation of Indian women. I was delighted with the friendly basis on which Moslem and Hindu met in that whirling circle and were melted into just—Indians, all lines of caste distinction and religious dissension forgotten. This is truly democratic."

Thus will be laid the foundation of that all-India unity which, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and other distinguished Indians have hoped, will be brought about through the instrumentality of the Bratachāri movement. The Foundation Day celebrations in which men and women of other provinces of India joined with the Bratachāris of Bengal give an earnest of that great consummation.



## CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA

By DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

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As INSPECTOR OF COLLEGES for the Calcutta University for over sixteen years, I was in almost daily touch with Christians as well as non-Christian educational institutions in Bengal and Assam. I also know something about the Madras Christian College, Tambaram, and I have heard much about and, today, I have seen the Forman Christian College. The one thing common to all Christian educational institutions, whether of the Primary, the Middle, the High School or the College standard, is that they always attract a very high percentage of non-Christian students, so high in fact, that, on more than one occasion, criticism, and I think uncharitable criticism, has been levelled against them as serving non-Christian rather than Christian interests.

### CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION AND NON-CHRISTIANS

Let me first of all give you my reasons for their popularity with non-Christians. We offer in our institutions a high standard teaching at rates which compare favourably with the rates charged in Government institutions of the same type. My personal experience in Bengal and Assam has shown this to be a fact and, so far as my information goes, it is true of every Christian educational institution in other parts of India. *This comparative cheapness of fees has not been allowed to detract in any way from the high standard we have set before ourselves and which, I contend, we have always maintained.*

Our educational equipment in the shape of libraries and laboratories have never been allowed to fall below the standard maintained by non-Christian educational institutions of our types and our standing. On the other hand, it will be found that, in a very large majority of cases, they are superior. Our buildings, our furniture, our gymnasias and our playgrounds have always been superior to those of the institutions with which we have to compete. In the extra-curricular activities we provide for our students, and these are so varied in their character and so many in number, that I cannot deal with them in any except a very general way, we have

always attempted and, I hope, attempted with success, to maintain the highest possible standard permitted by our means.

The staff we provide is in no way inferior to the staff maintained in competing institutions. In selecting our teachers, we have never dreamt of sacrificing efficiency in teaching in order to place special facilities at the disposal of the adherents of the Christian faith. In the Governing Bodies, Managing Committees and other controlling agencies, we have always tried to find room for our non-Christian friends. We believe that though all the financial responsibility is borne by the different Christian organisations and, as such, they should always have the last word in shaping the policy of our educational institutions, still our non-Christian brethren who send us their sons and daughters for training— which, let me assure you parenthetically, we regard as the highest compliment that can be paid to us—I say they too should have every legitimate opportunity of placing their point of view before us. We further feel that we are under a moral, though not under a legal obligation to give our most careful and favourable consideration to their opinions as expressed through their representatives.

I hold that we maintain greater contact and friendship with our students than is ordinarily found in other educational institutions. This is possible not because we are in any sense superior beings but because our general policy has been to attach as far as possible large, well-equipped and properly maintained hostels to all our schools and colleges. Here we try to supply well-balanced and nourishing diet at reasonable rates and, at least in Bengal, Assam and Madras, we are never able to accommodate all those students who clamour at our gates for admission, which I understand is equally true of this institution. Our aim is to make our educational institutions residential in character, but though we have put forth our best efforts, the funds at our disposal being limited, we have never been able to reach the ideal we have set before ourselves. There is another factor which militates against our efforts to make our institutions completely

residential and that is the constant pressure for educational facilities exerted on us mainly by the numerous non-Christians whose friendship we value and whose requests we are not always in a position to refuse.

One of the most outstanding and valuable features of our Christian institution is the high standard of discipline we maintain. This is due to the mixture of gentleness and firmness with which we treat our students. All of them are aware that in carrying on the work of education, our only aim is to serve them and that, on a question of principle, we are unyielding. It is gratifying for us to remember that in Bengal in those unforgettable days when young men suspected of terrorist leanings were being hurried to confinement without any trial and when, more than once, it was proclaimed from public platforms that some of these had been falsely reported against by the Criminal Investigation Department, parents who were desirous of educating their children under such conditions that they would be safe not only from the propaganda of terrorists trading on the chivalrous instincts of youth, but also from the dangerous attentions of the C. I. D., such parents I say, sent their sons and daughters to Christian institutions as the safest place where they could go on with their studies. I may go further and add that Christian institutions were regarded, and regarded rightly, as places to be preferred even to institutions maintained by the Provincial Government.

#### SOME OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

These, I maintain, are some of the reasons which have been responsible for attracting non-Christians in overwhelmingly large numbers to Christian institutions. But it has exposed us to criticism from two quarters. So far as I am aware, Scripture classes are held in every Christian educational institution while only at a very few among them is attendance compulsory. Some orthodox non-Christians object to this as propaganda and hold that we should confine our activities exclusively to teaching academic subjects. Some very orthodox Christians on the other hand maintained that these institutions would be meaningless unless they were utilised for evangelistic work. Still others hold that these institutions are maintained primarily for Christians and that it is wrong to admit non-Christians in such large numbers as to swamp the Christian element altogether.

I do not know how others feel about compulsory instruction in the Scriptures, which, let

me remind you, is so rare that I have not come across it anywhere in Bengal and Assam and those parts of Madras which I visited recently. Should this exist anywhere, about which I have serious doubts, I hold that non-Christian guardians have no right to complain if they deliberately send their children to Christian institutions where attendance at Scripture classes is compulsory. No one can deny that our institutions are selected not because of any partiality for them but because of the superior facilities we are in a position to offer. It is not we who seek students; it is the students who seek admission to our schools and colleges. It would be highly improper, if not absolutely wrong, if we insisted on compulsory attendance at these Scripture classes without previous intimation to students and their guardians. It is only under these circumstances that our non-Christian friends have the right to complain.

No valid objection can be raised in those institutions where attendance at Scripture classes is optional. We claim the right to administer our institutions in our own way and so far as I am concerned, I have not heard anywhere during the last 40 years that I have been in the Education Department any complaint made as regards this particular aspect of the matter. Before proceeding further, let me make it clear to you that personally I am no believer in compulsory moral or religious instruction, because I feel that the faintest suspicion of compulsion in the case of a certain type of the young mind causes such a revulsion of feeling that the good effects, if any, of instruction of this type are completely lost.

So far as the advice that we should confine ourselves to academic work only is concerned, I would reply that our motherland has enough and more than enough of purely secular institutions—institutions where, while there is room in the time-table for imparting instruction on every subject in which the student is to be examined, instructions which occasionally degenerate into mere drilling, no time is available for the inculcation of high standards of conduct and character, institutions where the only contact between the teacher and the taught consists in the giving and the receiving of certain items of information which may or may not prove useful for a particular purpose, viz., getting through an examination as a pre-requisite to the acquisition of certain academic qualifications which again may or may not enable the holder to secure a safe berth for life. We feel that in order to maintain our Christian standards, it is our duty not only to give instruction in the sub-

jects of examination but also to implant in the minds of our students high moral and ethical ideals. Our non-Christian friends may think otherwise but we believe that this is our primary obligation and we hold that, in order to discharge this obligation, we should make some arrangements to tell our students what we believe will be helpful to them in their future life. Thus, I conceive, is the reason for holding Scripture classes. As practically all among us are against compulsion in any form, we prefer to leave the matter to the choice of our students. We believe that our duty ends when once these arrangements have been made and efforts put forth to persuade our students to join the Scripture classes.

At the same time, we try by our conduct and character, in which we confess we do not often succeed very well, to show indirectly to our students what a change there is for the better in any one's life if he loyally follows the teachings of our Master. We welcome the opportunities afforded both in and outside the class room to place before our students the principles of the faith we profess and we love to preach it by our daily lives and actions as much as the spoken or the written word.

That instruction in Scripture with optional attendance is not objected to by either non-Christian students or their parents and guardians is abundantly clear from the fact that there has been a steady growth in the number of students seeking admission into our schools and colleges all over India. To mention a few in Bengal, the Scottish Church College and St Paul's C. M. S. College and in Madras the Madras Christian Colleges for Men and Women have to refuse admission to hundreds of students every year. Here in Lahore, the Forman Christian College, which started with 8 students, is now imparting instructions to about 1,300 students. These Christian educational institutions have been offered and have accepted more endowments and benefactions from non-Christians than from Indian Christians which is not strange in view of the very large numbers of students belonging to the former category as compared with the far smaller numbers drawn from Indian Christian homes. I am glad to be able to state that I have found this in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Madras as also in the case of the Forman Christian College which can proudly show a long list of non-Christian donors and benefactors.

I must admit that the adoption of the policy I have referred to has been a cause of offence to some of the more ardent and enthusiastic Christians. Their view seems to be that the Christian Church has no business to maintain

any institution, educational or other, which cannot and is not used for the direct propagation of our faith. They also hold that one of the most important duties of the Church is towards those who are already inside the Christian fold and therefore the maintenance out of mission funds of institutions where direct evangelisation is not conducted, is not called for. As a Christian, I must admit that I welcome with joy every accession to our community provided the change in faith is dictated by a firm conviction in the message of Christ. Conversion in my view should proceed from personal conviction and personal experience. I, however, desire it to be clearly understood that the accession to our strength is never regarded by us with pleasure for its potentialities in the political sphere. We do not want an increase in our numbers because it would carry with it greater influence in the political field. We feel that the faith we profess has a deeper significance in religious life and experience and has more effect in radically changing man's character for the better than any other prevailing religion and this we regard as our only justification for attempting to place our point of view before our non-Christian brethren. As Christians we claim the same right to preach our faith which is enjoyed by the Muslim, the Sikh, the Arya Samaj and the sponsors of the Sangathan and Suddhi movements. We claim this liberty so long as we do not interfere with the liberty of others to preach and practise their faith nor behave in such a manner as to be a cause of offence to our non-Christian brethren. I believe that every one here including those whose faith is different from ours will admit the reasonableness of this attitude.

So far as the charge of serving non-Christians more than Christians is concerned, an overwhelming majority among us feel that this is the one and the only way of serving our Lord and Master whose command is to preach Him among those to whom He is unknown. Apart from this argument based on theological grounds, we also feel that to confine our institutions to Christians only would be a fatal mistake. We are aware that the change in our faith leads our non-Christian brethren to think that we have ceased to be Indians, that our sympathies no longer lie with our countrymen in their struggle for economic and political freedom, that, in a word, though in India we are not of India. This impression has to be removed at all costs. We must do everything which lies in our power to demonstrate to our brethren that in every matter which does not imply any compromise with the religious tenets we hold, we are at one with

them, that we are not narrow communalists desirous of improving our lot at the expense of our brethren who may profess a religion different from ours, that looking on them as our very own, we are always prepared to share with them whatever facilities for improving the lot of our countrymen are available.

It is the constant presence of this feeling which has made it possible for us to throw open to our non-Christian brethren the doors of our schools and colleges, our industrial and technical training centres, our agricultural schools, our outdoor dispensaries and indoor hospitals, our training schools and colleges and many other institutions too numerous to be mentioned, all of which aim at bettering the lot of the masses. We regard it as a happy augury that a majority of those undergoing instruction in these institutions are non-Christians, for we firmly believe that any improvement in their lot is bound to be reflected by an improvement in our lot, that we cannot rise in either the social, the economic or the political scale unless we are carried along with our countrymen and that an enlightened selfishness, if nothing else, should induce us to persist in this policy of helping ourselves by helping non-Christian brethren.

#### COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

One of my best friends who is also a colleague at the Calcutta University, and a member of the great Muslim community, has told me that in many, though not in all, cases the bitterness which prevails today specially among the two largest communities is due either to prejudice or to downright ignorance. Very often there is no desire to give offence but still something is done or said which has the effect of giving offence to someone. A word carelessly spoken has, more than once, to my knowledge alienated people who have been friends and this word would never have been spoken if the speaker had been familiar with the ways of life or the habits of the community to which it had reference. I have myself been pained time and again by slighting references to the habits and customs of the Indian Christian community; but I have never permitted them to disturb my equanimity, for I was aware that they had not been dictated by malice or ill-feeling but by ignorance and prejudice, the only remedy for which is that knowledge and experience about us which can come only when we mix intimately with one another.

Our Christian institutions of various types, including our schools and colleges where mem-

bers of all communities are welcome, are eminently calculated to bridge this gulf of ignorance. They enjoy one immense advantage over institutions maintained or controlled by Government. The policy of these institutions is of necessity controlled by public opinion in these days of provincial autonomy. On account of lack of education and political experience among the masses, and also because, in a majority of cases, their representatives adopt the very short-sighted policy of playing up to their prejudices, these institutions are gradually tending to grow communal in their outlook. In this way, the policy followed is being influenced by considerations which are calculated to go against the truest interests of our motherland.

The experience of those who are looking forward to the emergence of a united and happy Greater India is that whenever any attempt is made to shape educational policy from this point of view, it is immediately turned down by the representatives referred to above, whose personal interests demand that the existing condition of communal tension should persist as long as possible. It is therefore that communal feelings and prejudices are excited intentionally to the ultimate injury of the interests of the communities concerned, and an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy is sought to be created to keep them apart, with the result that it is daily becoming more and more impossible for those under this influence to maintain an impartial and rational attitude on any question which can, in the slightest way, be given a communal colouring.

In Bengal we are going to have shortly a Government educational institution teaching the same courses and giving exactly the same kind of training as another Government institution with a long tradition of service behind it. In the former it is proposed to cater specially for students professing a particular religious faith. In the existing institution, students irrespective of their caste or creed are welcome and a little addition to the existing accommodation would have been more than sufficient to meet the requirements and yet the establishment of the proposed communal institution is insisted upon. The institution I am referring to is a women's college and it has its parallel in a men's college, the need for which is not admitted by the impartial man who is concerned only with the best and the most economical use of public funds. Educational institutions, where future generations are destined to be trained, are thus degenerating into weapons to be used in the struggle for political supremacy.

among contending parties in the legislature. The man who can give communal colleges for men and women immediately entrenches himself behind impenetrable barriers and however unfit he may be to give the right shape to the educational policy of his province or to give leadership in new and unexplored directions in which progress may be looked for, succeeds in retaining his supremacy only because of this appeal to the communalism of a section of his countrymen.

In fact in parts of Bengal the feelings of separatism have assumed such proportions that in certain places I visited, I found a Government-aided Primary School, a Hindu Pathshala, a Muslim Muktab and a Primary school for the children of the backward Hindu communities. My enquiries showed that none of these schools was adequately staffed, properly housed and efficiently maintained;—they could not in view of the fact that the small number of children as well as the means available were divided among so many schools, and yet no one would hear of combining them into one large properly staffed and efficient school housed in a commodious and well-ventilated building.

I have referred more than once to the disastrous policy of having communal institutions. The late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Aligarh University, is generally held responsible for showing the way to the establishment of communal educational institutions. It may be so in the sense that Aligarh was the first really large and important institution of this type. Still I cannot forget that long before the foundation of the Aligarh University, an elder brother of mine was refused admission to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, because he was not a Brahmin!!! There is little use in raking up old and unpleasant stories but accepting facts as we find them at present, there is not much doubt that every lover of our motherland must do every thing that lies in his power to abolish these denominational institutions. These are preventing students professing different faiths from being educated together and thus understanding one another's point of view. The spirit of religious tolerance has, under these circumstances, no chance to grow and develop. In course of time, this separation caused by segregation in matters educational creates an atmosphere of suspicion, if not of downright enmity. This I consider the greatest blow to the growth of Indian nationalism. Its infinite capacity for mischief is due to the fact that its effects are insidious and that it encourages

communalism under the disguise of what may be called "sectional" patriotism and at the expense of what I should like to characterise as "national" or "All-India" patriotism.

As against this, we find in Christian institutions a calm and sober atmosphere which is in welcome contrast to the clash of conflicting interests so often prevailing in the field of education elsewhere. Except for the slight control exercised on them which is unavoidable in view of the capital and recurring grants made to them, these Christian institutions are free to shape their day-to-day policy and, as by the very nature of things, they are free from communal bitterness, they supply a place where young men and young women of all communities can meet in an atmosphere of calmness and goodwill. Here they get to know and understand one another and learn to respect one another's prejudices and idiosyncrasies. In this way, in these institutions the emphasis is shifted from the religious to the cultural and the social aspects of life and it is thus that communalism is scotched, if not killed.

#### INCUCLATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

We claim that one outstanding service we have rendered to Indian nationalism is that we have laid the foundation for democracy in our motherland. At the beginning, the very well-to-do classes were not disposed to favour the idea that their children should be educated or should mix on terms of equality with children coming from humbler homes. I cannot say with truth that this feeling of separatism has disappeared altogether. At any rate, the foolishness of this attitude elicited a noteworthy comment from Sir John Lawrence, the then Governor of the Punjab, and one of the earliest friends and patrons of the Lahore School, a parent of the Forman Christian College. After presiding at the distribution of prizes in 1869 he observed that the great men were making a mistake by not "securing for their children the advantages of a good education" and warned them that unless they changed their course, the next generation would see the descendants of shop-keepers and tradesmen exalted to high places. Later on the students were recruited from all classes. To quote the exact words of the relevant Mission report the students came "from the roccbanic and trafficker in the bazar, to the first born of the Rajah who sits high among the princes." This has been our uniform policy not only in the Punjab but all over India and it is thus that the idea of equality has been preached throughout the length and

and more leadership and initiative and be in a position to take up the responsibility as it shifts from the West to the East.

The missionaries, male and female, who have served India in the past, are handing down to us, Indian Christians, a glorious tradition of unselfish and devoted service. I hope that the unhealthy communally-ridden atmosphere of India will not make us forget the lesson we have learnt. I know that it will not be so and that we shall maintain this tradition of service which we have inherited from our illustrious predecessors.

In conclusion, let me remind you that though our faith is not the same as that of the majority among you, none the less we are one flesh and blood, we derive our ancestry from the same stock as you. Your way of looking at things is our way of looking at things. If we have your weakness and frailties, we also have your strength. Regard us then as really your brothers and permit us to serve you through all the different institutions which have been brought into existence by some of our best friends who accidentally happen to carry foreign blood in their veins. Overlook our frailties if you can, assist us when we seek your assistance and, above all, do not regard us as aliens in the land of our birth and never think, even for one moment, that our interests lie beyond the bounds of our motherland.

What I have placed before you today was penned in the quiet of my study in the intervals of a very busy life. After reading it once again, I find that the thoughts and ideas I have put before you lack that organic unity and academic detachment which ought to be found in an address of the type usual on occasions like the present. They, however, are the honest convictions of an Indian Christian who has always tried to think deeply about our motherland and the place every community should occupy in her economy. I have ventured to put before you my ideas as to the way in which we, a small minority community, can serve you our non-Christian brethren and, through you, our motherland. I can assure you that there are thousands and probably hundreds of thousands of Indian Christians who think as I think, though they do not enjoy the opportunity of speaking to you as I have been privileged to do today. Let me assure you once again that as a community we yield to none in our loyalty to the best and truest interests of our country and also that we shall, now and always, stand shoulder to shoulder with our flesh and blood in every sphere of work where the little we can do is likely to be of ultimate benefit to our motherland and to every one of our brethren and sisters.

(Founder's Day Address at Forman Christian College, Lahore)



Woodcut

Basudev Roy

## NEW EDUCATION FOR ENGLAND

By PROFESSOR NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

THE publication of the Spens Report<sup>1</sup> on Secondary Education and the Conference on educational associations held in the University College, London, in the first week of this month have released new ideas about secondary and collegiate education in this country. They have attracted considerable attention and enlisted as much support as they have provoked criticism.

Let us take up first the report on secondary education which was signed and submitted in October last and published only recently by the Board of Education. It is the work of the Consultative Committee associated with this Board. This Committee was first set up as a result of the Board of Education Act passed in 1899. It was however reorganised after the war in 1920 and since then it has been incessantly at work. The energy and enterprise which it has put forth during these years are now writ large in the reorganised school of this country and in their recast and reshaped syllabus and curricula of studies.

The Consultative Committee is a statutory body no doubt but as its title signifies it is purely an advisory body as well. When the Board of Education thinks that some particular aspect of education requires fresh examination, it refers it to the Committee which then proceeds to enquire into the subject independently and minutely. Once the examination is over, it submits its conclusions to the Board and it is for the latter to give effect to the suggestions in its discretion. In the present case the question which was referred to the Committee was that of the organisation and interrelation of schools other than those administered under the Elementary Code. In particular the Committee was asked to consider and report on this subject with special regard "to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about 16." It is not certain if all the recommendations made by the Committee on the subject of enquiry would be put into effect by the Ministry of Education. In a "Prefatory Note" which introduces the Report of the Committee to the public, Sir Maurice Holmes, Permanent Secre-

tary to the Board of Education, observes that "in publishing the report forthwith, the Board must not be regarded as committed to acceptance of its conclusions and recommendations".

The members of the Consultative Committee are all of them the appointees of the Minister of Education. They are appointed for a renewable term of five years and are chosen from the different spheres of the educational world. The Committee thus constituted is eminently fitted for the study of a particular question from all angles possible. For fourteen years since the reconstitution of the Committee in 1920, it had the advantage of working under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow. A distinguished scholar and a dynamic personality, he infused a new spirit into the reconstituted Committee and under his leadership it found it possible to prepare as many as six reports between 1920 and 1933 on different questions submitted to it by the Board. Owing to failing health, he was constrained to resign in January 1934. Since his resignation, the Committee has worked under the chairmanship of Mr. Will Spens,<sup>2</sup> the Master of the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

It was in 1933 that the question on which the Committee has now submitted its report was referred to it by the Board of Education. During the five years which the Committee had at its disposal, it examined more than 160 witnesses chosen from diverse fields of education and received memoranda and statistics on different aspects of the question from about three hundred individuals and associations. Some of those who either appeared before the Committee as witnesses or submitted memoranda to it may be mentioned. They include Sir Maurice Holmes, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, Mrs. E. M. Lowe, Chairman of the Education Committee of the London County Council from 1934 to 1937 and the future Chairman of the London County Council, Mr. J. P. Sargent, formerly Director of Education for Essex and at present Education Commissioner with the Government of India.

1. *Secondary Education* (His Majesty's Stationery Office) 3s. 6d. net.

2. He is now Sir Will Spens. He was honoured on the New Year's day for his work as Chairman of the Consultative Committee.



an industry and those whose aim "is to provide an educational foundation and background for those pupils whose intention is to enter industry on leaving school about the age of 16." The illustrations of the former are found in the schools for furniture and cabinet-making and in the schools for tailoring. Their position becomes more clear if we call them trade schools instead of technical schools. The illustrations of the latter are found in those institutions which do not train boys for any particular trade or for any particular branch of any industry but impart to them an all round training in different technical aspects of an industry. The engineering industry is, for example, many-sided. It has different groups and branches. But a technical school proper gives training generally in all these aspects so that when a boy leaves the school he becomes prepared to take up a position in an engineering industry of any one of these groups.

It is of course not a fact that in a trade school a boy merely devotes his time to the picking up of the technique of work in that trade. A boy who is in a school for furniture and cabinet-making for instance has not all his time eaten up in acquainting himself with the technicalities of making furniture. Both in the technical schools proper and in these trade schools much time is allotted for strengthening the foundations of knowledge of the boys. Besides it has been claimed by some educational experts that

"there is no subject in the curriculum of any type of vocational school for any age of boy or girl that might not be liberalised while at the same time furnishing the highest degree of vocational effectiveness."

But although so much is true, the Consultative Committee has come to the conclusion that the trade schools concerned with the training of boys in any particular branch of trade or industry should be left as they are. They are of course institutions to be encouraged and strengthened but to be encouraged and strengthened as such and not as part and parcel of the system of secondary education.

The technical schools, however, should have, according to the Committee, a new status. Wherever possible they should be given the same position and status as the Grammar Schools and should be regarded as secondary schools in the same sense as the Grammar Schools. They should be known also as Technical High Schools as their present title might give out the impression that they were merely primary institutions. When a boy leaves his primary school at about eleven (11+), his

parents in consultation with the head master of this institution might decide to send him either to a Grammar School or to a Technical High School according as they judge his inclinations and aptitude. But this must not be regarded as the final choice as to the boy's future studies. At about the age of eleven it may be difficult to make a choice once for all. Consequently, after about two years a second choice is recommended. A boy who has entered a Grammar School may find its curriculum of studies not to his taste and not up to his calibre. His taste however may be in the direction of the studies upon which the Technical High School puts emphasis. Similarly a boy entering the Technical High School at about the age of eleven may discover that his choice has not been proper and that he should better take up studies which are conducted in a Grammar School. So at about thirteen (13+) the boys should be enabled to change one school for the other. In order that this interchange of students may be facilitated, for the first two years the curriculum of studies in both types of schools should be more or less similar. But once at about thirteen final choice is made, the Grammar School and the Technical High School must move in their own respective ways.

We may repeat that this recommendation will affect fundamentally the trends of secondary education in England. The Committee was however convinced that this equality of position between the Grammar Schools and the Technical High Schools in the scheme of secondary education in the country was essential in the interests of the general public. Simply because the Technical Schools have not this equality at present, it is regarded as derogatory to the prestige of a boy that he should be sent to such an institution. To read in a Grammar School gives him greater prestige and opens out to him a greater and better future, while to read in a technical school immediately stamps him with inferiority. The result of this arrangement has been this that most of the capable boys have flocked to the Grammar Schools and neglected the Technical Schools. This has on the one side left the industries manned by rather inferior type of people and on the other created an overflow of men for the professions. This is a case of maladjustment which has got to be rectified, and the Committee sought to rectify this maladjustment by making the Technical High Schools equal in status, position and respectability with the Grammar Schools.

The question is if the intellect of the British youth would be adversely affected by this

arrangement or not. The Committee has definite opinions on this subject. It is positively of opinion that it is not merely by learning classics or English subjects or Mathematics that a boy gets his intellect developed, his understanding quickened and his mind disciplined. It is totally false to say that it is only training in such subjects which gives the boys both keenness of knowledge and ability to look beyond the immediate subject-matter of studies. The engineering subjects or some such other subjects as well will have the same effect in unfolding all the powers in the man. Besides it is irrational to scoff at these subjects as vocational while the subjects emphasised in the Grammar Schools are 'liberal' in character. Actually there was a time when even these so-called 'liberal' subjects were really vocational in character. They were introduced so that men for the professions like the church, the law and the civil service might be properly trained. Consequently the Committee thinks that by following the engineering subjects the students will not lag behind in general understanding, in quickness of perception and in the general breadth of outlook. In this respect they will certainly stand where the students of the Grammar Schools do at present. But they will have this additional advantage that they will have to their credit an excellent training which may immediately be utilised in trade and industry.

Sir Will Spens, the Chairman of the Consultative Committee, has in fact become a great believer in education with a vocational bias. And he does not appear to be content with introducing it in the secondary schools alone. He seems to be in favour of introducing it in one form or another in the Universities as well. He is not only the head of a great college at Cambridge and as such in touch with batches of best students who pass out of the Universities today. But he has been also for the last ten years the President of the Employment Board at the Cambridge University. In this capacity also he has acquired first-hand knowledge as to the requirements of the graduates for employment in responsible positions in different fields

of activity. It is his definite opinion and this opinion he has expressed in his address before the Conference of Educational Associations in the first week of this month that passing with high honours in any particular subject does not make a candidate properly fitted for some responsible job. He must have definite knowledge of the subject with which he will be required to deal if he is appointed to this position.

Now this is a point of view which definitely runs counter to the established opinion in this country. More than eighty years ago, Lord Macaulay and Benjamin Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol, laid down the opinion as the Chairman and member respectively of the Committee on competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service that men should be recruited for this body not on the basis of any special knowledge which would be required for them for the discharge of their duties as administrative or judicial officers but on the basis of general education and culture. A young man who had finished liberal education to his credit, and had his understanding strengthened, his intellect developed, his judgment matured and his eyes and ears opened would not find it difficult to pick up the specialised knowledge necessary for the discharge of immediate duties as an officer of the Government. He would have at the same time a mind enriched and an outlook greatly widened and consequently whenever any emergency would arise he would be equal to it. But a man who had specialised knowledge alone would be in a position only to perform his immediate duties and but would be good for no duty which was not of the routine type. This theory has been accepted so far by the British public and not only the examinations for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service but also examinations for the Civil Services in this country have been conducted since their inception on this basis. Naturally the opinion expressed by Sir Will Spens has provoked thinking

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*pati* and *eka patni*, one husband for the wife and one wife for the husband even after the death of either, and a second marriage was ordained for the widower only where he had not begotten sons or had not performed sacrifices or was ineligible for other orders of life (Yajñavalkya 1-89, commentary by Mit. 1 M.L.J. Rev. ed. 236, see also 32 All. 575, 579 to 581). But while the ideal is still maintained in the case of the wife it has been relaxed in the case of a husband who can take to a second wife freely after the first wife's death (See Manu 5, 162 & 168) but in her life-time only under exceptional circumstances (Manu IX-80, 81; Yaj. I, 72 & 73).

It would be interesting to discuss the historical development of the law on the subject. It is true that polygamy is in evidence in the Vedic times as the following references to texts will show, but it would not therefore follow that it had the sanction of Dharma (law). Princely families have resorted to it and some wealthy persons also imitated them as is evident from the heroes of the Mahabharata having many wives, but these instances should be considered more as infractions of the law than as evidence of a lawful custom. In *Mañṣavya Samhita* 1.5.8 the ten wives (Jāyā) of Manu are mentioned; in *Taittiriya Samhita* (6 K. 6 Pra. 4 A. 3) it is said that a man may have two wives as there may be two strings for one piece of sacrificial wood, and in *Āitareya Brahmana* (3, 2-12) plurality of wives is mentioned as possible to a man but not plurality of husbands to a woman. A man is enjoined to take wife from the same caste and country (*Hirana-Grihyasutra*, 1 P 1, p. S-19 S-2; Gautama 431). But it is significant that it is only one wife *Dharmapatni* who is mentioned as the religious associate in the expression *Dampati* (married couple) thus proving monogamy as the natural and usual state of things, found in the verse, "that couple who sacrifice with one mind" (Big Veda, 8th M 31. S-5) and even where there is plurality of wives, it is the first wife *Mahisi* (chief) who matters while the other wives are relegated to an inferior position though they belonged to the same caste. In later times when Aryans succumbed to admixture of castes, a Brahmin in addition to a wife from the same caste was allowed only three more wives, a Kshatriya only two more, a Vaishya only one more from the lower caste according to the direct order of

castes but a Sudra was restricted only to a Sudra wife (*Parashara Grihyasutra* 1 Ka. 5-10: Narada 12.5: Vish. 24. V 4; Baudh. 1. 10. 2; Manu. 3, 13). Some texts interdicted a wife from the Sudra caste to all the twice-born castes (Baudh. 2, 2, 7 & 4, 1, 5, Narada 12, 103, f. & Vish. 26, 4 ff) but Yajñavalkya condemns this practice of more wives according to the order of castes (Yaj. 156, 1 M.L.J. Rev. Ed. p. 111), and when the practice of taking wives from different castes became obsolete, those inclined to polygamy practiced the same from their own caste and the eldest wife became the religious associate (*Vide* Vishnu 26, 1-4) thereby lending colour to the view that plurality of wives was permitted without infringement of the law but as already stated, that practice was confined to the princely classes, though even in inscriptions very frequently one single wife is ascribed to them (Jolly's H. L. & C. 140). But these restrictive texts are at any rate authorities for the view that it is not open to a Hindu to have any number of wives without any restriction at all as is now understood in courts of law. The text of Manu (III 12),

"For the first marriage of *dwijas*, a woman of the same caste is recommended but for those who are impelled by inclination to marry a second time women in the direct order of classes are enjoined."

would seem to show that it was not open to a man to marry a second wife of the same class in the life-time of the first without a justifying cause.

### SUPERCESION

As instances of polygamy from the same caste were found to be growing, the Hindu law-givers thought it necessary to prohibit polygamy except for a few justifying causes. It was first broadly laid down that a blameless wife could not be superseded by a man except under penalty of a third of his property to be given to her (Yajñ. 1 Ch. 76) and he was also liable to a severe punishment by the king (Nar. Ch 12, 95). But the causes which could justify supercession related (1) to her health (2) her conduct and temper (3) barrenness in her (4) failure to produce male offspring and (5) infidelity to the husband. Her consent to second marriage also supplied the place of a justifying cause. Manu laid down:

"She who drinks spirituous liquors, acts immorally, shows hatred to her lord, is incurably diseased, mischievous or wasteful, may be superseded by (another) at any time; a barren wife in the eighth year, one whose children all die in the tenth, and she who only bears daughters in the eleventh" (M. IX-80-81).

Yajnavalkya speaks in the same strain (Yaj. I. 73). Baudhyana says,

"prudent men forsake a wife who neglects due attendance, is barren or immoral or frequents houses of strangers," and prescribes 10 years for a barren wife, 12 years for one who bears only daughters and 15 years for one whose children are all dead, before she could be superceded, but a wife who is rebellious is required to be instantly forsaken (2 Col. Digest 131 verse 66)

According to Narada,

"it is a crime in them both if they desert each other or if they persist in mutual altercation except in the case of adultery by a guarded wife. Let a man banish from his house a wife who embezzles all his wealth under pretence of female property or who procures an abortion or who wishes the death of her husband" (2 Col. Digest 130).

and a husband is forbidden to have any intercourse with a wife who is barren or gives birth only to daughters or if she behaves unbecomingly or always disobeys him (Nar. 12-94). Devala adds degradation from casto and total failure of courses among the justifying causes (2 Dig. 129, verse 62), but no atonement is ordained for a man who forsakes a faultless wife illegally (verse 61). Vishnu lays down a severe chastisement for the forsaking of a wife who is without blame (2 Digest 129, verse 60). As regards contraction of second marriage with the consent of the first wife on the principle of *tolenti non fit injuria*, Manu lays down that a wife who is beloved and virtuous must never be disgraced though afflicted with illness, but she may be superceded by another with her own consent (2 Digest 133, verse 73). The superceded wife was in every case allowed a sufficient provision for her maintenance (Yaj. v 74, 2 Digest 133; Mit II s. xi, 34-35 and Strange Vol. I, 5th Ed. p. 41) and she was enjoined to remain in her husband's house (Manu IX 83). We thus see that polygamy is not allowed by Hindu law texts. A great controversy has arisen on the interpretation of the texts of Manu and Yajnavalkya on the subject of supercession. While on the one hand Pandit Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagar considered them to be mandatory, other Pundits like Taranath Tarkavachaspati and Kaviraj Kavvaratna interpreted them as containing directory precept and Justice Gurudas Banerji sides with the latter (Banerji's II. L. 1st. Ed. P. 43). Pandit Vidyasagar thinks that in terms of the rule of Mimamsa interpretation, the texts constitute a *parisamkhyā* (an implied prohibition)

and not merely an *arthavada*,<sup>2</sup> (a declaration of a known fact). No doubt under these rules both alternatives are possible but the latter alternative should not be accepted where the other is more legitimate. A text under the law of Mimamsa is of five kinds (1) a *vidhi*<sup>3</sup> or more properly *apurva vidhi* (mandatory injunction or positive precept enjoining an act which would not be done but for the injunction) or (2) a *nishedha*<sup>4</sup> (prohibitory injunction or a negative precept enjoining forbearance of an act which would not be observed but for the precept) or (3) a *parisamkhyā*<sup>5</sup> (implied prohibition which follows from enjoining an act under certain limitations only) or (4) a *niyama*<sup>6</sup> (directory precept which enjoins doing of an act which would be done even without the precept or (5) an *arthavada*<sup>7</sup> (a declaration of a known fact). The texts of Manu (IX. 80-81) and Yajnavalkya (I. 73) and others of similar import can not be a *vidhi*, not containing a mandatory injunction, nor a *nishedha*, as the prohibition is not express, nor a *niyama* (directory precept) as that is constituted when there is a direction for the doing of an act at a particular time or place or manner, the act itself being one which would be done even without the rule of the Shastras. They are therefore either a *parisamkhyā* or an *arthavada*, but the latter not being admissible without sufficient reason the former ought to be deduced. Among these precepts the precepts of the first two kinds undoubtedly constitute commands of an imperative character, the breach whereof becomes illegal and the third kind of precept i.e. a *parisamkhyā* is also recognized as equally binding, while a *niyama* and an *arthavada* are purely directory precepts, the breach whereof is not visited with any consequences of a penal character. But as a *parisamkhyā* is liable to be challenged with the alternative of an *arthavada*, it would be worthwhile to find out if there are any texts in Shastras which are of the first two kinds i.e. an *apurva vidhi* or a *nishedha* or such as are unchallengeable *parisamkhyās*. An *apurva vidhi* is here out of the question as it enjoins an act and not a forbearance, therefore a *nishedha* is the one to be searched. We have already referred above to the texts of Narada and Vishnu which lay down a severe punishment for the supercession of a wife who is blameless without any cause, the

- |            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| 2. अर्थवाद | 5. परिषमक्या |
| 3. विधि    | 6. नियम      |
| 4. निषेध   | 7. कर्तव्य   |

punishment being the same as is meted out to a thief (Vide verses 59 and 60 in 2 Digest 129 and Jagannath's comment on verse 59). We have also mentioned Yajñavalkya's text (1-76) prescribing a severe penal consequence such as a forfeiture of a third of one's property in favour of an abandoned wife for the act of abandonment or supercession. Texts such as these cannot constitute precepts only of a directory nature but although they are *pari-samkhyas* inasmuch as a prohibition of the act of supercession is not expressly stated but necessarily follows from the propositions laid down, they are *pari-samkhyas* not liable to be challenged with an alternative of an *arthavada* and are equivalent to a precept of the second time i.e. a *nishedha*, a prohibitory injunction. We may now quote a text of *Apastamba* which is undoubtedly a *nishedha*. The text runs thus

"a person shall not take a second wife if he has already one who is capable of performing her share of religious duties and who bears sons" (*Apastamba* 2 p 6 p. 14 k. 16).

Similarly *Devala* says,

"no atonement is ordained for that man who forsakes his own wife, through delusion of mind, deserting her illegally; nor for him who forsakes a virtuous son" (2 Col. Digest 6. 129 v. 61).

To crown all, we may quote the prince of law-givers *Manu* who says,

"if his wife be virtuous and have borne a son, let not a man contract another marriage, unless he do so on the loss of his wife or son" (2 Col Digest p 133. V. 71)

These texts undoubtedly contain commands of an imperative character, *nishedha vidhis*, the breach whereof is illegal. We therefore conclude that Hindu law texts make polygamy illegal except under exceptional circumstances such as (1) incurable and loathsome disease like leprosy (2) incurable insanity (3) confirmed barrenness (4) failure to produce male offspring (5) commission of adultery or other serious offence such as inveterate hatred of the husband resulting in an attempt to murder him or embezzlement of his property or the like, (6) degradation from caste which will now include change of religion. We may dismiss minor faults such as temporary disobedience or mere quarrelsomeness, as being expiable and incapable of creating lawful supercession, and also such consent of the wife as is obtained fraudulently or under coercion or undue influence or such as the wife as a prudent person of ordinary sense would not grant without a sufficient cause.

## MODERN TEXT WRITERS

Now let us see how the subject of polygamy has been viewed by the modern text writers on Hindu law and custom, before we pass on to a consideration of the *ca-c-law* which has decided that polygamy under Hindu law is not illegal. Among the early writers *MacNaughten* (*Hindu law*, page 58), *Sir Thomas Strange* (*Hindu law*, Vol. 1, 52) and *Shamacharan Sarkar* (*Vyavastha Darpana* p. 672) consider polygamy as illegal. *Ghosh* thinks that polygamy is not permitted though commonly practiced (*Ghosh*, Vol. 1, 2nd Ed. p. 664). *Dr Jolly* admits that Hindu *Shastras* lay down the monogamous ideal but thinks it is not followed in practice though instances of polygamy are confined to princely classes (*Dr. Jolly's H.L. & G.* page 140). *Ganapati Ayyar* considers polygamy as prohibited by the Hindu law (*Hindu law*, Vol. 1, 391-92). *Abbe Dubois* says,

"polygamy was tolerated among persons of high rank, though even among them it was looked upon as an infraction of the law and custom, in fact an abuse" (*Dubois* 210).

*Mayne* agreeing with *Dubois* thinks that polygamy was not allowable by the original Hindu law which accorded with the customs that now prevail among some non-Aryan races such as *Kandhs* (*Hunter's Orissa* Vol. II, p. 84) or among the caste of musicians in *Ahmedabad* and in the *Vadanagara Nagar caste* (2 *Bor.* 521, 572, *Mandlik* 406) and those recorded in *Thessavaleme* about the Tamil emigrants in *Ceylon* (*Thessa* 1 para 11) and the decisions of the *Pondicherry courts*—based upon *Manu* and other native writers as well as usage (*Sorg.* H. L. 51. See *Mayne's Hindu law* 8th Ed. p 111, para 92). This is also still the usage among some castes of the *Deccan* (*Steele* 30, 168) and among *Halwai caste* settled in *Bengal* (5 c 692) but notwithstanding this *Mayne* accepts the conclusion arrived at in 1 *M.H.C* 375 and says,

"it is now quite settled in the courts of British India that a Hindu is absolutely without restriction as to the number of his wives and may marry again without his wife's consent for any justification except his own wish" (*Mayne* 8th Ed page 112).

On the other hand *Bhattacharya* (his *H.L.* 1st ed page 67), *Banerji* (*Banerji's H. L.* 1st edition page 43), *Pranath Sen* (*Hindu Jurisprudence* p. 231), *Golap Sarkar Shastri* (his *H. L.* 6th ed. p. 171) hold that polygamy is not made illegal by Hindu law texts which in their view are only recommendatory but *Sarkar* admits that their recommendation as regards

monogamy as the best form of connubial life has been practically adopted by the Hindus and monogamy is the general rule though there are solitary instances of polygamy (Sarkar, page 172). But we have shown clearly that this contrary opinion is not based on any correct exposition of Hindu law texts. We may note that besides the actual customs prohibiting polygamy cited from Steele, Thessaveleme, Sorg's H. L. relating to French India etc., noted in Mayne's H. L., there are customs against polygamy prevalent even in Sind notably among the Khudabadi Amil community of Hyderabad, Sind, under which no second marriage is allowed except (1) where the first wife is incurably insane (2) where she is afflicted with a loathsome or incurable disease such as leprosy (3) where she is barren and consents and (4) in other kindred cases such as failure to produce male offspring, not without her consent. This custom has been recognized in some cases which ended in compromises or awards of arbitrators but not yet by any considered judgment of a competent civil court. The public sentiment against polygamy has grown to be strong day by day. Even so long ago as 1830 the people of Bengal petitioned the Governor-General of India's Council for making law for an enactment to suppress the practice of polygamy (see Strange Vol. I, 5th ed., p. 40 foot-note). It is rare that instances of polygamy occur even at the present day without a justifying cause or at least without the consent of the wife.

#### CASE-LAW

As regards the case-law on the subject of polygamy it may be stated at the outset that it is too scanty and yet it is surprising how it is said that it is settled that a Hindu can marry any number of wives he likes. On a search into the authorities, we find that there is not a single case before the courts in which the question of validity of a second marriage contracted in the life-time of the first wife has arisen in a definite form, and in no case has there been any examination of original texts or any discussion of authorities so as to make the decision an authoritative one. The leading case on the subject is one reported in 1 M.H.C. 375, in which the question in issue was whether a wife leaving her husband on the ground of his second marriage and living separately was entitled to maintenance from him. It was there held that she was not so entitled as a Hindu husband could marry any

number of wives he liked under the Hindu law. A contrary decision however where maintenance was decreed on the same facts in the early law reports of the Madras Sadar Uddaulat, case No 2 of 1823 (1 dec of M.S.U. 366) was not noticed by the High Court perhaps because it was not cited. The High Court's expression of opinion however it is submitted, was only an *obiter dictum* for, whether the second marriage was legal or illegal, and whether her supercession be justified or not, there is authority for the view in the Smritis that a Hindu wife has no right to leave her husband's protection and live apart from him and consequently she could not claim separate maintenance (see Manu IX 83, 1. Strange's H. L. 5th ed 42; 13 A 123). Her first duty is to submit herself to his authority obediently and live under his roof and protection (24 W.R. 377, 379; 45 M 812, 28 C 751 at 762, unless there is cruelty towards her. In the judgment however there is no discussion of authorities and the only authority relied on is a passage from Sir Thomas Strange's H. L. 4th Ed Vol I, p. 56 where he queries,

"how many it is competent for a Hindu to have at the one and the same time does not distinctly appear,"

from which it is at once inferred that it is open to a Hindu to marry any number of wives he likes, without any restriction except his own wish. But the learned Chief Justice Scotland overlooked Sir Thomas Strange's pronouncement at another place where he expressly holds polygamy to be illegal. That passage at p. 52 of his Hindu law, Vol I, runs

"it remains to consider the doctrine of supercession by virtue of which those women can marry but once,—to the man a plurality of wives at the same time is competent, though not at his mere pleasure—the attempt which is justifiable in some instances, in others only admissible, being where it can neither be justified nor tolerated, illegal."

Then follows a discussion of authorities in support of this proposition. The passage which misled the learned Chief Justice into an opposite conclusion read with the context shows that it was not clear to Sir Thomas Strange as to how many wives a man could marry from the same caste, where after intermarriages between different castes became obsolete according to *Ushana* and *Adityapurana*, a person took wives only from the same caste, but in any case the eldest wife from the same caste was the *dharma-patni* while the rest were inferior wives like the concubines of the Roman law. This passage read in this light therefore could hardly lead to the inference actually

drawn by the court. The next case in 7 M. 187 (188) also arose in the same High Court and was also a maintenance case but under section 488 Cr. P. Code in which the court presided over by a single judge in a judgment of a few lines refused the wife's application for separate maintenance on the same ground as in 1 M.H.C. 375. The third case also in the same High Court and reported in 17 M. 235 was a case under the Divorce Act IV of 1869. In that case it was decided that as the marriage of the parties who are Christian converts from Hinduism, having been celebrated according to Hindu law was not a monogamous marriage, no dissolution of marriage could be granted under the act to the petitioner husband on the ground of his wife living in adultery with another man. Here again it was assumed on the authority of the case in 1 M. H. C. 375, that a Hindu marriage was not monogamous, and no independent examination of authorities was made. The fourth case arose in the Bombay High Court and is reported in 8 Bom. L.R. 856. It is again a case under the Divorce Act and the same conclusion was reached as by the Madras High Court on the authority of 17 M. 235. This is all the case-law and we are asked to take it as settled that polygamy is permitted by the Hindu law and is not illegal. It is therefore extremely unfortunate that we have had no considered and authoritative decision of any High Court on the point and the bill having

been set in motion once by the case in 1 M.H.C. 375, it has rolled on in the same direction by its impact alone. Consequently, it is now necessary to have the true Hindu law restored by legislation, and the bill under review supplies the opportunity and if it is slightly modified to suit Hindu sentiments, it will be of immense benefit to the Hindu community. In order that the bill may be acceptable to the Hindu community, it is suggested that there should be a saving clause incorporated in it as proviso No. 2 by which second marriages performed under some of the exceptional circumstances of the Smṛiti texts such as (1) incurable and loathsome disease like leprosy (2) incurable insanity, (3) confirmed barrenness (4) failure to produce male offspring accompanied by wife's consent, (5) adultery (6) commission of a heinous offence punishable by imprisonment for a period of not less than seven years or change of religion, may be excluded from its scope, unless dissolution or nullity of marriage, as the case may be, on any of these grounds is provided for, in addition to those not already provided, which may be open to both the parties under the provisions of the Indian Divorce Act IV of 1869 which will have to be made applicable as in the case of persons marrying under the Special Marriage Acts; for after all, communities who desire strict monogamy ought to be prepared for divorce however odious it may at the outset appear to be.

## THE LANGUAGE OF INDIAN DANCE

By PROJESH BANERJI, B.A. LL.B.

By language we mean the medium of communication of thought between persons, which in a broad sense may be placed in two divisions as the ear-language and the eye-language according to the sense affected. Among the various species of eye-language we must first mention gestures, made by means of the hands, the muscles of the face, the eyes and movements of every limb of the body. Gestures were originally involuntary expressions of emotion, confined at first to the individual. But as the need for inter-communication was more strongly felt, they gradually reached a high state of development. "What is needed is a great gesture," Christendom, it is true, has the sign of the cross. The churches, the army still have a few gestures;

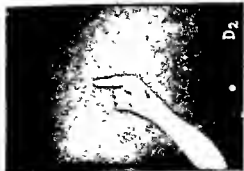
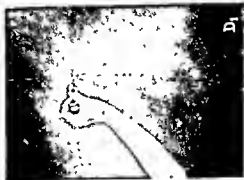
so have the traffic policeman and the motorist. There are flag-signalling and optical-telegraphy.

Gestures may be explicit, pantomimic, emotional and conventional. All these forms denote concrete ideas rather than words. The last three may consist in grimace; the first three are mutually intelligible to persons of every grade of culture when for any reason unable or unwilling to converse by speech. Conventional gesture may be unintelligible without previous explanation. Natural gesture never attained the power to communicate abstract ideas, or to represent the more complex parts of speech; it reached its highest developments in recent centuries.

Commercial and industrial countries of the



# THE LANGUAGE OF INDIAN DANCE



Hand gestures



Passion Play at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta  
 Top: Jesus and his disciples at the house of Simon  
 Middle: Jesus cleansing the Temple of money-changers and mercenaries  
 Bottom: Mary and Magdalen, after crucifixion

West have developed gestures to be greatly helped by them in the business world. India on the other hand made an intelligent effort especially in the olden days to enrich its fine arts, culture and aesthetics by means of gestures.

In India gesture in the ancient sense of the word exists in the little that survives of the great tradition of Indian Nāṭya (dance and dance drama). The dance of the hands tells a story word by word, so to speak, in the precisely significant language of gesture—called in Sanskrit the language of the gods. Angikā-bhīnaya or Abhinaya of the Anga is dance and this Abhinaya of the Anga is the movement of Anga or limbs by means of gestures and postures. These gestures are the language of the dance codified and laid down in Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikeshwara, Bharata's Nāṭya Shāstra and a few other Sanskrit treatises of dance and drama. As the mythology goes, recalling all the Vedas, the blessed Brāhmā found the Nāṭya Veda from the several parts of the four Vedas as desired. From the Rīg Veda he drew forth the words, from the Sāma Veda the singing, from the Yajur Veda the gesture and from the Atharva Veda the flavour and sentiment. Thus we can trace the origin of Nṛitya gestures from Yajur Veda.

Many writers and critics want to include all the movements of human limbs in one Sanskrit word, viz., "Mudrā," but this word is not a correct expression in the case of dancing and it means a "sign" or "Chihna." Some trace the origin of this word from the Persian word "Muhar," meaning a sign or seal. The correct origin of the word "Mudrā" is from Tāntrik texts. The Mudrās are positions of the fingers of the hands only, practised in devotion or religious worship. Both John Woodroffe and Manomohan Ghosh are of opinion that Tāntrik Mudrās (ritual gestures of the hands) have some resemblance to the manual gestures used in Abhinaya. This, however, is not sufficient to allow us to suggest any clear connection of Tāntrik ritual with the origin of Abhinaya. From the above facts we should discard the word "Mudrā" for two reasons; firstly, Mudrā is the hand gesture practised at the time of worship only, and secondly, it is only hand gesture and not gesture of any other part of the human body. The word is never used in Abhinaya Darpana even to denote any hand or finger gesture nor by Coomaraswamy in his book entitled the *Mirror of Gestures*.

These gestures represent objects either abstract or concrete. They are symbols to

denote gods, goddesses, emperors, animals, rivers, mountains and so on. This gesture language is an almost perfect medium of emotional expression, if the hands themselves are beautiful and what is more important, if they are entirely supplied and controlled by years of practice under a good Guru who knows well the qualities and defects which make and mar good movement. So far writers have endeavoured either to translate or enumerate the gestures as those are found in the Sanskrit texts, but no effort has yet been made to give an exact interpretation, to rectify and improve them. At certain places the gestures are not the correct representations of the objects. In dancing picturesque and statuesque poses are required, and those traditional gestures are not at times artistic.

Abhinaya Darpana is regarded as one of the earliest Sanskrit works which codifies the language of the dance; it springs from the same source with Bharata's Nāṭya Shāstra (Manomohan Ghosh's *Abhinaya Darpana*, Page lxx); so we will examine a few hand gestures mentioned in Abhinaya Darpana which fail to depict the beauty of the dance and also do not represent exactly the objects which they claim to do. It is impossible to show the defects in other gestures in such a short space, but a few modified examples of hand gestures are given below.

To denote a 'Shankha' or conch shell, Abhinaya Darpana says that the thumb of Shukhara hand (Shukhara occurs when the four fingers are bent into the palm and the thumb is raised) meets the other thumb and is clung round by the forefinger close to the latter thumb (Sloka 190), (Fig. A1). This hand does not resemble a conch. It should be formed in the following manner. Raise all the fingers of the two hands close together, the forefinger of the right is touched with the tips of the first, second and third fingers of the left and the other three fingers, excluding the thumb of the right clasping the thumb of the left. This is picturesque and accurate (Fig. A2).

Abhinaya Darpana states that if the little finger and the thumb are bent in the Mriga-shirsha hand, which is formed by curving the palm of the hand and raising the thumb and the little finger, the result is an expression of a tiger (Vyāghra), (Sloka 166). Fig. B1). The *Mirror of Gestures* represents the same object by first making the Ardha-chandra hand, which is formed by stretching out the thumb and extending all the fingers upwards and then holding the hand face downwards. But if instead

of stretching out only the thumb, the little finger is also stretched, it brings a better impression of a tiger's mouth wide agape with its jaws. (Fig. B2).

Kūṛma (tortoise) is expressed by placing the palms of two hands across each other and bending the tips of the thumbs and the little fingers according to Abhinaya Darpaṇa (Sloka 197), (Fig. C1). But the correct formation would be by clasping the middle and the third fingers of the two hands with each other and then by touching the tips of the little finger of the right with the forefinger of the left, the forefinger of the right with the thumb of the left and the other two remaining fingers touching the sides of the opposite palms. (Fig. C2).

The *Mirror of Gestures* again errs by mentioning Matsya and Makara hands in the same manner. Makara is stated by placing one hand on the back of another, palm downwards, and then outstretching the two thumbs. This may bring a depiction of a Matsya (fish), but it fails to represent a Makara. It should be by placing one hand on the back of another, palm downwards, outstretching the thumbs, extending the two middle fingers while the other fingers are closed to the palm.

Ardhasūchi is represented in Abhinaya Darpaṇa by moving the thumb above the forefinger and the other three fingers are bent into the palm. (Sloka 167) (Fig. D1) A Tamil version states that Ardhasūchi (half-needle) occurs when the forefinger is raised, the thumb outstretched and the other three fingers are bent into the palm. This then instead of representing half-needle expresses Chandrakālā or the digit of the moon. Both the statements fail to depict the desired object. The correct formation would be to raise the forefinger, the thumb touching the forefinger at the middle and the other three fingers are bent into the palm (Fig. D2).

It is not necessary that one should go strictly by the tradition, because there is a vast

difference in theory from the practical expositions. So a correct hand gesture should be learnt from an expert who can demonstrate before the disciple's eyes. There is also a greater scope for the dancer and a privilege is given to him that in order to show a thing which is not mentioned in the books of dancing, he can exert his brain and find out a new way, but that newly found gesture must be picturesque and not meaningless. There should be reason all the while.

Innumerable statues of gods and goddesses are found which depict certain meaningless gestures. The sculptors of these statues did not dilate much upon the traditional gestures and their interpretations, but their chief aim was to create a thing of beauty and art. The hand gestures of the following images neither express nor depict anything, but even then they are considered as the most beautiful pieces of art simply for the picturesque poses, viz., Brahmā, (from near Mirpur Khas, Punjab, Bronze, Gupta period, 6th century), Avalokitesvara (Bodhisattva, copper, gilt and jewelled, c. 11th century and also a bronze one in Ceylon of 8th century), Sundaramurti Swami, devotee of Shiva (Copper, from Polonnaruwa, c. 13th century), Pārvatī (Copper, South Indian, c. 17th century) and so on.

Uday Snankar, the talented student of Indian dance, uses freely the gestures having his eye upon artistic beauty. He is more original than faithful to the Shastrie principles. Some of the gestures which he indulges in are not sanctioned by the authorities on the art of dancing. Kathakali and Rājore school of dancing of South India claim the use of actual Shastrie gestures. To a certain extent these schools have retained their purity. At times the expression is meaningless and a good many gestures codified in the Sanskrit book are performed in an absolutely different way. Kathak dancing of Lucknow and Delhi can be said to be devoid of the ancient and classic gestures; the gestures this school practises are the inventions of the teachers and those are crude and meagre.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*

## ENGLISH

**STATISTICAL TESTING OF BUSINESS CYCLE THEORIES: VOLUME I. A METHOD AND ITS APPLICATION TO INVESTMENT ACTIVITY; By J. Tinbergen, League of Nations, Information Section. Pp. 164. Price 3/6d; \$0.90**

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has published this Volume, which is the first instalment of a short series of publications to follow up Professor Gottfried von Haberler's scholarly work, "Prosperity and Depression," which was published by the Economic Intelligence Service in 1937. In that book Professor von Haberler, who is now at Harvard University, examined the different existing theories concerning the nature of what is currently termed the trade cycle, with a view to ascertaining what they had in common, the points at which differences arose, and in so far as possible the causes of those differences. Its publication constituted the completion of the first stage of an enquiry into the nature and causes of the trade cycle that had been begun some years earlier. The second stage was to consist of an attempt to confront those theories with the historical facts, to subject them, in so far as those facts can be quantitatively expressed to statistical analysis, or, in so far as they cannot be so expressed, to compare them with the recounted records of the past.

The Volume prepared by Professor J. Tinbergen, who was seconded for this purpose from the Central Statistical Bureau of the Netherlands, forms an introduction to the work which has since been begun and which is concerned with the statistical testing of the assumptions and propositions that are essential to the main business cycle theories. The primary object of the Volume is to explain the method which, subject to any suggestions that may be received, it is proposed to employ for the statistical testing of trade cycle theories. The description of the method known as multiple correlation analysis—is followed by three examples of its application to economic phenomena. These examples relate to fluctuations in total investment, residential building and net investment in railway rolling stock. The results obtained in the elaboration of these three examples must prove of interest to students of the trade cycle. They are, however, only incidental to the primary objects of M. Tinbergen's work, which are to explain the system of statistical analysis employed and to arouse discussion concerning it that may prove of value in the execution of the work.

X

**THE TRUE INDIA: A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING; By C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price: Cloth 6s; stiff boards 3s. 6d. Pp. Crown 8vo. 251.**

The author, who probably knows India more intimately than, and certainly as intimately as, any living European, writes in the preface to his book.

"For more than ten years, a succession of books has come from the Press both in America and Great Britain condemning the morals of India and pointedly attacking Hinduism as a debased religion.

"These have caused great offence in India itself, and have led to a very serious misunderstanding. The replies that were published in India had only a small circulation, and therefore the misunderstanding has remained India's own case has very nearly gone by default.

"For this reason I have often been urged, as a friend of India, to make known the truth as I have seen it, so that those who desired in all sincerity to know the facts might be able to do so. After long hesitation, it seemed to me at last that the time had come to undertake this, and therefore this book has been written."

He continues—

"In these days of world bitterness and confusion, it is more than ever necessary for peace-lovers to build up, wherever possible, bulwarks of sincere goodwill to withstand the rushing tide of hatred between nations. Sensational and unfair literature does immeasurable harm by sowing up hostility among masses of people who feel that their own country and their own religion have both been unjustly attacked. Naturally their desire has been to answer back. But mere retaliation can do no good, and what I have aimed at is to build up a constructive picture of Indian life which shall express the truth and at the same time expose some of the fallacies on which this sensational literature has been based."

It would be possible for a well-informed Hindu to place before the public a more thoroughgoing defence of India and Hinduism than that contained in this book. Such defence in the form of elaborate books was in fact published shortly after the publication of Catherine Mayne's infamous books. But whatever the other merits of these books, some of them suffered to some extent from the spirit of resentment, retaliation and recrimination which naturally found expression in them. Moreover, they did not reach the world public outside India, and perhaps were not considered sober and convincing statements of facts if for no other reason than they came from the 'accused' party.

The book under notice does not suffer from any such drawback. It is written by a devout Christian who is not Indian by race or birth. He belongs to Great Britain, which he loves deeply and dearly. There is no bitterness and recrimination in it. It is handy and can be read through from the first page to the last in the course of a day's leisure. And it is written by a man who knows

of stretching out only the thumb, the little finger is also stretched, it brings a better impression of a tiger's mouth wide agape with its jaws. (Fig. B2).

Kūrma (tortoise) is expressed by placing the palms of two hands across each other and bending the tips of the thumbs and the little fingers according to Abhinaya Darpana (Sloka 197), (Fig. C1). But the correct formation would be by clasping the middle and the third fingers of the two hands with each other and then by touching the tips of the little finger of the right with the forefinger of the left, the forefinger of the right with the thumb of the left and the other two remaining fingers touching the sides of the opposite palms (Fig. C2).

The *Mirror of Gestures* again errs by mentioning Matsya and Makara hands in the same manner. Makara is stated by placing one hand on the back of another, palm downwards, and then outstretching the two thumbs. This may bring a depiction of a Matsya (fish), but it fails to represent a Makara. It should be by placing one hand on the back of another, palm downwards, outstretching the thumbs, extending the two middle fingers while the other fingers are closed to the palm.

Ardhasūchī is represented in Abhinaya Darpana by moving the thumb above the forefinger and the other three fingers are bent into the palm (Sloka 167) (Fig. D1). A Tamil version states that Ardhasūchī (half-needle) occurs when the forefinger is raised, the thumb outstretched and the other three fingers are bent into the palm. This then instead of representing half-needle expresses Chandrakalā or the digit of the moon. Both the statements fail to depict the desired object. The correct formation would be to raise the forefinger, the thumb touching the forefinger at the middle and the other three fingers are bent into the palm (Fig. D2).

It is not necessary that one should go strictly by the tradition, because there is a vast

difference in theory from the practical expositions. So a correct hand gesture should be learnt from an expert who can demonstrate before the disciple's eyes. There is also a greater scope for the dancer and a privilege is given to him that in order to show a thing which is not mentioned in the books of dancing, he can exert his brain and find out a new way, but that newly found gesture must be picturesque and not meaningless. There should be reason all the while.

Innumerable statues of gods and goddesses are found which depict certain meaningless gestures. The sculptors of these statues did not dilate much upon the traditional gestures and their interpretations, but their chief aim was to create a thing of beauty and art. The hand gestures of the following images neither express nor depict anything, but even then they are considered as the most beautiful pieces of art simply for the picturesque poses, viz., Bramhā, (from near Mirpur Khas, Punjab, Bronze, Gupta period, 6th century), Avalokiteshvara (Bodhisattva, copper, gilt and jewelled, c. 11th century and also a bronze one in Ceylon of 8th century), Sundaramurti Swami, devotee of Shiva (Copper, from Polonnaruwa, c. 13th century), Pārvatī (Copper, South Indian, c. 17th century) and so on.

Uday Shankar, the talented student of Indian dance, uses freely the gestures having his eye upon artistic beauty. He is more original than faithful to the Shastri principles. Some of the gestures which he indulges in are not sanctioned by the authorities on the art of dancing. Kathakali and Tanjore school of dancing of South India claim the use of actual Shastri gestures. To a certain extent these schools have retained their purity. At times the expression is meaningless and a good many gestures codified in the Sanskrit book are performed in an absolutely different way. Kathak dancing of Lucknow and Delhi can be said to be devoid of the ancient and classic gestures; the gestures this school practises are the inventions of the teachers and these are crude and meaningless.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**STATISTICAL TESTING OF BUSINESS CYCLE THEORIES: VOLUME I. A METHOD AND ITS APPLICATION TO INVESTMENT ACTIVITY.** By J. Tinbergen, *League of Nations, Information Section*. Pp. 164. Price 3/6d; \$9.00

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has published this Volume, which is the first instalment of a short series of publications to follow up Professor Gottfried von Haberler's scholarly work, "Prosperity and Depression," which was published by the Economic Intelligence Service in 1937. In that book Professor von Haberler, who is now at Harvard University, examined the different existing theories concerning the nature of what is currently termed the trade cycle, with a view to ascertaining what they had in common, the points at which differences arose, and in so far as possible the causes of those differences. Its publication constituted the completion of the first stage of an enquiry into the nature and causes of the trade cycle that had been begun some years earlier. The second stage was to consist of an attempt to confront those theories with the historical facts, to subject them, in so far as those facts can be quantitatively expressed to statistical analysis, or, in so far as they cannot be so expressed, to compare them with the recounted records of the past.

The Volume prepared by Professor J. Tinbergen, who was seconded for this purpose from the Central Statistical Bureau of the Netherlands, forms an introduction to the work which has since been begun and which is concerned with the statistical testing of the assumptions and propositions that are essential to the main business cycle theories. The primary object of the Volume is to explain the method which, subject to any suggestions that may be received, it is proposed to employ for the statistical testing of trade cycle theories. The description of the method known as multiple correlation analysis—is followed by three examples of its application to economic phenomena. These examples relate to fluctuations in total investment, residential building and net investment in railway rolling stock. The results obtained in the elaboration of these three examples must prove of interest to students of the trade cycle. They are, however, only incidental to the primary objects of M. Tinbergen's work, which are to explain the system of statistical analysis employed and to arouse discussion concerning it that may prove of value in the execution of the work.

X

**THE TRUE INDIA: A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING:** By C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price: Cloth 6s.; stiff boards 3s. 6d. Pp. Crown 8vo. 251.

The author, who probably knows India more intimately than, and certainly as intimately as, any living European, writes in the preface to his book:

"For more than ten years, a succession of books has come from the Press both in America and Great Britain condemning the morals of India and pointedly attacking Hinduism as a debased religion.

"These have caused great offence in India itself, and have led to a very serious misunderstanding. The replies that were published in India had only a small circulation, and therefore the misunderstanding has remained India's own case has very nearly gone by default.

"For this reason I have often been urged, as a friend of India, to make known the truth as I have seen it, so that those who desired in all sincerity to know the facts might be able to do so. After long hesitation, it seemed to me at last that the time had come to undertake this, and therefore this book has been written."

He continues:—

"In these days of world bitterness and confusion, it is more than ever necessary for peace-lovers to build up, wherever possible, bulwarks of sincere good-will to withstand the *inrushing tide of hatred between nations*. Sensational and unfair literature does immeasurable harm by stirring up hostility among masses of people who feel that their own country and their own religion have both been unjustly attacked. Naturally their desire has been to answer back. But mere retaliation can do no good, and what I have aimed at is to build up a constructive picture of Indian life which shall express the truth and at the same time expose some of the fallacies on which this sensational literature has been based."

It would be possible for a well-informed Hindu to place before the public a more thoroughgoing defence of India and Hinduism than that contained in this book. Such defence in the form of elaborate books was in fact published shortly after the publication of Catherine Mayo's infamous books. But whatever the other merits of these books, some of them suffered to some extent from the spirit of resentment, retaliation and recrimination which naturally found expression in them. Moreover, they did not reach the world public outside India, and perhaps were not considered sober and convincing statements of facts if for no other reason than they come from the "accused" party.

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his subject, has the right to be considered on authority on what he writes, and is in his own way an international humanitarian. The maligners of India wrote their books in the interest of Great Britain as they imagined or understood. And Mr. Andrews, too, may be rightly taken to have written his book in the true interest of Great Britain—and of India and all the world beside.

Besides the Preface, Introduction and three Appendices (I. Tagore's Letter, II. A Letter to *The Times*, III. *The Slaves of the Gods*), the book contains chapters on The Accusation, Glaring Misstatements, The National Awakening, The New Spirit, Village India, Social Restraint, The Joint Family, Caste in India, Marriage and Caste, Child Marriage, Women's Rights, The Depressed Classes, The Poverty of India, The Problem of Population, Kalighat, Hinduism as a Religion, The Hindu-Muslim Question, Indian Character, The Unity of India, and The Two Civilizations.

Among the signal services rendered to India by Mr. C. F. Andrews not the least is this book.

**THE PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIA: A STUDY IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP** By Leonard M. Schiff, *Quality Press, Ltd., Essex Street, London* Pp. Demy 8vo. xi+196. Cloth. Price 6s. net.

Englishmen and other foreigners generally have a pitifully poor and inaccurate knowledge of India. What little they know is often derived from the distorted propaganda books written by interested parties. Mr. Leonard M. Schiff's work is a book of an altogether different kind. He has worked in India for ten years and has gathered his information mostly at first hand. Hence Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly said in his Foreword.

"This book written by an Englishman who has spent many years in India in intimate contact with the masses, moving with them and yet detached in outlook, is valuable in giving us a glimpse of the real problem. Leonard M. Schiff has treated his subject, as it should be treated, as a problem of social relationships, and thus brought out many factors which we are otherwise apt to overlook. It is immaterial whether we agree or disagree with all his opinions or judgments. They are based on knowledge and an intimate study at close quarters of the Indian scene. They are obviously sincere attempts to find out the truth. As such they are worth while for all of us, and will help us to think straight and understand some of what the significance of much that is happening in India."

Besides his Introduction the author written chapters on the Kisan (peasant or cultivator), Mazdoor (factory worker, artisan, etc.), Babu (the Intelligentsia or Literate Middle Class), Rajah (the Ruling Chiefs or Princes), Sahib (Englishmen and other Western Foreigners), Musahab (Religion, Communism, etc.), and a concluding chapter in the form of a letter to an average Englishman, being a sort of appeal in which the author shows the cultural, political, social and economic interdependence of England and India, their reciprocal problems and solutions.

Congressmen and others should take note of some of the author's observations. For example, he says:

"If communal tension is to be lessened, the Congress will have to mark its steps very carefully. There must be no attempt to dictate in matters of language or culture. Such freedom need not lead to disunity, e.g., in U. S. S. R. there is the fullest freedom of language and culture and culture for the various races which make up the Union."

There are minor inaccuracies in the book; for example, where on page 120 he states that there are more than 6000 States in India of varying importance. The figure ought to be more than 600 (six hundred). An

Index would have greatly added to the usefulness of the work, which is undoubtedly valuable.

**IF WAR COMES (AN ESSAY ON INDIA'S MILITARY PROBLEMS)** By B. P. Adarkar, M.A. (Cantab.), *Adam Smith Prizeman, Cambridge University; Reader in Economics, Allahabad University, Formerly Professor of Economics, Benares Hindu University; Author of "The Principles and Problems of Federal Finance," "The Theory of Monetary Policy," "The Elements of the Indian Constitution," and "The Indian Monetary Policy."* Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. 1939. Demy 8vo, pp. xxix+306. 7 Maps and 12 interesting illustrations. Cloth. With many-coloured pictorial jacket. Price Rs 2-3.

We understand that Professor Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., was associated with the writing of this book for six months, and he has contributed to it a Foreword of 34 pages. This has added greatly to the scientific value of the book.

Professor Saha's Foreword is not concerned merely with the discussion of military matters. He has something to say on *ahimsa* also, and quotes many verses from the *Gita* to elucidate Srikrishna's message on it. As regards the attitude of the Buddha, Dr. Saha quotes the entire dialogue of Simba, a General and the Tathagata (Buddha). We quote the two concluding paragraphs:

"And the Blessed one continued: 'The Tathagata teaches that all warfare in which man tries to slay his brother is lamentable, but he does not teach that those who go to war, in a righteous cause, after having exhausted all means to preserve the peace, are blameworthy. He must be blamed who is the cause of war.'

"The Tathagata teaches a complete surrender of self, but he does not teach a surrender of anything to those powers that are evil, be they men or gods or the elements of nature. Struggle must be, for all life is a struggle of some kind. But his that struggles should look to it lest he struggle in the interest of self against truth and righteousness."

The first part of the book deals with the changing technique of war, and the second with the planning of Indian defence. The changing technique of war is described in detail with reference to the technique of aerial warfare, the aerial armageddon, the command of the oceans, the mechanization of the armies, the new instruments of war, the warring camps of the world, and the Sino-Japanese war and its moral. The planning of Indian defence is considered and outlined under the headings: India and the Coming World War, The Acquirements of War, India's Man Power, The Financing of Defence, and the Wheels of Industry. Appendix A is a note on Air Raid Protection, and Appendix B "Some Notes on the Indian Army." The Bibliography at the end of the book is useful. Those who want to consult the book before or after reading it will feel the absence of an index.

The book is a very timely publication. The central and provincial Governments should supply copies of it to those Officers who ought to be acquainted with its contents. The English knowing section of the Indian public should read it. And it ought to be placed in the hands of the students of the Bhoins Military School at Nasik.

The price has been kept low in order to popularize the contents of the volume.

D.

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA** By K. V. Punniah. Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. 1933. Pp. 409.

A great American historian once said that India is not only the greatest example of imperialism, but one of the gravest problems of imperialism. What is being done



to liquidate this imperialism? Does the new constitution show the way out?

The *Constitutional History of India* by K. V. Punniah is another addition to the dubious pile of books which hail the London-made constitution almost as the political salvation of India. Sri Punniah, who is a Lecturer in the Department of History, Economics and Politics of the Andhra University, tells of the various political concessions which have been made in India. As a University Teacher, he tries to be objective. Yet he writes at times with a marked slant. He is all in favor of the proposed federation and holds that its notoriously reactionary features "will vanish like mist before the sun." Non-co-operation and passive resistance he detests. Playing the prophet, he asserts that India will win "Swaraaj" or self-government within a couple of decades and will live happily ever after as a part of the British Empire. No more greed, lying and looting. Millenniums of peace, progress and democracy. Tell that to the marines!

It does not occur to the Anglophiles and English-speaking and English worshipping Indians that the Government of India Act (1935) does not touch the heart of the problem. They are content to be the loud speakers of foreign imperialism. They apologize for the English. At least they let the English rulers of India off by saying that they are doing as best as is possible under the existing conditions. Had any of the European dictators done some of the things that were done in India, most Englishmen would be itching to remove the dictator's skin. But the Indian apologists of the English are unconvincing. They do not know the English.

The Leen American observer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his *English Traits* remarked that Englishmen cannot see readily beyond England and that "English principles" mean a primary regard to English interests. "There is cramp limitation in their habit of thought, sleepy routine, and a tortoise's instinct to hold hard to the ground with his claws, lest he should be thrown on his back. There is a drag of inertia which resists reform in every shape."

How long will routine and inertia stand in the way of India's attaining its destiny? Inevitably, India will remain an explosive factor in world politics so long as its demands are denied.

Sri Punniah is a shade above the average ranting "Moderate," but now and again he hits the nail below the belt. His attitude toward the government (reverently spelled with capital "G") is nearly one of religious faith—just the sort of thing a cock-eyed imperialist tycoon would urge. His book is a pedagogical statement of facts and nerve facts. It does not seem that he has read very widely and winnowed wisely. The study of constitutional history may be, as he claims, of "absorbing interest"; but his book is not. It also lacks an index.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND FROM THE CONVENTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT TO THE RESTORATION 1643-1660:** By F. K. Jordan, Ph.D. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pages 560 Price 21s

For centuries the human race has striven for toleration and still is groping towards it. The best brains have tried to find its intellectual justification and armies have endeavored to establish it by force. How far we have advanced along the road towards final achievement it is difficult to say. The struggle still goes on though the names of the contending parties have changed.

The divine Plato saw the justification for tolerance in the vastness of the Universe. No individual intellect can fathom the great variety of co-mic forces. Hence

no individual philosophic system can present an adequate explanation of the Universe. The moral of his writings is that "all points of view, reasonably coherent and in some sense with an application, have something to contribute to our understanding of the Universe, and also involve emissions. Whereby they fail to include the totality of evident fact."

Dr. Whitehead observes in his masterly treatise, "Adventures of Ideas," that the first important pronouncement in which tolerance is associated with moral fervour is to be found in the Parable of the Tares and the Wheat. The wise husbandman, the compassionate and tolerant God, the Father of Mankind, who gives rain and sunshine to both the wicked and the good, bears patiently with the evil that in some mysterious way has made an appearance in his field, until the day of the harvest. There seems to be a law of growth that human character develops only in an atmosphere of opposition and of strife. "The duty of tolerance is our finite homage to the abundance of inexhaustible novelty which is awaiting the future and to the complexity of accomplished fact which exceeds our stretch of insight" (Dr. Whitehead: *Adventure of Ideas*, page 65).

The book we are reviewing and which is the third volume of the series, presents a detailed account of the struggle, lasting for over a century, for the establishment of religious toleration in England. The mass of detail defies summary presentation but few outstanding conclusions should be mentioned. The part played in the final achievement by various sects of the Christian Church is masterfully treated. "The conception of an exclusive and infallible Establishment which should seek by persecution and coercive power to compel the nation to the acceptance of a singular definition of the contents and limits of the Christian faith was demolished for all time." The dangers a National Church claiming to speak in the name of God were clearly seen. Certain privileges and prerogatives were preserved by the National Church; privileges which in the course of years were lost as totally inconsistent with the fundamental position.

A cruel civil war was fought in order "to expand the freedom and liberty of Englishmen in the area of political and religious liberation." The value of this achievement can be appreciated as are the conditions prevailing in some continental countries of Europe where, even in the last century, liberalism in religion was held to be sinful. In England, "political liberalism and religious toleration were to remain inextricably bound throughout all modern religious history." How well and truly were the foundations laid is shown by developments in our own times. England remains the stronghold of political liberalism and of its sequel democracy; while in the continent civil liberty has been seriously curtailed if not actually destroyed. Religious persecution in the continent is an offshoot of political intransigency. The totalitarian state has assumed the role both of Poulhax Maximus and of Cromwellian Dictator.

Another result of the inquiry is the confirmation of the great dictum that perpetual vigilance is required to maintain the achievements of the past. The citizens of today have to keep a watchful eye on the victories of their ancestors. They have to struggle to hand over the torch of freedom to the rising generations of men.

This monumental work should supply the needed stimulus to exertion and watchfulness. Our ancestors suffered the cruelties of war to lay down the solid foundations upon which the edifice of religious toleration was reared in England. Can we allow this magnificent structure to be pulled down through our apathy and inertia?

P. G. BRIDGE

ANCIENT INDIA (FROM 900 B.C. TO 100 A.D.) VOL. I: By Tribhuvandas L. Shah. Published by Shashikant & Co., Baroda. 1938. Pp. 386.

It is nothing short of a tragic spectacle to see an author spending energies and resources upon a task for which he is wholly unequipped by nature and training. The volume before us, the first of the four volumes in which the author proposes to deal with the history of ancient India for 1,000 years (900 B.C. to 100 A.D.) is a glaring instance of such a tragedy. The author has very little knowledge of Indian history and lacks altogether a historic sense and critical spirit. Yet his enthusiasm and love for the country have induced him to undertake a responsibility the magnitude of which, unfortunately, he could not realise on account of his ignorance of the subject. His ignorance is only equalled by his vanity. He has found fault with all the preceding writers on the subject, and boldly asserted his aim to be "to remove all the above deficiencies in the form of breaks, misgivings and misinterpretations and to present before the reader the whole 'history' of 1,000 years in a connected link. Two more sentences may be quoted from the long self-adulatory appeal issued by the author "The whole book is therefore, full of bombshell like and astounding theories" "Every page bristles with novel theories hitherto not advanced by any other writer." This description is fairly accurate, but unfortunately these theories are hardly supported by any evidence worth the name. Among his novel theories may be mentioned (1) that Sandracottus, who met Alexander in B. C. 327 is not Chandra Gupta; (2) the author of the Rock and Pillar Edicts is not Ashok (sic) but Priyadarshin; (3) Pushyamitra Sunga never ascended the throne, (4) Sanchi and Bharhut stupas do not belong to Buddhism, etc.

The book does not deserve serious consideration. On page 11 of the preface the author mentioned the faults, eight in number, which the readers of his book may be inclined to find in it. I entirely agree with this analysis though additions might easily be made to his list. Unfortunately, his elaborate explanation of these 'charges' is quite unconvincing. It is the bounden duty of those persons whose favourable opinion encouraged him to undertake the task to restrain him from bringing out the other volumes.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ITS PRACTICAL WORKING UP TO THE YEAR 1657. By Ibn Hasan, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Oxford University Press 1936.

It is a posthumous publication of the doctorate thesis of a very promising young scholar whose untimely death is a great loss to our country. The author has in this book studied in detail the central administrative machinery and its working under our three Emperors, Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjahan from original Persian sources with which his acquaintance was both wide and thorough. The most notable feature of this book in our opinion is its freedom from passion and prejudice, and also the spirit of advocacy which some scholars display in studying our Medieval History from a certain point of view.

Ibn Hasan's book may not read strikingly original because Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration* has already made us familiar with the subject chosen by Ibn Hasan.

Nevertheless, this book has a peculiar charm and freshness of its own, and is undoubtedly a distinct contribution to the study of Mughal Administration. It will prove a very useful companion study to the political history of the three great Mughal emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Sir E. Dennison Ross justly

remarks, "I think it may be claimed that no source, whether Indian or English, has escaped him, and as far as regards the Mughal administration at headquarters, this book covers the whole ground in a manner never before attempted . . ." (Foreword).

The book under review opens with an introductory chapter in which the author has discussed the scope of his work and the sources on which it is based, traced the influence of the geography of India upon People and Government and given us a very able survey of political experiments and lessons of three centuries of Muslim rule prior to the foundation of the Mughal empire. The main body of the book is divided into three parts of which part II is longest and perhaps the most valuable contribution of the author. In part I the author deals with "the King and his position in the State," and the sovereign's personal share in the State business; in part II with various Departments of the Central Government and the position of ministers and checks imposed on their power; and in part III with the Judicial system. The author's viewpoint as indicated by "The King is the Khalifa of God. He rules by divine right" (p. 65), should be taken as what the Mughal emperors and their court historians understood the sovereign's position should be in relation to their subjects; though it ran counter to the orthodox Muslim conception of the State and the position of the Caliph. Ibn Hasan has given us well-tested facts without comments of his own and as such the historical treatment of his subject will prove more useful than otherwise it would have been. The book under review is peculiarly free from errors of fact. We would only like to point out, on p. 74 he should have made it clear that Palayau is Palaman in Chottnagpur; Jharoka of Diwan-i-Am is the Throne Balcony which is not likely to be known to the general reader. It is not also historically correct that "the custom of open darbar was a great step to create a closer contact and direct connexion between the people and the king, a fact which was entirely ignored by the rulers of the Delhi sultanate" (p. 83). Open darbars held in public were very common in pre-Mughal times, and rulers like Iltutmish, Balban and Sher Shah did much to establish a close contact with their subjects. We are also unable to agree with the author in his analysis of the defects of the Mughal government (pp. 358-360).

However, Ibn Hasan's work has been an unequalled success so far as the essential portion of it is concerned. Capable Muslim scholars are so few in this field of research that every serious student of Medieval Indian history will take the untimely close of such a promising career almost as a personal loss. May Ibn Hasan's soul rest in peace and his fame endure till eternity!

K.

MILESTONES IN GUJARATI LITERATURE: By Dewan Bahadur Krishnadas Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., J.P. Published by Messrs N. U. Tripathi & Co., Bombay 1933. Price Rs. 2-8.

All students of Gujarati literature owe a debt of gratitude to Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri for his account of it published about a quarter of a century ago. Since then the author has not rested on his oars, but erected "further milestones," and his output in the review of it has been a measure of the constancy of his devotion and alertness of mind,—qualities hard to match. He deserves all honourable mention among those who are engaged in the study of modern Indian languages, and his work still retains its position as an invaluable guide to one of them.

The publication of the second edition under review shows how he has enlarged upon the previous account.

Not only has the volume gained in bulk (about 125 pages have been added), but it has also been enriched in references, the contents have been given in detail and the new bibliography is considerable. Dewan Bahadur has spared no pains to make the book thorough. He has stopped at the first half of the nineteenth century, leaving to other writers to treat of Gujarati literature under western influence or of modern times.

There are some remarks which have persisted in the new edition and which require comment. The author's criticism of Dayaram's erotic poetry on page 318 may be construed as a condemnation of all Vaidhava poems in which *madhur bhav* predominates. This particular variety of mysticism, found in the best poetry of the world, in different ages and climates, may not be lightly dismissed as frank eroticism thinly veiled. The poetry of Hafiz has been referred to in this context. It is notorious that his contemporaries could not all judge him rightly. But writers who have the benefit of a wider survey of the world's poetry, and of this particular variety, may not brush it off as 'carnal'. Dayaram's poetry contains nothing specially fleshy about it. If Dayaram is a suspect on account of his life's tenor, a parallel might be cited in the case of the English poet, Donne, whose previous career after pleasure had not falsified his spirit of religious devotion that bloomed later.

On pages 326-7, the author discusses one characteristic of the poetic style of Dayaram and his disciples—explaining a word by its synonym or equivalent. This characteristic, it is, as the author himself notices, common to *Puranas* or those who explain or discourse on the *Puranas*. It need not be supposed as bearing the stamp of any age, except the age in which Puranic discourses are very much in vogue.

On page 350, writing on Bhaddali's sayings, Dewan Bahadur cites the *सुक्ति* or season poems in the very early literature of Bengal as 'an exact counter part'. This is hardly correct. The season poems, for one thing, are not included within (or confined to) the 'very early literature of Bengal'; for another, 'an exact counterpart' may be had in the sayings of Dak or, better still, of Khana, the legendary daughter of the distinguished astrologer, just as Bhaddali of *सुक्तिविजय* had been.

In spite of such criticism, however, the book will be welcome to all who, ignorant of the language of the provinces, delight in studying the literature of India, not classical, but modern; and the material made available by the Dewan Bahadur in these pages may be also suitably utilised in comparing notes by Indian scholars living outside the province, of the literature of which it is a record.

P. R. SEV

**SINO JAPANESE WARFARE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:** By Edward S. Rubinow. *Geneva Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 3. Geneva Research Centre, 14, Avenue de France, Geneva, Switzerland. Pages 92. Price \$0.04 or 1.75 Swiss francs.

This study presents a survey of the various attempts of the League of Nations to promote rational bases for the settlement of the Far Eastern conflict. The author does not attempt to formulate conclusions regarding the League's failure to intervene effectively in the cause of peace, but presents merely a factual chronology of events at Geneva and Brussels.

In a brief introduction the author summarises the events which preceded the incident at Lukouchiao on the night of July 7-8, 1937, the period from the summer of 1934 to the beginning of the hostilities in 1937 being covered.

The body of the study is divided into three parts. The first of these covers the activities in Geneva of the

Far East Advisory Committee, the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations from the time of the Lukouchiao incident, with the Chinese Government's subsequent appeal to the League, up to the time of the League's decision to bring about the convocation of a conference at Brussels in accordance with the Nine-Power Treaty. Certain of the League's more important pronouncements during this period are reproduced in full. The second part of the study is a survey of the proceedings of the Nine-Power Conference and incorporates such matters as the declarations of the leading delegates, the Japanese note of refusal to participate, and the two resolutions adopted by the Conference. The third part of the study deals with events subsequent to the Brussels Conference, particularly the Chinese appeal to the 100th session of the Council in February, 1938, and sets forth the Council's pronouncements on the Sino-Japanese question.

P

**FOR INDIA AND ISLAM.** By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Chatterjee Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1937. Pages xi+156. Price Re. 1.

Mr Rezaul Karim is one of the very few Nationalist-Muhammadans to be found in Bengal. He was a Nationalist, and he remains a Nationalist, even when it is fashionable and politically gainsome for a Muhammadan to be a Communalist. These essays which appeared in the Calcutta dailies from time to time to meet the requirements of the hour, did not merit oblivion and rightly deserved a more permanent place in our political library; and the author has, under the advice of Sir P. C. Ray, collected and presented them to the reader in a well-printed and well got-up book form. They deal with various topics: from Toleration in Islam to Prince Dara Sikho's Philosophy of Life, from Has Gandhism Failed? to Who Suppressed the Muslims? from H. H. Aga Khan's Mission to the Genesis of the Communal Award, etc., etc. Whether one agrees with the author or not, one is convinced of the sincerity of the writer. They are written from the viewpoint of a Muhammadan addressing a warning to the brother Muhammadans to abandon the beaten track in politics and to adopt a vigorous and manly course.

J. M. DATTA

**THE TRANSFER OF PROPERTY ACT, IV OF 1932, AS MODIFIED UPTO 1ST APRIL, 1930:** By Mr. Dadasaheb Jagan Vaid, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Original Side, Bombay High Court. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. of Bombay. Price Rs. 14 nett.

The book is essentially the practical work of a busy solicitor of 25 years' experience, for the benefit of draftsmen and conveyancers in drafting and disentangling vexed questions on conveyancing. The learned author has not merely dealt with the sections and the principles established by authoritative decisions, but laid before the practitioner, especially a solicitor and his office, a practical book dealing with the solution of problems arising at the desk and in Court.

The book will undoubtedly safeguard the conveyancer against pitfalls to which he may be exposed and will give him a clear idea to frame requisitions on title. Solicitors will find this book as a safe guide.

Changes effected by the Amending Act, XX of 1929 have all been noted and discussed. The value of the book has been enhanced by a copious and exhaustive index with cross references.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

**SHAKTI-VISHISTADVAITA OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF VIRASATVISM.** SRI KASHINATH

district of Midnapur. In this connection Sriyut Harendranath Datta, President of the Parishad, has thanked Mr. B. N. Sen, magistrate of Midnapur, for his friendliness and helpfulness. Sriyut Harendranath Datta has contributed a general preface to all the volumes. The last volume to be published will contain a general introduction by him, an introduction on the author's historical novels, an introduction on Bankim Chandra's literary genius by Professor Mohit Lal Majumdar, and a paper by Professor Dr. Kal das Nig on the translations of Bankim Chandra's works in different languages which have so far appeared.

Each volume is being reprinted from the last edition published during the author's life time, with the different readings, to be found in all previous editions, given in an appendix. This means great labour and carefulness on the part of the editors. They are also contributing an editorial introduction to each volume, separately written for it, containing many little known or previously unknown facts. Their introductions show literary insight.

Sriyut Harendranath Bandyopadhyaya is engaged in compiling a bibliography of Bankim Chandra's works and a history of the different editions filed and the services rendered by the latter as a Government servant in different parts of the province of Bengal, and his co-worker Sriyut Sajnikanta Das is preparing a biography of the great author and a list of the books and articles relating to him which have been hitherto published. Both these undertakings of the two editors involve considerable labour.

This Centenary Edition will include all the Bengali and English writings of Bankim Chandra which have not yet been brought together and published in book form or which still remain in manuscript, as well as his letters.

(1) *Durgesh nandini*. Pp 166+xi. Price Rs. 2. Besides the features common to all the volumes, which will not be separately mentioned hereafter, it contains an introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. It was the author's first novel.

(2) *Kapala-kundala*. Another novel. Pp 103+vi. Price Rs. 1-4.

(3) *Mrinalini*. A novel. Pp 143+vi. Price Rs. 2.

(4) *Anandamath*. A novel, famous for containing the "Bande Mataram" song. Pp 159+xxiv. Contains an introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar relating to historical novels, Appendix I (History of the Sannyasi Rebellion, from "Wrenn Hastings' Letters in Clive's Memoirs"), and Appendix II (History of the Sannyasi Rebellion, from "The Annals of Rural Bengal"). Price Rs. 1-12.

(5) *Kamalakanta*. Pp 131+xx. Price Rs. 1-8. This volume contains the scrapbooks of Kamalakanta (an "opium-eater"), Kamalakanta's Letters, Kamalakanta's Deposition, and an appendix "Nakats" (Cuckoo). It is a unique work of humour, plain speaking and patriotism.

(6) *Byasana rahasya* (Mysteries of Science). Pp. 57+vi. Price annas twelve.

(7) *Sanya* (Equality). Pp. 47+vi. Price annas twelve. This discourse on Equality was published by the author only once. He did not want to publish it again.

**BAŅGĀ BĪASHA PARICHĀYA (INTRODUCTION TO THE BENGALI LANGUAGE).** By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the University of Calcutta. Selected for use and Prescribed by the Visva Bharati Loka-vishva Sansad. Pp. Demy 8vo 11+180. Price not mentioned.

This original work on the Bengali language is marked by the author's usual charm of style, with occasional play of humour unexpected in a linguistic book. That a man of great poetic genius should also be capable of not only observing but also storing in his memory minutiae relating to various peculiarities and special features of the Bengali language is particularly noteworthy. There was a time when writers of Bengali grammar did not notice that

Bengali had roots and suffixes of its own, apart and different from Sanskrit roots and suffixes. Those days are gone. The author has drawn attention to some of these roots and the suffixes.

He has dwelt on the mystery of the origin or creation of human language; on the genesis of the Bengali language; on words as the constituent parts of language; on words as symbols of the things, ideas or qualities denoted or connoted by them; on the poetic use of metaphor and simile; on some kinds of Bengali poetical works, known as *mangal kavyas*; on metres; on the sounds of some Bengali letters; on the changes in the sounds of some vowels as brought about by vowels preceding or following them; on gender and number and case-endings in Bengali; on Bengali metre; on some signs of degeneracy in literature; on the importance of Sanskrit as a cultural connecting link all over India; on the origin of our use of the equivalents of the words motherland and mother-tongue; on the importance of a mother-tongue in addition to a *lingua Indica*; on Bengali as spoken and as written in books, and on various other things too numerous to mention.

As the book has no chapter headings, no table of contents, either brief or elaborate, and no index, it is difficult to give an idea of its contents. The absence of these usual features of modern books does not detract from its excellence, but merely makes it less easy to use and consult. One can read it from beginning to end with interest and profit, but it is difficult to refer to it or consult it as need. We do not suggest that the poet should have been asked by the University to prepare an index or an elaborate table of contents. What we do suggest is that the University should have asked some young scholar versed in linguistic studies to prepare either or both, with the author's approval and under his guidance and directions.

D.

## HINDI

**HARSHAVARDHANA** By Gourishankar Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Allahabad University. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, U. P. 1933. Pp. 289. Price Rs. 2-8.

Harshavardhana is a figure in Indian history who attracts our notice. And it is quite well expected that he should attract our scholars. We have now works written on him. But those did not include up-to-date books written on any Indian vernacular. So we specially welcome this book under notice from the pen of Mr. Chatterjee which is full and up-to-date. Here we get what is expected from an accomplished scholar writing in a scientific method. His account goes as a bright picture of the political, social and cultural life of the 6th and 7th centuries. He has brought under contribution all the available materials, both Indian and foreign. Besides mentioning his sources he quotes the particular passages from Harsha Charita, the official life of the Emperor written by his court poet Banabhatta.

This is the sort of historical works which are bound to enrich the vernacular literatures. We only hope that our author will bring out a Bengali edition of this useful and interesting work.

In fine, we would like to point out that two new incarnations of Sasanka (published in the Bengali journal *Madhab* of Ashadh, 1345 B.S., showing that he ruled over Onesa) and one of Vijayasen, who ruled under Gopachandra, in the 6th century (published in the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, 1314 B.S.) throw new light on the history of Bengal of that age.

RAMEN BASU

# URDU

**ZIKAR-E-GHALIB:** By Malik Ram, M.A. Published by Mokhtoba Jama-e, Delhi. Price As 8.

A short biography of Ghalib, the great nineteenth century poet. We see here what an extremely equequered life was Ghalib's, oscillating between two thrones, and between extremes of wealth and poverty. The story of Ghalib's tragic faith in an alien government is heart break ing.

**SHIBIRAD BHAGWAD GITA:** Translated and published by Iala Balkishan Batta, B.A., LL.B. Editor "Iqbal," Multan. Price As. 6.

A very ordinary translation.

DALRAJ SAHNI

# GUJARATI

(1) **MAHA-KSHATRAP RAJA RUDRADAMA.** (2) **MATHURA NO SINIDHIVAJ:** By Acharya Shri Vajayendra Suri. Published by Yashwantrao Granthmala, Bhavnagar. Paper cover 1933. Pp 82+42 Price Rs. 2 and Re. 1 respectively.

In the first book after considering a number of historical facts, the Acharya Shri comes to the conclusion that the Western Kshatrap Kings have been followers of the Jain religion, and that they had come to India, with the Jain Acharya Kalkacharya from Sistan and hence been under his influence (two centuries before Christ). In the second book he tries to prove that Mathura was also a centre mainly of Jain religion and not Buddhist or Vedic. His arguments are based on certain historical facts and require consideration.

**LALLU:** By Ram. Published by Nalvar Vimalata in the Gandis Kumarmala, Surat. Thick card board. 1939. Pp. 122. Price As. 10

A delightful little story of school-life cricket, where Lallu, an obstinate country boy gets over his obstinacy and makes up with his hearty friend Jamsu and helps him to win the match. The writer shows an intimate knowledge of cricket-technique and juvenile mentality.

(1) **KABIR SAMPRADAYA:** By Kisanbhai G. Chanda. Thick card bound. Pp 197 Price Re. 1.  
(2) **GEOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT: PHYSICAL AND COMMERCIAL:** By Bhogilal G. Mehta, M.Com. Thick card-bound. Pp. 218. With charts and Graphs. 1937. Both published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay.

The first book is an intensive and deep study of Kabir and his cult, made at Saetmuketan and presented in an attractive form in Gujarati including a chapter on the influence exerted on Gujarati literature by Kabir's teachings and philosophy. The second is an admirable handbook on the physical and commercial geography of Gujarat. It gives almost everything wanted for the study of the subject by one who is an entire stranger to it.

**DIWAN BAHADUR RANCHHODBHAI UDAYARAM SHATABDI SMARAK GRANTHI.** Printed at the

Gujarat Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth Bound. Pp. 268. Price Rs 2-8-0 1938.

Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodlal's centenary was observed in 1937 all over Gujarat. He was a prolific writer and the father of modern Gujarati drama. Besides drama, he has written a number of other subjects, including Prosody and Trade. The Luribay Celebration Committee has brought out a memorial volume worthy of the occasion. It contains selections from his own published and unpublished works in addition to what other persons have written about his literary work. Altogether it furnishes in a short compass all that one wants to know about him and his work. It is a valuable contribution to the biographical literature of Gujarat.

K M J

# SINDHI

(1) **DADA-SHIYAN,** (2) **ASHIRVAD** By Shri Sewak Bhaj Rai, Published by Kori Mal Sindhi Sahitya Mandal, Khas Road, Hyderabad (Sindh). Price annas eight each.

Two short, social, sentimental novels, pretty but not satisfying

DALRAJ SAHNI

# BOOKS RECEIVED

**THE INDO JAPANESE BUSINESS DIRECTORY:** Published by Indo Japanese Association, Taihei Building, Uchi-Saiwaicho, Kojimachiku, Tokyo. 1933-39. Printed on art paper, profusely illustrated and nicely bound

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION AND THE SUGGESTION OF AN ALTERNATIVE SCHEME FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION.** By M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Principal, Bahuddin College, Junagadh. Pp 29 1938.

**INTELLIGENCE AND ITS MEASUREMENT** - By S. M. Mohun, M.A., Post Research Scholar in Psychology and Lecturer, Patna College. Published by The All India Federation of Educational Associations. Pp. 28

**A GUIDE TO HINDU DHARMA:** By Pt. Mul Raj Nagar, Journalist, Siolket City, India. Pp. 103. 1939. Price As. 8

**VICTORY (A 14TH CENTURY DRAMA OF RAJPUT CHIVALRY)** - By Rajendra Somnath Lal, B.A. With a Foreword by Hon. Mr. Justice H. V. Dutt, M.A., LL.B., High Court, Bombay. Published by the author from Jagmohan Mansions, New Bhatnagar, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. xii+151. 1939

**HAPPY & MARRIED, HOW:** By Roth Alim, The World Fellowship Club, Karachi. Pp. 73. Price Re. 1.

**THE KALYANA KALPATARU (THE DHARMA-TATVA NUMBER), Vol. VI, No. 1** Pp 336 and 14 Tricolour, 2 Two-colour and 3 Black and White plates, Price Inland Rs 2-8, Foreign 5s.

## MY STRANGE ILLNESS

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE 15th February, 1939. After meeting Mahatma Gandhi at Shegaon and having a long talk with him, I returned to Wardha at about 6 p.m. At night, some friends came to see me and in the absence of anything urgent or important to do, we were having a chat. I had begun to feel unwell, so I took my temperature in their presence. It was 99·4. I did not take it seriously, however.

The next morning, 16th February, I was to leave Wardha for Calcutta. In the morning, instead of feeling fresh, I felt out of sorts. I thought that that was due to disturbed sleep the night before. At Wardha and Nagpur stations, a large number of friends had come to see me and I had no time to think of myself. Only after the train steamed out of Nagpur station did I realise that I was extremely unwell. When I took my temperature this time, it was 101°. So I went straight to bed.

After a couple of hours or so, an Anglo-Indian gentleman came into my compartment. I did not welcome his presence, particularly when I gathered that he would be travelling all the way to Calcutta—because I wanted to be left quite alone with my fever. But there was no help; he had as much right to be there as I had. After a while he looked intently at me and in a kindly tone, asked: "What is wrong with you? You look completely washed out." I replied that I was not feeling well and that I had a temperature. Then he continued, "You are perspiring I see. You must have got influenza."

The whole day and night I lay on my berth, perspiring all the time. Again and again I pondered over his words, "You look completely washed out." How could I look so bad as that? My facial expression always was such that even after a prolonged illness I rarely 'looked' really bad. Besides, how could a day's illness make me look pulled down to such a degree? I was puzzled.

The next morning I got up with a determination to look fit. I went into the bathroom, had a good wash and shave and came out looking somewhat better than the day before. My fellow-passenger sympathetically asked me how I was feeling and after hearing my reply,

remarked, "Yes, you are looking better this morning. Yesterday you were looking completely washed out."

From the station I went home only to find that some friends were waiting to see me. With some exertion I managed to carry on a conversation with them, but by 11 a.m. I felt so tired that I took leave of them and retired. I had to go to bed—the bed I was destined to stick to for several weeks.

The doctor came in and after a thorough examination, shook his head and took a serious view of the case. The pathologist was then sent for and he took specimens of blood, etc. for the usual tests. Later, other doctors were brought in, including the first Physician to the Calcutta Medical College, Sir Nilratan Sircar, etc.

While the doctors were feeling worried about the disease and were taxing their brains as to how best they could combat it, I was concerned more with my public engagements. On the 18th and 19th February, I had public engagements at Hajipur and Muzaffarpur in Bihar and on the 22nd February, the Working Committee of the Congress was to meet at Wardha. I reached Calcutta on the 17th February from Wardha and I was due to leave the same evening for Patna. Telegrams and telephone-calls came in from Bihar enquiring if my previous programme was O.K., and I would adhere to it. I replied in the affirmative, adding that though I was unwell, I would come at any cost. I only wanted that they should cancel all processions and make my programme as light as possible. To my people at home I said that I would leave by the night train for Patna, en route to Hajipur, the same evening (17th February) notwithstanding what the doctors were saying, as I was determined to fulfil my engagements on the 18th and 19th February. On being pressed to listen to medical advice I retorted that I would start even if I had a temperature of 103°. Thereafter I gave instructions for my ticket to be purchased and berth reserved.

But as the hours rolled by, my temperature began to mount up and up. What was worse—a splitting headache got hold of me.

And when the time came for me to start, though everything was ready, I could not lift my head. To my great sorrow I had to humble myself and give up my determination. Telegrams had to be sent regretfully that it was impossible for me to start that night, but that I would make every possible effort to start the following night. The next day my condition was no better, in fact it was worse. Moreover, all arrangements had been upset by my not leaving on the 17th. So the Muzaffarpur tour had to be abandoned altogether. Nothing can describe my deep regret over this unexpected development.

Though Muzaffarpur was out of my programme after the 18th February, my mind was not at ease. I began to plan for the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee. Doctors began to give me repeated warnings that it was impossible to go to Wardha. If I gave up all thought of the Working Committee and concentrated my mind on getting well, I might be able to go to the Tripuri Congress—otherwise, even Tripuri might have to be dropped. But all these warnings were like speaking to a deaf person. My preparations went on despite medical advice, and, thanks to friends, I had an aeroplane ready to take me to Nagpur on or about the 22nd February.

On the 21st, I slowly began to realise that the doctors were right and that it was quite impossible to go to Wardha either by train or by plane. I informed Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel by wire to that effect and suggested postponement of the Working Committee meeting till the Tripuri Congress. At that time I had not the faintest idea that twelve (or thirteen) members of the Working Committee would resign almost immediately.

Much fuss has been made by interested parties over the above two telegrams and it has been alleged that I did not permit the Working Committee to transact even routine business. Such an allegation is altogether unfounded. In the first place, there was nothing in the telegrams to indicate that I did not want the Working Committee to go through routine business. My concern was over the draft resolutions for the Congress, which are usually framed by the Working Committee on the eve of its annual plenary session. In the second place, in my telegram to Sardar Patel, after giving my view regarding postponement, I requested him to ascertain the views of other members and wire same to me. The reply to my telegram was the resignation of twelve members of the Working Committee. If these

members had desired to frame the resolutions for the Tripuri Congress in my absence, I would certainly not have stood in their way. Regarding the transaction of business, if the other members of the Working Committee did not agree with me regarding postponement or if they were in doubt as to what my real intentions were, they could very easily have put through a trunk-call or telegraphed to me. To the transaction of routine business there was not the slightest objection on my part. And as to other and more important business, they would have found, if only they had enquired, that there would have been no obstruction from my side if they had desired to carry on in my absence. My only anxiety was to have such draft resolutions for the Congress prepared by the Working Committee as all the members would agree to—otherwise there was this danger that when the 'official' draft resolutions came up before the Subjects Committee, members of the Working Committee would be found arrayed on different sides. To obtain this unanimity, my presence was necessary when the draft resolutions were being prepared by the Working Committee. Hence I had suggested the postponement of the Working Committee meeting till the Tripuri Congress. My proposal would have worked very well indeed if twelve (or thirteen) members had not responded by throwing the bombshell of resignation.

The following telegram was sent by me to Sardar Patel on the 21st February:

"Sardar Patel, Wardha,

Kindly see my telegram to Mahatmaji. Regretfully feel Working Committee must be postponed till Congress. Please consult colleagues and wire opinion.

Subhas "

But I am sorry that I have digressed. This is not a 'political' article and when I began scribbling, I wanted to write about "My Strange Illness" and to explain why I called my illness "Strange." I shall now continue my story.

Till the evening of the 21st February I was hoping against hope that I would be able to attend the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee or at least fly there on the 22nd. But the doctors had no such worry. For them, Wardha was out of the question—their eyes were on Tripuri. Their one effort was to pull me up to such a condition during the next few days that I could at least undertake the journey to the Tripuri Congress. Sir Nidretn Sircar's bulletin had banned even the Tripuri Congress, but I pleaded and argued with my

I did not wear and there were any number of them. To wear all of them would be tantamount to converting myself into an amulet-exhibition. I was so anxious to be well during the Tripuri Congress that I argued within myself that even if there was a mere five-per cent chance of my getting well by using amulets, why should I miss it? So I compromised with my innate rationalism—but as soon as the Tripuri Congress was over, I relieved myself of the two rings and four amulets. And now my rationalism is safe and I can trust to nature and my luck.

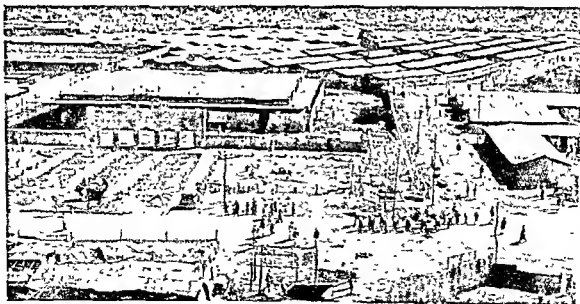
There are certain things about my illness which I at least as a lay man cannot account for. There is no regularity or periodicity. For some days the temperature would begin to rise at noon, reach its maximum at about 6 P.M. and then slowly decline. Next morning it would be normal. Rise of temperature would be accompanied by unbearable headache which would subside only after four or five hours' continuous application of ice. Remission would be accompanied by heavy perspiration and complete prostration. Then suddenly this order would change. Fever would persist day and night without any remission on the one side and high rise on the other. Sometimes the symptoms would point to malignant malaria, sometimes to enteric fever and sometimes to something else. But every time the pathological test would be negative. It one day the

fever shot up to 104 degrees, the next day it would come down to normal and people would expect a permanent remission. But the third day it would mount up again. The arbitrariness of the fever and the variety of symptoms would baffle both doctors and lay men. And the excessive weakness and exhaustion which have got hold of me remain a mystery. Even today I do not think I look half as bad as I really am.

During the last five weeks or more, though I have been cut off from the outside world to a large extent—in another sense I have been in close touch with it. People who have no connection whatsoever with Politics whom I do not personally know at all—people in remote corners of the country—even orthodox Pundits have shown such solicitude and sympathy for me in my illness that I could never imagine I have often asked myself—"What is the bond that binds us? Why do they feel for me? What have I done to merit such affection?" The answer to these questions can be given by them alone.

One thing I know. This is the India for which one toils and suffers. This is the India for which one can even lay down his life. This is the real India in which one can have undying faith, no matter what Tripuri says or does.

Jyamedoha  
Jeelgora P.O.  
Dist. Munbhurn



Tripuri Congress. Subjects Committee Pandit and Camps.



Indian mills are importing over 700,000 bales of these varieties a year."

Before entering upon a discussion of the budget and the Finance Bill, 1939, a few words may be said about the financial system of India. "Finance is not arithmetic. It is a great policy," was an observation rightly made by an eminent financial expert many years ago. It is up to us to examine the manner in which this great policy has been formulated and carried out.

A good financial system has two chief characteristics. In the first place, the taxation is adjusted to the capacity of the people and the incidence of taxation is fair and equitable. In the second place, expenditure is so adjusted as to yield the greatest amount of good to society as a whole. As for the first point, it has often been asked: Has the limit of capacity of the people to pay taxes been passed in India? It has been urged very often by politicians that the limit of taxation has been reached. Personally speaking, I am not quite sure about this fact, but it cannot be denied that already there is a very heavy burden of taxation on the people of the country. As regards incidence, it can be asserted that the tax system is far from equitable. Sir James Grigg admitted the other day that the Indian taxation system was "regressive." He however, took comfort in the observation that in the present condition of the country it must remain so.

Perhaps he meant that, unless the trade and industry of the country is fully developed, the scope of direct taxation in a country must remain extremely limited. That is indeed the real position in India. But what have the Government done to develop the trade, commerce and industry of the country? In the past the Government placed various impediments in the way of the industrialization of the country. Thanks to the adoption of the policy of discriminating protection, however, the industrial situation in the country has to a considerable extent improved in recent times. But Sir James Grigg is a free trader and if he could have had things entirely in his own hands, he would have done his best to set back the hands of the clock so that India might once more become a producer of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods. Even in this Budget we find indications of his desire to do this.

As for expenditure, what should be the ideal in India? In ancient India, according to Kalidasa, the greatest of Indian poets "the king collected taxes from the people only for

doing them good, just as the sun draws moisture from the earth only to give it back a thousand-fold." In the modern world, every advanced country adopts the maximum good of the people as its ideal in the matter of expenditure. But unfortunately, this ideal has not been accepted by the Government in India. It is only sectional interests that have prevailed in this country. If we analyse the items of expenditure in India, what do we find? We find that a large proportion of the revenues of the country goes out of the country without any direct return. A considerable part of the remainder is devoted to the maintenance of a very costly military and civil administration, and it is only the balance which is devoted to the nation-building services. While India has to spend very large sums of money on matters like defence and the police, she spends very small sums on the nation-building activities such as education, sanitation, industrial development, agricultural improvement and other social service programmes. How does the present Finance Member deal with these matters in the present budget? Judged from this point of view of the needs of the country, it appears to be a very disappointing budget. The Finance Member says that he does not believe in imaginative finance. I personally do not believe in imaginative finance, but to follow the old rut is not always the correct policy. Foresight, imagination and courage are essential in budget-making and in properly steering the financial ship of the country. These things have been lamentably lacking in the budget of the present year.

The Finance Member made a boastful claim to the effect that he has retrenched expenditure to a very large extent. I admit, and I always give credit where it is due, that some retrenchment has been effected. I feel thankful for what has been done. But I must confess that the policy of economy has not gone far enough. We do not see in the Budget any indication of the Finance Member's desire to abolish posts which are superfluous. We do not see any attempt on his part to reduce the salaries of Government officers. As it is, the retrenchment which he has carried out has been carried out with the object of financing the military expenditure of the country.

The Finance Member said that India was very fortunate in having been able to escape any addition to her military expenditure. This statement is not wholly correct. What we find is that there is an addition of Rs. 49 lakhs to the

are concerned, I am not sorry that a greater burden has been sought to be placed upon them. But when a greater burden is placed on any section of the community it ought to be made clear to them that this is being done. That has not been done in the budget speech of the Finance Member. The slab-system will benefit the tax-payer with comparatively small incomes. This is a move in the right direction, for when all fair-minded persons will feel thankful to Sir James Grigg. But the removal of the exemption limit regarding Super-tax on Companies can not be supported on grounds of justice and equity. Even the smallest companies will have to pay the tax at the same rate as very big companies, namely, at the rate of one anna. This surely is not a graduated system of taxation. In the interest of the industrial development of the country, therefore, I suggest that the exemption limit should not be abandoned. If necessary, it may be lowered to Rs 25,000.

With regard to large incomes Sir Cowasji Jhangir gave certain figures. He showed that in India the number of persons who had fairly large incomes was something like 329. Now, what is the position in England? From the latest report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in Great Britain it appears that the number of people liable to sur-tax, which is the same as super-tax in this country, rose from 91,000 to 95,000 during the year. Those who could be classed as millionaires, that is persons with incomes above £40,000, or approximately 5½ lakhs of rupees, rose from 529 to 539. I wonder if there is a single person who will answer this description in India. If any exist in this country, their number must be exceedingly small. The total net sur-tax assessed in England rose from 53 million pounds to 57 million pounds in the current year. Thus we find that there is a much greater scope for the imposition of income-tax and super-tax in England than in India. Even the number of persons who pay ordinary income-tax in India is very small. I do not want that there should be millionaires in this country. But what I do want is that people as a whole should be prosperous and there should be millions of people who would be in a position to pay income-tax. But that is not the position now and it is because of that fact that indirect taxation has to be resorted to in this country to a great extent.

Now the question which faces us is whether the deficit which has been disclosed is a real one or not.

It is clear that there has been some under-estimating. The Finance Member himself said

in the course of his budget speech that for the year 1937-38 he resorted to "over-cautious" estimating in the case of the income-tax.

This is practically the same as "under-estimating". Therefore, it is natural to expect that in the coming year's budget also he has adopted the same policy of "over-cautious" estimating in respect of both Customs and Taxes on Income. If that be so, he will do well to withdraw his taxation proposals.

But supposing there is a real deficit, three alternative measures may be suggested which would be better calculated to meet the deficit than the proposal made by the Honourable the Finance Member. The first of these alternative measures is a reduction in the salaries of all officers of Government above a minimum on a graduated scale. It is a well-known fact that the salaries of Government officers in India are higher than those paid even in rich countries, in fact higher than those paid anywhere else in the world. In view of this fact it is absolutely essential in a poor country like India to adopt the policy of reduction of salaries. If that is done, a sufficient sum will be saved which will not only wipe out the deficit but will leave a margin for reduction of taxation. A further saving will arise from the abolition of useless posts. There is a number of well-paid posts which can be abolished without any detriment to the efficiency of the administration. This also should be taken into consideration.

The next suggestion is that the existing arrangement for the grant of relief in respect of double taxation should be withdrawn. In connection with the passing of the Income-tax Bill this matter was urged by many members of the Central Assembly, but it was not accepted by the Government. In view of the coming deficit, it may be hoped that this suggestion will meet with due consideration. It will involve, it is true, an amendment of the Income-tax Act, but if the Government bring forward a proposal, the Act will be amended at a single sitting by the legislature. This will give the Finance Member a sum of about a crore of rupees, that is to say, it will leave in his hands a margin of about half-a-crore after meeting the prospective deficit.

The third suggestion is that all sums of money which are paid out of the Indian treasury in England in payment of interest charges on sterling loans and on pensions of retired officers be subjected to the Indian income-tax. This is needed as much in the

interests of justice and fair-play as in the interests of budget-making. It is true that this will require the amendment of the Government of India Act, but it may be pointed out that the Government of India Act is not immutable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. If the Government of India approach the British Government, the Government of India Act may be amended in the course of a few days. There will be no difficulty in this regard. If there is the will, there will be no difficulty in finding the way. This measure is likely to yield between 1½ crores to 2 crores of rupees.

Thus any one of these measures suggested here will be quite sufficient for meeting the deficit in the budget and for leaving a margin for the reduction of taxation, while a combination of all these measures will be sufficient not only for both these purposes but will leave as a margin a large sum of money for expenditure on the nation-building activities of Government.

Coming to the remission of taxation it is necessary to stress the need for reducing the price of the postcard. Four years ago the writer of this article moved an amendment to the Finance Bill urging the reduction of the price of the postcard from 3 pice to 2 pice, and this amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority. But unfortunately, the Government did not see their way to accept the amendment. The time has now come for them to take a decisive action on this question. I need hardly

say that this is a matter in which there exists in the country a great deal of discontent.

In the concluding portion of his budget speech the Finance Member echoed the *obiter dicta* of the Chief Justice of the Federal Court regarding the need for mutual forbearance between the Provincial Governments and the Central Government with regard to concurrent powers of taxation. It is to be hoped that the Provincial Governments will take due note of this admonition, and that the Central Government will always bear the matter fully in mind. The Finance Member also stressed the necessity for "a release of the stresses operating between race and race and community and community." Although it may be said that this homily came with ill grace from a person who had consistently flouted the opinion of the House and has persistently gone against the public opinion of the country, the country is prepared to welcome his plea for co-operation. Sir James Grigg pleaded for political reconciliation, which, according to him, was needed for the economic welfare of India as well as of the rest of the world. But it must be emphasised that political reconciliation must be based on fairness and justice. If there is a proper approach made from the side of the Government there is likely to be adequate response from the side of the people. Meantime, the attitude of the Government of India and of the British Government towards the criticisms of the present budget will be a test of the sincerity of their desire for reconciliation.



## THE MADRAS FINE ARTS EXHIBITION

By SRIMATI SAKUNTALA THAMPI

ALONG a thronged highway, stands the red-stone buildings of the School of Arts, where dwells a man who dreams with the gods. Mr D. P. Roy Chowdhury, the principal, has created a dream world, a world of the imagination, superior in many ways to the world in which we live, much pleasanter if less substantial.

His colossal statue of the young Maharaja of Travancore, meant to be seen from afar, is a perfect instance of the superiority of sculpture over painting; no mortal can help feeling small before this gigantic figure, and the sensation is intensified when one sits on the low Ratan chairs and looks up at the likeness of the living head of the Chola dynasty. It reminded me very much of the day when as a very little girl I was allowed to bow before His Highness the late Maharajah of Baroda at a garden party for the first time the feeling of smallness in the presence of greatness is accentuated when you look at the face not on account of its superhuman magnitude, but the forceful personality which the master-artist has depicted so skilfully in three dimensions. The subtle and delicate modelling of the likeness is there in its perfection, and by means of these qualities, one realises the character and soul of the original. The figure has achieved all that eye and thought could desire: it is balanced, it possesses perfect symmetry, there is great stress laid on the compositional value of the stately robes, the turban too is made to play a proper part in the balance of the head and strong broad shoulder. It combines in a curious way dignity with suppleness, and rigidity with youth, grandeur, heroism, finesse, repose and power are all expressed admirably in the figure.

Much care and thought is taken on the lighting of the figure. The light enters from the top windows, and is in addition reflected up in the centre of the ceiling, where it is generally diffused. The whole work is smooth and finely finished, the dull polish of the figure takes soft shadows, emphasizing the surface moulding and linear forms of the garments. This is essentially the artist's most considered work and can easily rank among the master-pieces of this era.

There must be few people who are not familiar with the mystic scenes of Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury. This is a cold grey misty subject, life and warmth are impossible in these circumstances, and the title here is *The Land of the Dead*. It is strange what awes us in life we admire in a picture. A curtain of grey mist hangs over the dreary horizon, hiding the frowning forests. The sleeping dead sleep under the dew in a strange cold silvery world.



Poorum festival  
By Kamala Poduval

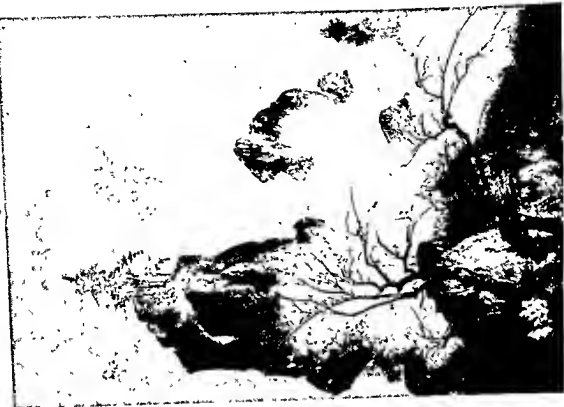
of rest and silence, the fox flees away from the solitude like a fugitive into a forest of gaunt, grey trees. In spite of all this monotony, Mr. Roy Chowdhury has solved the problem with a success never achieved by any other contemporary artist, his secret is the light.



Moonlit Night by K. C. S. Panniker



The Land of the Dead (water colour) by D. P. Roy Chowdhury



Romance (water colour) by D. P. Roy Chowdhury



Dream of Young by Miss A. Algacone



Village Scene  
By P. L. N. Moorthy

the exhibition a delightful painting of a North Indian Dancer after the Mogul style, here movement is detected rather than seen, the colour scheme of this painting is very striking.

Mr. K. C. S. Panniker's *Moonlight Night* is full of charm and lure, few people can behold this scene without lingering over it.

There are many other sculptures and paintings that are good to look upon and a joy to remember. There are marvellous figure studies like Miss A. Alagarao's *Study*, and gracious views of the type of Mr. Gnanayutham's *Amanjikari Road* which was purchased

by the Lady Marjorie Erskine, and we are told that the principal and superintendent received an intimation of high approval from Her Excellency.

In a word the exhibition reveals powers of observation and imagination, and in technical ability reach a far higher standard than the past years.

Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury is a master of many styles and influences, which is apparent by the manner in which he has guided the hands of his students, and inspired their minds.





# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Kemal the Patron Saint of New Asia

In the first issue of the *New Asia* Subhas Chandra Bose, in paying tribute to the hallowed memory of the great hero of Turkey, speaks of Kemal Ataturk as the patron saint of New Asia :

There are few biographies which have enthralled and inspired me more than that of this great son of Turkey. I believe there is not a single man or woman in the whole of the civilized world who will not bow his or her head to the memory of this great man. It was with the feelings of a pilgrim, therefore, that I flew from Bukharest to Istanbul four years ago to see something of his work for Turkey and for human civilization. It was not the domes or the minarets of Istanbul, nor the beauty of the Golden Horn and the smiling Bosphorus that attracted me so much as the emancipated men and women moving about in the streets of Istanbul. The first thing that struck me as I alighted after my air journey was the fact that the men and women whom I met there appeared to me just the same as the men and women of Bukharest or Sofia or Vienna. So far as the women of Turkey were concerned, one could notice that they move about with an ease and grace which would give one the impression that they had been used to their freedom for centuries. But we do know, as a matter of fact, that the emancipation of Turkish women took place only after the Great War. The script which they were using was not the old Persian script, but it was the Roman script, and a stranger had, therefore, no difficulty in reading the names of the streets or the signboards which one met with on both sides of the streets of Istanbul.

He goes on to point out the salient features of Kemal's greatness.

We all know something of the greatness of Kemal Ataturk. We all know that he will live in history not merely as one of the greatest sons of Turkey, but also as one of the greatest men of this century. But I think, as students of history and as students of politics, we ought to analyse some of the elements in his greatness. I think it would be admitted on all hands that he was responsible more than anybody else in Turkey for saving his country from the jaws of European Powers. Secondly, it was he who built a modern state out of a feudal, theocratic empire. This transition from feudalism and theocracy to a modern state was accomplished within a remarkably short time, and I think this could be regarded as one of the marvels of modern history. Thirdly, he was a great revolutionary figure, not merely on the battle fields of Gallipoli and Anzolia, but also in the domain of national reconstruction. And last but not the least he will be remembered for trying to work out the experiment of building up a State on the basis of a single party. This experiment of building up a State on the basis of single party is now a common phenomenon in Europe. We see it in Soviet Russia, in Nazi Germany and in Fascist Italy. But we do not always remember

that this experiment—whether it is good or bad is a different matter—was also tried by Kemal in his own country, and if one is to judge by the results, one has to admit that, in spite of the manifest evils that are inherent in Dictatorship and in this single-party-system, this experiment has done a world of good to modern Turkey.

There is another aspect of his character which will appeal to civilized men and women all over the world. He was great not merely as a general, but also as a builder.

There was no department of national life that did not receive his attention. I remember when I was in Vienna in 1934, Kemal Ataturk sent for a very famous Viennese musician in order to modernize the Turkish system of music on the basis of notation. Then, if we turn to his linguistic reforms we find that he devoted a great deal of his time and energy to purifying the Turkish language. He carried on a persistent campaign with a view to ridding the Turkish language of all foreign words and expressions. And he did not spare even Arabic words and expressions. This attempted reform was carried to such a length that even old Turkish names were revolutionised. We all know, for instance, that Kemal was formerly known as Ghazi Kemal. But after this linguistic reform he came to be known as Kemal Ataturk. This habit of thoroughgoing reform was one of the characteristics of this great man.

I believe that his life and achievements will be an inspiration not merely for the people of his own country, but for the whole humanity. He was one of the most romantic figures which the Great War threw up. He was great not merely as a general and a strategist; he was great not merely as a diplomat and statesman, but he was also great as a builder, and the new Turkey that he has left behind him will be an object lesson to the whole humanity and particularly to the peoples of Asia. I think those who are steeped in communalism in this country will do well to pay a visit to modern Turkey.

## Non-Violence Not For The West

Should the principles of truth and non-violence as set forth by Mahatma Gandhi be accepted or rejected in America? Estelle H. Ries is far from certain that they should be accepted even in India. He raises the difficulty of the impracticability of non-violence in a world in which four-fifths of humanity is given over to violence. He writes in *The Aryan Path*:

As we look out upon the world today, it can be questioned whether this is a moral universe and whether those individuals triumph who base their cause upon morality. Much as we would like to believe this, all the evidence negates it. It may be true "in the long run" speaking in time measured geologically or astronomically, or in terms of future incarnations, but



If they have Swaroj work, I am perfectly certain the automatic reform of the Congress organisations will follow, and there will be greater happiness produced in the country.

### Provincial Governments and Party Organizations

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy in India has for the first time brought the question of the relations between the Government and party organizations to the forefront. On its right solution may hang the fate of democracy in India. Observes Prof. Sri Ram Sharma in *The Indian Review* :

There is the question of the relations between the party organizations and the Governments in power. The Congress Governments in the various provinces are supposed to be functioning under the control of the Parliamentary Board, in the setting up of which the newly franchised electorate has not taken any hand. That a party in power in Federal units should have a National Executive is not surprising. That this Executive should from time to time review the policy of various Governments stands to reason. The difficulty begins when it tries not to formulate policies but to run the administration, it obviously trenches upon matters which would elsewhere be easily left alone to Governments in power. This has certainly undermined the prestige of one or two Provincial Governments. It created the rather unedifying spectacle of two Committees of Enquiries on the Bonpu rail, one set up by the Provincial Government of the N.W.F.P. and another by the National Executive of the party in the United Provinces. It led to an abortive attempt at sitting in judgment on the agrarian policy of the Government, which did not increase the prestige or the power of the Parliamentary Board. On a bigger scale it led to the formation of the Wardha Scheme of Education, where a studied attempt was made to keep out the expert advisers of the various Provincial Governments from advising their political chiefs. That such an important question as the education of the masses in India should have been left to be decided by a party conclave was unfortunate, has been proved by the march of events since then.

The Government of the N.W.F.P. assisted in the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, whereas the Madras Government goes on merrily making daily use of it. In the United Provinces a scheme for the separation of the Executive and Judiciary is in the process of active formulation when the Congress Premier in Madras is flatly denying the need for such a reform as long as he is in office. No, the temporary scheme that was meant to smooth the path of office acceptance cannot be made a permanent feature of Indian politics without serious damage to the reputation, authority and sense of responsibility of the provincial governments and without at the same time endangering the successful working of democratic governments in the provinces. It separates power from responsibility.

### Rural Hygiene—Result of A New Outlook Among Nations

The War made a demand on the strength of the whole people. It was realised that the rural areas and the rural population must be brought up to the level of the towns and their people. A new propaganda on Rural Hygiene

started, and a conference on Rural Hygiene of European nations met in 1931. Writes *National Reconstruction* editorially :

This conference on Rural Hygiene drew up a programme of studies and suggested the convening of another conference. That meeting is to be held in 1939. "During these studies (the report of the Preparatory Committee of the next meeting says) ideas developed rapidly: the conclusions indicated a new trend of opinion. They showed, in fact, that there can be no improvement in health in rural areas unless there is a parallel improvement in conditions of living, for in the absence of the latter the work of hygienists is likely to be of no avail. Health factors, therefore, cannot be separated from economic and social factors; the idea of the standard of life must underlie all real health progress.

"For this reason it was concluded that the new conference should consider Rural Hygiene questions 'in their general setting, namely, that of rural life, while account must be taken of the factors of all kinds which come into play,' and it was decided by the Assembly of the League of Nations, which organized these international health meetings, to convene not a conference on Rural Hygiene but a European Conference on Rural Life."

This remarkable finding goes into the root of the problem of Rural Hygiene. The health of the rural people is indissolubly bound up with their whole life or standard of living, as it is called. A man's health depends very largely, if not almost entirely, on what he eats and how he lives. Better food and better housing are essential for healthier living. But both will be impossible without a simultaneous improvement in economic condition of the individual and a broadening of his outlook through education, together with soil, crop and livestock improvement; and the economic condition of the individual can also only improve by better organization of agriculture and industry, more advanced and diffused general and technical education, and complete relief from the corroding morbidity of debilitating diseases. Hygiene therefore practically embraces the whole life of man, and a programme for improving the health of the rural people must include simultaneous attempts to advance their economic and social life.

### The Art of Public Speaking

P. C. Manu, writes in *The Hindustani Review* on the subject of oratory as an art. According to him, it is impossible to attempt to lay down a rule of thumb, whereby a public speaker is produced:

To realize how comprehensive the art of public speaking is, just pause to consider the numerous objects which a speaker may be striving to attain. He may, for instance, be out to convince and persuade or to instruct and enlighten; or again to stimulate or provoke interest on any matter connected with the public weal; or merely to amuse and entertain, as in the case of after dinner speeches.

Is a public speaker made at all? Are not oratory and eloquence gifts from the gods at birth? In other words, is a public speaker born and not the product of industrious study at all? Or, alternatively, is he a combination of both?

A solution to this problem may perhaps be best found by postponing its answer till after one has examined concrete instances of great orators and noted the background behind each, i.e., their educational career.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



## Poetry of W. B. Yeats

The Editor of *The Christian Register* Unitarian makes a survey of 'the poetic pilgrim's progress just closed by the death of W. B. Yeats':

When the older among us first heard of him, he was a poet of the esthetic movement, a disciple of Walter Pater and a friend of that poet and essayist whom most of us considered terribly decadent, Arthur Symonds. But Yeats had a different and in a sense a fresher—though an ancient—subject matter: Celtic mythology. It was an ideal medium in which to sing detachment from the outer world, which in Yeats' idiom was literally the outer or blanketing world:

How shall I name you, immortal, mild, proud shadows?  
I only know that all we know comes from you,  
And that you come from Eden on flying feet  
Is Eden far away, or do you hide  
From human thought, as hares and mice and cones  
That run before the reaping hook and lie  
In the last ridge of the barley? Do our woods  
And winds and ponds cover more quiet woods,  
More shunning winds, more star-glimmering ponds?  
Is Eden out of time and out of space?  
And do you gather about us when pale light  
Shining on water and fallen among leaves,  
And winds blowing from flowers, and whirr of feathers  
And the green quiet, have uplifted the hear?

But even as a young poet Yeats knew that the realm of faery was, if I may use an awkward figure, an incompatible in the prescription of human life. And he knew also that though he might be an esthete, an occultist, a poet, he was also a son of Ireland:

Know, that I would accounted be  
True brother of a company  
That sang to sweeten Ireland's wrong,  
Ballad and story, rann and song,  
Nor be I any less of them,  
Because the red rose bordered hem  
Of her, whose history began  
Before God made the angelic elven,  
Trails all about the written page

But soon after the turn of the century the note changes. Curiously enough Yeats as a thinker still carries a cumbersome apparatus: he seems to reject the whole scientific point of view in favor of what may loosely be called occultism. To read his autobiographical work and some of his essays is to be puzzled and irritated, as if one had to sit by while a navigator who rejected the Copernican astronomy plotted his position by Ptolemaic tables. But to read his poetry is to get more and more away from that kind of antiquated baggage. And with what result? That the poetry becomes barer, more severe, didactic or of the forum and market place? It does become barer and more severe. As Yeats himself says at the end of "Responsibilities" (1914):

A Coat  
I made my song a coat  
Covered with embroideries  
Out of old mythologies

From heel to throat;  
But the fools caught it,  
Wore it in the world's eye  
As though they'd wrought it  
Song, let them take it  
For there's more enterprise  
In going naked

His poetry becomes severer but not didactic, the writer points out: the stripping away of adherent beauties lets the real beauty to be seen.

Conventional symbols like the rose upon the roof of time that was red and sad and proud—but that never grew in a garden, being the product of a Rossetian seance room—give place to living symbols; to the wild swans of Coole, for example

The trees are in their autumn beauty  
The woodland paths are dry;  
Under the October twilight the water  
Mirrors a quiet sky;  
Upon the brimming water among the stones  
Are nine and fifty swans . . .  
Unwearied still, lover by lover,  
They paddle in the cold,  
Companionable streams, or climb the air;  
Their hearts have not grown old;  
Passion or conquest, wander where they will,  
Attend upon them still . . .

The earlier poetry represents a type of worship which is turned from the world, which is monastic, or sideral, or introverted, but which is not a matter of moment to any but the worshiper and which is not healthy or permanently satisfying for him.

In the later poetry Yeats is still an aristocrat, but like all the aristocrats who merit that description in its good sense he feels his solidarity with the humble. In his earlier poetry, of course, he was at times aristocratic in the less noble sense of the word.

But the war and the Irish rebellion purged, perhaps, Yeats' aristocracy of its "mean rooftop" notes, and we find him writing such a poem as the one in which he abjures the larger political issues and says that in future:

"My country is Kiltartan's Cross  
My countrymen Kiltartan's poor"

and an earlier one contrasting a country fisherman and the dull, sophisticated men of the cities, ending with the cry:

Before I am old  
I shall have written him one  
Poem may me as cold  
And passionate as the dawn,

Again a juxtaposition of what the sentimentalists think are incompatible: this time the passionate and the cold. But Yeats is writing from the point of view of a man who has reached autumn. Figure after figure shows it:

Suddenly I saw the cold and rook-delighting heaven . . .  
And the thought of the poems, though as passionate as ever, begins to reflect it

dreams. The purposeful activity of the representatives of the new Soviet intelligentsia helped them to realize the dreams in glorious achievements. A critic and a skeptic at heart, the pre-revolutionary prototype could see only the negative aspects of the world around him. He had no positive convictions and was afraid of a positive program of action. Not so the Soviet intellectual, who is inspired by the Communist ideal, he is in the Party or not; he knows where he is going, for he follows the road indicated by Communism. And he is not afraid to expose his faults to criticism.

We cannot say that the old intellectual lacked a feeling for humanity, but that feeling often remained inactive, impotent against the capitalist oppression. But the Soviet intellectual, strong in his position as a citizen of the Soviet Russia, constantly is able to serve society, people and Socialism.

Twenty years after the October Revolution there have been created new cadres of a Soviet intelligentsia—engineers, doctors, teachers, writers, scientists and artists. They serve Socialism well, in their rank one sees the gray heads of old-time intellectuals who have embraced Socialism. No country can exist without its intellectual class. We, too, have our own, fostered by the Bolshevik Party and Great Stalin.

### China Returns Good for Evil

The China At War publishes a report on life in one of China's internment camps for Japanese prisoners. According to this report, the guiding principles of these camps are fraternity, humanity and goodwill.

In the concentration camp, the prisoners lead a regulated life, which begins at five in the morning. After roll call, they have their morning exercise. Breakfast is at seven. From nine to eleven, the two hours are set aside for study. Lunch is followed by a two-hour rest. From two to four in the afternoon, they return to their class rooms where they read or write as they please. There is no compulsory curriculum for them. Bath is at four, and supper at half past five. After six it is time for recreation. They can play pingpong chess and other group games. Another roll call is held at nine. Then to bed they all go.

Many of the Japanese and Koreans are now exchanging language lessons with the Chinese guards so that they can better understand each other. Language difficulties were responsible for not a few instances of misunderstanding. Now things are different. There is a spirit of fraternity between them. Of course, a few of the prisoners are by nature stubborn. They refused to listen to persuasive talks, but Colonel Tsou, the man in charge of the camp, believes that time will improve things in its due course.

The war-prisoners have been permitted to organize a self-government body which deals with cases of minor misdemeanour and quarrels.

They are permitted to manage their own kitchens. They cook their own food to please their own taste. Every Wednesday, they have Japanese-style sweetmeats. Once a month, they have a group amusement meeting conducted in the orthodox Japanese fashion. Those who smoke get a package of cigarettes daily, and wine is served once a week. The limit is four ounces per person. Of course, there is no sake, the Japanese national beverage, and they have to be contented with Chinese liquor, which is often as strong and satisfying as the Japanese brand, if not more so.

The war prisoners have the freedom of correspondence.

As might be expected, their letters, either outgoing or incoming, are censored for military reasons. They are also allowed to receive clothes and even money from their relatives and friends back home. Among them, they now have collected more than \$1,000 Japanese currency.

Those of the captives who are still recuperating from their battle wounds, receive special treatment.

Every now and then, they are addressed by speakers, who explain to them that the Chinese and Japanese peoples, being of the same general racial stock, should be friends and not enemies, and that the war which has so unhappily sent them to fight the Chinese, was primarily brought upon the two nations by the Japanese militarists who are bent on blood-red and aggression. As a result of this patient process, coupled with the good treatment which they are receiving at the hands of the Chinese officials, most of them have come round to see the foolishness of this sanguinary war.

### "The True India"

The following notes on *The True India*, a recent publication by Mr. C. F. Andrews appear in the *News Review*.

"This is a Dr. Ainslie's report," sniffed studios. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi about Katherine Mayo's revealing book *Mother India*, 12 years ago. Last week, the Mahatma's greatest English friend, the Rev. Charles Freer Andrews, belatedly issued a 250 page reply to the American author and to all others who have depicted his adopted country as a sewer of moral degradation.

At a tiny hill station at Kotagiri, bushy-bearded Bachelor Andrews settled down in all health to produce a 'simple antidote against these deliberate assaults upon the fair name and honour of India.' In *Mother India*, he found "the head and front of all the offending."

Charles Andrews is warm in his defence of India. Points:

**Sexual Vice**—Miss Mayo took her figures from the census; 90 per cent. of India's 350 millions live in villages and small hamlets. Village life as a whole is free from the grosser forms of sexual vice.

**Animal Sacrifice**—"While it is true that in certain temples animal sacrifices are still offered, Hinduism in the great majority of its places of worship has abandoned animal sacrifice altogether, and substituted for it the beautiful custom of offering flowers." Such cruelties as extracting the last drop of milk from cows and flaying goats alive are "horrible and unpardonable aberrations, not the normal practice."

**Child Marriage**—Statistics prove that the premature motherhood of which Miss Mayo wrote is comparatively rare. Of 2,312 mothers delivered of their first babies in Madras Maternity Hospital, 86 per cent were 17 or over. Only 13 of nearly 4,300 cases in other parts of India were below 15. The 1921 census showed that at the age of fifteen more than 60 per cent of the girls remained unmarried.

**Crime and Opium**—In no country are acts of criminal violence less frequent than in India's villages; drunkenness is rare. Opium—the curse of China—is hardly a curse in India, though it can be openly bought at any licensed shop.

**Untouchability**—Educated India is trying to crush the pernicious evil by which millions of "untouchable" depressed classes lead sub-human lives in filthy mud hovels, semi-starved from birth to equal death.

The aim is the entire removal of this blot in the course of the present generation: "to accomplish this would indeed be a miracle but it is not impossible."

## THE TRIPURI CONGRESS

### Trials and Triumphs

By GOPAL HALDAR

TRIPURI passes into history. Thousands had set out on that fateful journey, uncertain of the future that lay before the nation. And thousands have returned to their homes, uncertain of the feats of those short, few days, that lie behind them. It is even more difficult now *after* Tripuri than *before* Tripuri to know where the nation stands. Then we felt that the crisis was on us; now we do not know if we are out of the crisis. The confusion prior to it has been undoubtedly removed, but removed in a manner that is itself confusing. And Tripuri, as affording an opportunity for the study of the new methods, the new trends, the new technique, and for the study of the curious workings of the new forces within the national organization, was worth the cold of the night, the heat of the day, the dust of the area and, above all, the expenses of the journey and the stay there.

#### ROAD TO TRIPURI

The road to Tripuri was paved with crisis. I should say, it was strewn with statements. The Presidential election of the year was the landmark in this respect. The story need not be repeated. We should only recall the necessary milestones. Mahatma Gandhi failed to dissuade Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel made no secret of this that Mr. Bose's 're-election would be harmful to the cause of the country'. Subhas Chandra himself, as one of the Left, reminded the President-makers in a statement that

"It is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federal Scheme between the Right Wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year. Consequently, the Right Wing do not want a Leftist President who may be a thorn in the way of a compromise and may put obstacles in the path of negotiations. One has only to move about among the public and enter into a discussion with them in order to realise how widespread this belief is. It is imperative in the circumstances, to have a President who will be an anti-Federalist to the core of his heart."

It is a statement that created a crisis. Was this an 'aspersions' cast on his colleagues of the Working Committee by the President? Or, simply a warning to them indicating how the public viewed the activities of the Right

Wing? This became the crucial question at Tripuri, and around it was waged the war, which at the moment when the statement was issued, was not foreseen. People read but what they already knew or believed. Rather, they wondered how Mr. Bose's re-election could be harmful to the country. The delegates did not consider it so. Then the voice of Wardha spoke. "The defeat is mine," it declared. And "Mr. Bose's references to his colleagues have been unjust and unworthy." It conceded, "after all, Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country." This was another significant statement. The saint was speaking in human accents; and it was a surprise. Mr. Bose, however, would win back the Mahatma.

"It will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people and fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man."

And the Left that had lined up behind S. J. Bose enjoined on him the same course.

#### BATTLE OF PROGRAMME

The President hurried on pilgrimage from Prayag to Wardha. He was evidently satisfied with the visits. Perhaps, he counted on the fact that he did not want any 'violent break with the past in the parliamentary sphere,' and his programme was for combating Federation and for pushing on towards "Purna Swaraj" 'in accordance with the principles and policy of the Indian National Congress.' A six months ultimatum to the British Government and a plan to prepare the country for a struggle were his proposals.

S. J. Subhas Bose's programme, embodied broadly in the Jalpaiguri resolution, was a forward step, but, he thought, no departure from the old line of policy.

#### LEFT BLOC

Discussion centred on this programme, particularly on the ultimatum clause, which was opposed by many. The disapproval by Pandit Nehru of this item and that of the appointment of the States' Sub-committee of the A. I. C. C. made the main body of Subhas

Chandra's supporters, the Congress Socialist Party (C. S. P.), drop these two from their Allahabad resolution.

The rift in the Leftist lute was evident. The Left agreed in nothing among themselves except in voting for Subhas Chandra Bose at the presidential election. A variety of causes had brought them on Mr. Bose's side on that occasion. Few owed Mr. Bose any personal or political allegiance. The different groups had cast their lots with him as they felt that

and Communists of different shades. In tactics and strategy they had their own notions. None, probably agreed entirely with Mr. Bose's programme. They realized at the same time that if the election had brought them closer, it was necessary to hold together, to be united in a Left Bloc without merging any one's identity. Mr. Bose with his Jalpaiguri programme was therefore accepted as the best unifier under the circumstances.

The very circumstances required of Mr. Bose high adroitness, leadership and manipulation. So far he had answered the purpose satisfactorily—the Royists were in disagreement, but the Communists had welcomed his programme in the *New Age* (February, p. 361), and the Socialists of course were quite close to him, as he thought. But Mr. Subhas Bose had not placed Jawaharlal in the opposite camp. Pandit Nehru, he thought, would be for advance, and he hoped to meet Jawaharlal Nehru's objections by clarification and modification of the programme, if necessary. All his calculation however went wrong when sick-bed claimed Mr. Bose. The Left began to fall into pieces. The first indication of it was the Allahabad resolution of the Socialists. They woke up to see their Jawaharlal still in disagreement with the President and his programme. The Socialists had not bargained for such a condition. They looked upon with 'great concern' on the possibility of Mahatma Gandhi and some foremost leaders withdrawing their co-operation from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. They as Socialists stood for national unity, but still accepted the share of responsibility that was theirs consequent on the part the Party took in the Presidential election. What is called Socialist vacillation dates from that time, as those who know assert, and the Allahabad resolution has been characterised on the ground as 'Allahabad Irresolution.' In fact, as later at Tripuri it became evident, they were suffering from divided loyalties—to personalities. Mahatmaji-cum-Jawaharlal vs. Subhas Bose and to policies: United Front vs Left Bloc.



Sramati Vijaylaxmi Pandit and Sramati Indira Nehru at Vishnu Dutt Nagar

Mr. Bose was a genuine anti-Federationist, the Patchan rule of the Congress was a contradiction of its democratic existence and functioning, the President-makers' claims proposed to deprive the delegates of their right to a free choice of their President, and that the drift to constitutionalism called for a check that Mr. Bose was ready to put. But the ideological planks of these Left groups were not identical; there were Left Nationalists, Royists, Socialists

#### PERSONAL EQUATION

It became evident as Tripuri approached nearer and nearer that the battle of programme would be decided not on the merits of the programmes but on personal equation. It was unfortunate for Mr. Bose that he was confined to bed—the cruel fact had to be confessed that in Congress high quarters there was evident a tendency to make light of his illness even at Tripuri. So, twelve members of the Working Committee

resigned with a brief note. The letter was dignified—on paper,—and surprising in its content. The President, henceforth should have 'a homogeneous cabinet' and dispense with all 'policy based on a compromise between different incompatible groups.' The theory ran counter to the Congress practice; it conflicted with the policy of United National Front, it was to be disruptionist in its effect. Did Jawaharlalji agree to it?

Jawaharlal came out with a statement still more shocking. He could not co-operate any longer with the President, much as he desired 'a united and determined front.' The President, he now pointed out, was asked by him to withdraw his statement which cast doubts on the *bona fides* of his colleagues on the question of Federation. It referred thus to the personal conduct of the President. At once the whole political issue was side-tracked and more and more a personal equation came to be the ruling factor in the impending crisis that the resignations of the twelve leaders had created. People looked to Jawaharlal and he disappeared in the 'light of his own thought.' The emphasis was more and more shifted from political to personal consideration. Notices of resolutions to the A. I. C. C. office centred on this one aspect—presuming to censure Mr Bose or to reiterate confidence in the policy and programme of Mahatma Gandhi and his school, or to disapprove of the Patel group and their observations on Bose on the eve of election. Meanwhile, almost on the eve of Tripuri, Mahatmaji entered on his historic fast. This at once became the first concern of all. Other issues faded. People who had been bewildered by the Congress crisis were hysteric over the crisis in Mahatma's life. The political aspect even of the Rajkot struggle was overshadowed when with *anxious and heavy spirits the delegates took the road to Tripuri*. Was there any doubt about the issue of the battle if Mahatmaji was put against Subhas Babu?

#### AT TRIPURI

So the drama opened at Tripuri. As a study in political manoeuvring, it was interesting to any observer.

The Socialists and Communists were assembled there earlier. Theirs was a great task,—so they conceived,—the historic role of the great unifier; and they too were to set the pace for the march to battle-front that was imminent. To maintain 'All-Round Unity' they kept up long hours re-drafting their Jalpaiguri programme. They would not be isolated from

Nehru—no, not from the other veterans too. They were satisfied with their effort which they hoped would win Pandit Nehru's approval. So, they waited, and debated the new programme with Sarat Babu and other Leftists when the latter arrived. Were they all entirely agreed on dropping the 'ultimatum' question? Opinions differ. But even before they were finally agreed on any point, the Right sprang a surprise. Pandit Nehru, who was to persuade the Right to a Unity, informed the Left leaders of the terms of the Right. It was the Resolution that was moved only two hours later by Govind Ballabh Pant at the second day's (8th March) meeting of the A. I. C. C. or the Subjects Committee. By one move the Right seized the initiative from—not the Imperialist—but the Leftist. Henceforth this Leadership resolution held the stage. All other political issues were relegated to the background. The National Demand became secondary in importance, the States Question almost faded away. And the Left, who were so long in the front, were put from the moment of Pant's motion on the defensive. The Rightist threat of non-co-operation had sobered their opponents. Putting the issue on a personal basis, *Mahatma-par Viswas*, the Rightists ensured their success. Their drafting was perfect. Politics and personality, Mahatmaji, his 'fundamental policy' and the Working Committee had been woven into an inseparable pattern. Their Resolution was to be taken as a whole. They could dictate the terms now; for they were in no hurry to be on the Working Committee. They had demonstrated that too by a dramatic strike from off the dias. Seven ministries worked for them openly while they sat silent and worked secretly. The Left wanted unity and they must pay the price for that. Unity was to be paid for by the group which wants it.

#### "UNITED FRONT"

The Socialist Party as also the Communist Party were in this called on to face a paradoxical situation that demanded from them clear thinking and straight decision. It concerned one of the fundamental policies of the Marxist parties of the day. Their experience in the other countries has made them realize that a Marxist-Leninist crusade against one and all had strengthened Reaction in the world; so, for the present their effort should be devoted to the creation of a United Front to stem that tide of Reaction. It is the policy of Front Popular. In what they called colonial countries like India, national emancipation is bound to be the imme-

diate political objective and an 'Anti-Imperialist United Front' was the equivalent of a Popular Front for Marxist parties here. Right or Left leanings should not cut across the National Front. So the Communists and Socialists in India were pledged to an undivided loyalty to National Unity. They were not to permit any split in the national organization or national leadership. They were to win back the Right to lead the Left in the fight for emancipation. This is a fundamental policy with the Marxists. But the other half of their policy was concerned with Socialist Unity and Leftist Unity. After the Presidential election, though no formal Left Bloc was formed, the Socialists were moving as such with Communists, Royists and the Left Nationalists. It was possible to harmonize the two halves of the Marxist policy—United Front and Left Bloc. But at a moment of stress the two might come into conflict—as they appeared to do now—if the Right, that was also Anti-Imperialist, refused co-operation. What would be the duty of the Marxists in such a contingency? The answer depended on a clear apprehension of the particular situation and a correct evaluation of the Rightist force as a fighting unit and the real demands of the struggle at the stage and at that moment. Thus in China and in Spain Communism had, in order to meet the demands of the struggle, practically submitted to an alliance in a National Front or Fronte Populaire. Political realism would not shrink from such a step in India too. But was India in such a stage of struggle or heading for that? Political thinking in the Marxist ranks in India had hardly submitted the conception of the United Front or Left Bloc to a searching enquiry, and as the conflict between the two became more and more evident, they were more and more distressed by their position until almost instinct, and not conscious revolutionary realism, drove the two parties to two different conclusions at the last moment at Tripuri.

On the point of the United Front the Socialists and Communists to their relief had found from the outset Mr. Bose in complete agreement with them. He had declared in his very wise statement in reply to the statement of Mahatma Gandhi after his victory:

"The Leftists would not take the responsibility for creating a split within the Congress. If the split does come it will not be because of them but in spite of them."

The two parties were more sure of their stand when they saw their ally Mr. M. N. Roy reject their unity cry in favour of radicalism—on of the Congress policy, alternate leadership,

parallel Government, and Constituent Assembly. This Unity became the chief pursuit of the Socialists and Communists when twelve members of the Working Committee resigned. Mr. Jai-prakas Narayan, Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, broke out into a lengthy statement to maintain a case for compromise and united leadership as has been the practice always and as the Marxist policy enjoined on them. The Communists started for Tripuri with two slogans: Unity and Struggle. At Tripuri Socialists and Communists spent long hours in modifying the Bose programme for struggle for the sake of unity until they discovered that unity, their desideratum, could be achieved only by the acceptance of Pandit Pant's resolution.

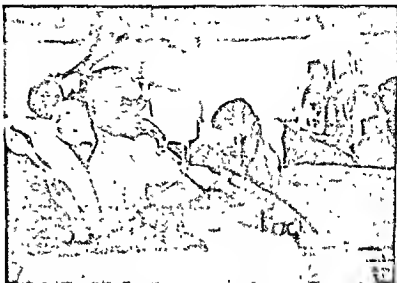
### CONFIDENCE TRICK

Pandit Pant's resolution presumed to reiterate confidence in Gandhian leadership and policy. In fact, the resolution was an unqualified acceptance of Gandhism which Marxism can never tolerate, much less accept. For the sake of the national struggle ahead, however, no Socialists or Communists press their Marxism now. They would accept Gandhiji's leadership at the price it demanded without admitting the ideological implications of the same. Indeed, they were ready to leave the formation of the Working Committee in the hands of Mahatmaji hoping that their Plan of Action, which they had submitted to Pandit Jawaharlal, would find favour with the Rightists. They only considered the 'aspersion clause' an innuendo on the President. Yet, did not the Socialists all along maintain, ever since Pandit Jawaharlal pointed it out in his Wardha statement, that the President was to satisfy the Rightists on the matter? Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had from sick-bed issued a statement explaining that he never questioned the *bona fides* of his colleagues. The Socialists urged for more friendly amends; Mr. Bose at the Subjects Committee on the 9th was reminded of their requirements and repeated the explanation from the chair. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant could not still drop the 'aspersion' clause; and Socialists, as they now say, did neither hold Mr. Bose's explanation satisfactory. The other Leftists were, however, not ready to accept any of the two items of the Resolution objected to, viz., the aspersion regretted, and the appointment of the Working Committee 'according to the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi.' For the sake of the Leftist unity, therefore, the Socialists and Communists moved amendments which made no

material change to the resolution except seeking to save the President's honour, but those hardly guaranteed him his position. The Right would admit of no change. 'Not a comma to be changed' was their slogan. "If you want unity, Mahatmaji must lead us, and you are to agree: Mahatmaji alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis" (The 'alone' was sought to be deleted by the Socialist Secretary Jaiprakash) 'Take it or leave it,' was the Rightist attitude. Was it an ultimatum? Was it a threat of non-co-operation?

Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan's later relapse into neutrality or the Communist collapse into the same that was averted by the pressure of its rank and file, only clearly showed how confused were both the Parties by the claims of their two instruments of policy—United Front and Left Bloc, when the two did not harmonise. 'Unity' speeches became the order of the day with the Socialists and Communists alike. But none of these clearly explained the cry of United Front and their conception of it. Did it mean that any strong group under a threat of non-co-operation could compel the Socialists into neutrality or even co-operation? How is it to be distinguished from "surrender"? Does United Front signify 'Unity at any price'? Which, as Pandit Jawaharlal has characterized in another connection, is nothing but an 'exhibition of a very broad united back'. And above all, except under war conditions—and war as Europe understands it—should democratic functioning be sacrificed for authoritarian leadership, in the name of this United Front? Or, is it the primary aim of the 'United Front,' like the Popular Fronts, to link up mass struggle with allied forces in a broad democratic frame-work? While the whole issue was by the adroit Rightists reduced from a question of confidence into a degrading personal question, Mahatmaji-cum-Jawaharlal vs. Subhas Basu, the Socialists and Communists failed to raise it to a political plane or submit a political explanation of their position. Political issue was raised by, and political explanation came only from, Mr. M. N. Roy, however, one may disagree with him. No wonder, therefore,

that Socialist leadership that was 'rolling along enmeshed in the logic of their action' ran in its irritation out of it to be enmeshed in petty personal issues like the opposition of Sri Sarat Chandra Bose to the National Demand resolution or the spontaneous demonstration of the 11th that upset the Congress authorities. It was a childish explanation for a political change of front. The Communists also would



President Subhas Chandra Bose addressing the Subjects Committee from his sick bed

be by the side of these Socialists, comrades in neutrality,—neutrality to a resolution that was undemocratic—but for the rank and file pressure to stick to their position. The Socialists thought themselves to be like Caesar's wife—and isolated themselves from the Left Bloc to be above any suspicion of supporting the Left disruptionist tendency. And for the change of front did not even require to consult their rank and file.

#### THE DEMONSTRATION

The demonstration of the 11th had serious political reaction. It was made much of by the Rightists. The demonstration was futile and foolish, but nobody sought any explanation for it. Even the immediate cause of the outburst is generally forgotten or denied. The most important fact about it is that it was unpremeditated and confined to no particular province. The temper of the delegates in general had been tried by a variety of circumstances. They saw that a victory was sought



to be turned into a defeat behind their back. Mr. Aney's motion referred the proposal to the same body which had declared itself once against the President. They felt that, even though the President had said that he did not doubt the *bona fides* of his former colleagues, his colleagues doubted his *bona fides* still. They had heard from responsible quarters that the President's illness was 'a Hollywood show,' and the declaration of the evening about his serious condition made them remember those shameful remarks. Indeed, the ministerial squad that had gone about canvassing for Mr. Pant's resolution helped in the circulation of many wild calumnies against the supporters of Mr. Bose and particular provinces. Wild words were put in the mouth of Mr. Sarat Bose in a Hindi circular broadcast among delegates to create prejudice against him. And no quick response was either made to the delegates' demand for Mr. Nariman's motion or to the insistent cry for division on Mr. Aney's motion. The delegates suspected, as the authorities delayed the declaration of division, that they were being cleverly deprived of their right to give their verdict on the proposal. Exasperation at last foolishly lost control of itself and continued in an aimless demonstration, unplanned and unorganised. It persistently refused Jawaharlal a hearing and at length threw him out of temper—not for the first time in the Tripuri session. And when he had the microphone again he wreaked his vengeance. His voice was ringing with sincerity. But it was unjust on one point. It was not a demonstration of Bengal delegates alone. The Punjab and Frontier and U P—all participated without any forethought. But unconsciously Jawaharlal imported the provincial note in the matter which was echoed and re-echoed very consciously by other interested quarters. This is the most regrettable part of the whole affair.

It passes one's understanding however why the Congress Socialists considered it to constitute so great a 'Leftist disruptionist tendency' as to warrant them to change their decision overnight. They had already publicly dissociated themselves from it through their Secretary. They too like their demonstrators had let off sufficient steam under the emotional stress of the evening. Nobody can accuse our Socialists or Communists of any sense of humour, but they should have more sense of political realism. As such their explanation for the loss of their sleep and appetite overnight until they reversed their decision sounds so funny and unreal.

### NATIONAL DEMAND

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's opposition of the resolution on the National Demand was as surprising as Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan's moving of it. Mr. Bose's amendment to it on the basis of the Jaiprakash resolution had not been notified and could not be allowed to be moved. By the way, this rule should not have been made use of in this case suddenly, as it had almost permanently to be suspended this session to permit all important resolutions, including that of the National Demand itself, to be taken up by the Congress. This put Mr. Bose in a strategically very unsound position as an oppositist to the National Demand proposals. To move an amendment and to oppose the Demands are not the one and the same thing. Mr. Bose forgot this and paid for it heavily. As regards Mr. Jaiprakash's explanation that Sarat Babu had gone back on his pledge to the Left, and Sarat Babu's explanation that he never agreed to drop the ultimatum question, it is not for the outsiders to give any opinion.

But how did it warrant Socialists to move away from the Left Bloc for the personal failure of a man to observe their decision? A Socialist is nothing if his definite policy can change because of the failure of a single individual belonging to a Bloc.

But Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan's moving of the resolutions was certainly strange. Was the Left in complete agreement with the Right on the National Demands as moved? It envisages struggle; but the Right are not committed on the question of mass struggle that the Left want. On the contrary the fight is likely to be reduced to individuals' (as at Rajkot) or groups' action. In the Subjects Committee Mr. Meherally of the Socialists had moved an amendment to the resolution which tried to embody in the Plan of Action the Left had agreed on, viz., preparation for a 'nation-wide struggle' by a formation of the Volunteer Corps, co-ordinating the 'peasants and workers' fight with the national struggle, etc. Pandit Nehru accepted the phrase 'nation-wide struggle' and Mr. Meherally gave a go-by to the Plan of Action with Mr. Jaiprakash and himself beaming with happiness. They withdrew the amendment without the consent of the Communists or other Leftists. This was the end of the much talked of Plan of Action, which the Left had proudly drawn up together on their very arrival at Tripuri, which they thought would compensate even for the leadership resolution of Mr. Pant, and which was to occupy the centre of the stage at Tripuri, the

Socialists had declared only three days previously.

To drop the amendment in the Subjects Committee was not enough; Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan came forward on the invitation of Nehru to sponsor the resolution. The Right manœuvred through Nehru was a great success. This reminds one of a Karachi scene when Gandhiji made almost similar use of the young Pandit Jawaharlal and Bhagawat Singh's old father for moving and seconding a controversial resolution before that restive gathering.

*The Left was already written off.* The Right had put it out of action by their superior skill and tactics and strategy. The performance next morning of the Socialist leader in declaring their neutrality showed how far the Socialists had travelled away not only from their Left compatriots but even from their own Socialist following. The Secretary of the Party did not know how he had got enmeshed in the logic of his own reaction. He had transferred the internal Congress crisis to his own Party.

After the morning session of the 12th had passed Pant's resolution, the Congress session lost all interest. The States resolution showed how far the Congress had been forced to move. Still it was amusing to hear a vindication of the Harijuna decision on the ground that the decision in leaving the States people to their fate, to fight for themselves had brought about their awakening. In vain in an atmosphere of unreality Mrs. Kamala Devi pleaded for unifying and developing the States Peoples' movement under the leadership of the Congress. The Congress Right contemplated a localization of the struggles. The proceedings were lifeless. Delegates had left Tripuri by hundreds as soon as the Leadership resolution had been passed.

#### THE BALANCES

An evaluation of the Tripuri decisions is not yet possible. Uncertainty, as we have said, hangs over it. Politically, it registers certain advances: the States Resolution in an advance; so is the National Demand resolution in spite of its vagueness. It could not but be vague and halting; for, the Right re-established a *status quo*; and the dynamic and changing times required of them a Left dialectic, foreign to the Right. Hence, their decisions are not decisive.

On one point Tripuri was definite. It called the Left to trial and proved the unmistakable inaptitude of the Left. They had won a victory. They had achieved unity.

They even talked of organizing 'All-Round Unity' and forcing out a marching order under a united leadership. At Tripuri they were outmanœuvred slowly; they were ousted from all strategic positions, and they have come back routed and disunited. They are accused of letting down the President they had elected. Certainly, the Left is a 'leaky boat,' "And Nerbudaa indeed is deep."

The Right has staged a come-back. But politically it is a Pyrrhic victory. It was clear to them that they cannot sail under their own flag—in spite of their action, sacrifice and service. They must take shelter in the Mahatma's name.

The most amusing thing about Tripuri is that it was a political assembly to settle political issues and political crisis and it resumes its quiet after witnessing perhaps the biggest personal triumph of one man over another. "The Mahatma is the Congress and the Congress is the Mahatma," repeated many speakers. "He is almost a god, an exacting god," proclaimed Mr. Satyamurti from the rostrum. "He must be at the helm of the boat," said the Madras oarsman Rajagopalachari, the best speaker of the session, "And he can be had only on his own terms." "He is greater than the Congress," said the Chairman of the Reception Committee Seth Govind Das, tearing a sentence out of a speech of Pandit Jawaharlal, while mutely the Pandit heard the Seth paying tributes to Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and Mahatma; for, he occupies "the same position among Congressmen as that held by the leadership of Mussolini among the Fascists." This same Mussolini-Mahatma note was struck once again by the Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant after he had exhausted the necessity for 'Viswas in Mahatmajai.' Mussolini and Hitler had carried forward their people as dictators, 'leadership of one man' meant progress; and fortunately we have "a greater leader in the Mahatma, a non-violent dictator." Fates simply laughed as they found Jawaharlal, after the Leadership resolution was passed, to rise to impeach Britain and France for the "murder of democracy!" in this very house and in that very company.

Were those Punjab delegates very wrong when they left Tripuri shouting ironically: "Mahatmajai ki jai. Hindustan ki Hitler ki jai?"

Tripuri passes into history and history will tell future generations if we enshrined authoritarianism there or not. There at least is noticeable a growing admiration in the Right Wing for the *Fuehrer Prinzip*.

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## WORLD AFFAIRS

By GOPAL HALDAR

"History will never forget the treachery of the British and French Governments in their betrayal of the little democratic country of Czecho-Slovakia," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Tripuri Session of the Indian National Congress, while moving the resolution on Foreign Policy of India.

### CZECH EXTINCTION

Yet, Jawaharlal or the world had not yet any hint of the impending doom that wiped out the Czech State in a couple of days after Tripuri.

Dr. Hacha, President of Czecho-Slovakia, had dissolved the Slovak Government and dismissed its Premier, Herr Tiso, from office for his avowed Slovak separatist activities. Dr. Hacha was foolish to forget that Herr Tiso was no better than an instrument in the hand that made and unmade the maps of Europe, particularly Central Europe, now-a-days. The German minority of Slovakia was already prepared by disrupting the State.

A Putsch of the Slovak Hlianka Guards afterwards was suppressed by the Czecho-Slovak State, and an appeal went from Herr Tiso and his partisans to Berlin on behalf of the Slovak independence movement. Events followed quickly. M. Sidur, the Czecho-Slovak Vice-Premier, formed a new cabinet which fell within a few hours. Hitler's Vienna radio station was at the service of the Slovak separatists. Herr Tiso now returned from Berlin to proclaim an independent Slovakia that Berlin had decreed. German storm troops had already marched into Slovakia to create this new State as a Protectorate of Germany. The Czech army returned and the Czech Government resigned Carpatho-Ukraine, the new name for the old province of Ruthenia, at the same time declared independence, and Hungary served an ultimatum on Prague and marched into Ruthenia occupying very soon Chust. A common Polish-Hungarian frontier, long desired for by the two countries, became an accomplished fact now, of course with the sanction of Herr Hitler. Ruthenia was considered a matter for Hungary to settle with Germany, and Budapest apparently had satisfied Berlin by its previous entry in the anti-Comintern Pact. Meanwhile, Pra-

gue was on the way to extinction. Dr. Hacha, President of the Czech Republic had hurried to Berlin as a supplicant and was forced to enter an agreement whereby the fate of the Czech people and land was placed in the hands of the Fuehrer who promised the Czech people the protection of the Reich. German troops marched into the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia to "guarantee it" ("The Protectorate of Czechie") an autonomous development" that Herr Ribbentrop had assured in the last agreement with the last Czech President. Prague remained calm but stunned as German troops entered it on the morning of the 15th March. The Czech army was to be disarmed, all industries placed at the Nazi disposal. The Skoda made Germany still more formidable; and Czech factories would help the tottering Nazi economic structure to balance itself for the present. The Czech submitted to the fate. People responded to the wireless broadcast in Prague "Heil-Hitler." Hitler himself appeared in the city a few hours later.

### RUMANIA 'SAVED'

Central Europe was in the melting pot. Hungary which had for all practical purposes become a Nazi adjunct, could therefore pursue Ruthenian adventure against all others. But heavy fighting in the area marked the Hungarian attempt at ousting the Czechs and partially the Slovaks. Poland no doubt was glad to secure a common frontier with Hungary. But the Ukrainian tangle, that is now being made ready, was directly to affect the fortunes of the country and also Russia. The Balkan and Danubian regions were naturally in great suspense and excitement to know the final upshot—if there can be anything final in the Central European politics of the times. Rumania of course was in immediate danger. King Carol had refused to join the anti-Comintern fraternity and suppressed the pro-Nazi "Iron Guards." Immediately as it was on the way of Germany's *Drang nach Osten*, Berlin had noted the appearance of Rumania in the "bewildering kaleidoscope of events." Rumania was anxious, but Rumania was calm. In the midst of the *tumults*, Rumania, however, received a virtual ultimatum from Germany demanding that she

should surrender her economic independence to Germany in return for a guarantee of her political independence and territorial integrity. Rumania was to return to an agrarian fate and not to try for industrial future.

For a time King Carol looked to the European powers, all more or less reacting from this post-Munich Nazi shock. Then silently and unobtrusively he was made to sign an economic treaty with Germany, only less drastic than what the ultimatum proposed.

It is reported from Bukharest that arrangements of the widest character are covered by the new German-Rumanian agreement. The development of enormous potential resources in Rumania, particularly in the direction of agriculture is a main feature of the agreement in connection with which Germany has put her experience at Rumania's disposal and will supply industrial equipment. An intensification of products is anticipated, especially fodder, oilseed and fibre plant. Attention is also paid to forestry. German machines and mining equipment will be supplied to Germano-Rumanian companies to be formed to exploit copper, chromium and manganese. Bauxite and aluminium industries will be founded. A German-Rumanian company will promote mineral oil production and execute boring and distribution programme. The two countries will co-ordinate their industries and create free zones in which industrial and trade undertakings will be established. Warehouse will be built for German shipping in the free zone for delivery of war materials and armaments industries are included. The agreement will come into force a month after the ratification and will be valid until March 21, 1944 and, if not denounced a year earlier, it will be prolonged indefinitely, subject to a year's notice at the end of every fourth year.

### "PEACE FRONT"

Wide repercussion marked the new German expansions. The Munich Pact was of course given an unceremonious burial and over the corpse of Czecho-Slovakia France and Britain stood askeance. The British Premier said in his statement in the House of Commons:

The Government having failed in its recent endeavour to achieve Guarantee of Agreement with other European Governments the British Government regarded the guarantee obligations as no longer binding.

Mr. Chamberlain declared that he had no doubt that Munich was right and he believed that it had the approval of a vast majority of the peoples of the world. Mr. Chamberlain said that he could not believe anything of the kind now done by Germany was contemplated by any Munich signatory.

The Munich agreement constituted a settlement and he could not regard the manner and method whereby these changes had been brought about, as in accordance

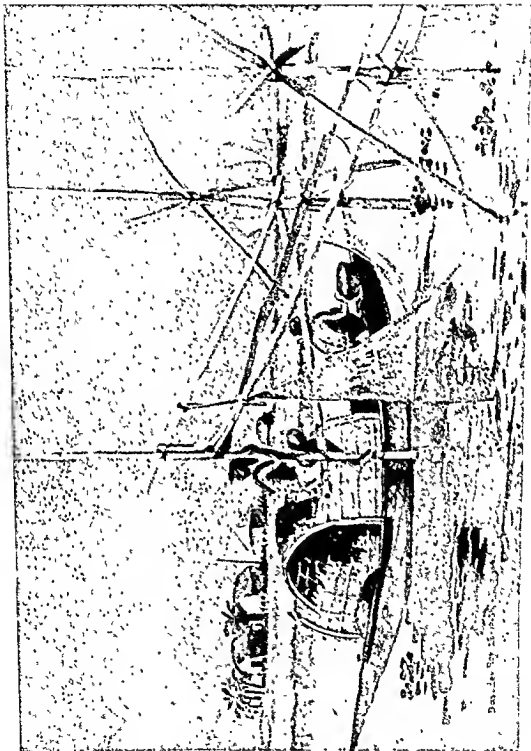
with Munich agreement. Now for the first time Germany was in military occupation of the people with whom she had no racial connections. These events would not fail to be cause of disturbance to the international situation. They were bound to administer a shock to confidence and it was all the more regrettable because confidence was beginning to revive and there was every possibility of concrete measures, which could achieve benefit.

The British Ambassador was instructed to return to London to report. The British attitude is said have stiffened towards Germany and even Mr. Chamberlain is said to have been disillusioned of Munich. France had meanwhile approved of the principle of granting plenary powers to M. Daladier for putting the entire resources of the nation at his service to meet the menace to her existence. French anxiety was not set at rest by the Italian approval of the German Act. It could be very well seen that after Hitler must come the turn of Mussolini—the turn for Jibouti, Tunisia, etc. "Watch Mussolini" was the world's anxiety even as they watched Hitler. A Peace Front of the democracies thus became the immediate concern of Britain and France and they looked to Poland and Russia to join in an 'ad interim' Front. For these two big powers were likely to be next in the programme of Hitler to be tackled. Still Russia was not inclined to put much faith in the Premiers of the democracies. She demanded a conference of the powers. Poland also desired still to adhere to the policy of neutrality.

### AND MEMEL

While, therefore, the bewildered politicians talked anxiously for a front of this sort, postponing the consideration of the question of the Conference, Germany struck the second blow. The Lithunians were presented with an ultimatum, and Memel passed into German hands. Memel is German, and there was no essential injustice involved in the act. But the Nazi manner and method was a lesson to our democracies. They look on, they talk of Peace or Democratic Front and still hold back, uncertain if their interests lie with the Fascists or in opposing them. The underlying conflict of their system breeds hesitancy and defeatism and the result is this paralysis of will of France and Britain.

We have received a double-sided record of our national anthem the "Bande Mataram," musically and instrumentally recorded through the enterprise of the Ananda Bazar Patrika and the Hindusthan Standard of Calcutta. Although the tune is altered, the recording is very clear and is a spirited rendering of the entire anthem.



FISHMEN  
By Bauder Roy

# THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



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## NOTES

### *Earnest Appeal for Unity*

Rabindranath Tagore was interviewed in Calcutta by a representative of the *Associated Press of India* on the 16th April last. The poet appeared to be deeply concerned about the recent developments following the Tripuri session of the Congress. He deplored the lack of unity among the different sections. When he was asked to give his own suggestions which might bring about an improvement in the situation, he said that he had already sent telegrams to both Mahatmaji and the Congress President suggesting that both of them should meet and devise some way for putting an end to the present unhappy state of affairs. It may be noted incidentally that Sir P. C. Ray has also sent similar telegrams to both the leaders.

The poet added:

"Whether the cause of the present unhappy situation be political or personal, whether the resulting bitterness was avoidable or inevitable, I have no doubt that no exercise of political power or wit on either side will cure it. Only an appeal to our moral self can remind us that though much has happened that can justify this fatal un-mindfulness of our permanent need of national unity at a time when we are still marching, handicapped by the lack of almost every material means, nothing is of more value to us than the spirit that must keep our ranks together, and nothing more dangerous than mutual suspicion and fault finding which may betray it. I, therefore, appeal to my countrymen, not only of Bengal but of all India, to forgive little things for the sake of great ends."

We are sure all sincere patriots are with the poet in this appeal.

He concluded:

"Valuable time has been lost in futile recriminations, and we must immediately gather all our forces under the sole guidance of Mahatmaji in absolute loyalty, and thus make wise use of the great opportunity that has come our way."—A. P. J.

There is no question that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest and, on the whole, the wisest political leader India has at present. His guidance is of supreme importance. Therefore, every effort should be made to secure it, but not at the suppression of the political intelligence, insight and experience of all other Indian leaders. Their reasoned opinions also should have due weight. For even Mahatmaji is not infallible and neither violent nor non-violent dictatorship is desirable. It is necessary to bear all this in mind to prevent the hasty assumption that the poet wants Mahatma Gandhi's dictatorship. Most probably the Calcutta representative of the *Associated Press of India* who interviewed the poet was a Bengali and probably the poet spoke to him in Bengali, as he usually does to all Bengalis, and the words put in his mouth in the *Associated Press of India* message are in that case its representative's translations, perhaps free translations. But if the poet spoke to him in English, and if he has been quite faithfully reported, his words would not necessarily mean that he wanted Mahatma Gandhi's dictatorship. "Sole guidance" followed with "absolute loyalty" may imply dictatorship, but the words may also mean that the poet wants Mahatmaji to lead.

pal Bill, and men, like ourselves, who belong neither to the Sabha nor to the Congress, have collaborated with and supported the Sabha in its efforts. In the speeches made in that connection and the articles written on the subject in the papers, it has been pointed out that the Bill offends against the principles of democracy and nationalism. It has also of course been pointed out that the Hindus are the target at which the Huq guns have been aimed. We do not blame Sj. Bose for Congress inaction in the matter. He had been ill. But the Bengal Congress party could have taken action. But it did not—perhaps owing to disorganization and disunity in its ranks or to over-centralization. Even if the Congress had done its duty the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha would have been entitled to do its bit. But as the Congress did not do its duty, it was all the more incumbent on the Sabha to be dutiful.

### Calcutta Session of A.-I. C. C.

The deliberations and decisions of the All-India Congress Committee at its Calcutta session will have very important and far-reaching consequences. Writing as we do on the 24th of April we are not in a position to state what questions and problems will be considered and discussed by its members at this session. As the Committee will sit on the 29th and 30th April and 1st May, we shall not be able to comment on its proceedings in this issue of *The Modern Review*, which is to be published on the 1st May. Sunday the 30th April is a holiday. So our press must finish all work connected with this issue on the 29th, on which day the Committee begins its sittings.

We may be able to comment on its proceedings and decisions in our June number, if by that time they do not become ancient history and if in the mean time cataclysmic developments in Europe and Asia (including India) do not monopolize public attention. Changes may take place with meteoric rapidity.

### Offences Against Women Increase in Bengal

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 28th March last, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhury asked:—Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to lay a statement on the table showing for each of the last five years—

(a) the number of offences committed against women mentioning separately the number of—

(i) Hindu and Muslim victims in such cases, and

(ii) the number of Hindu and Muslim accused in such cases;

(b) the number of cases—

(i) reported, and

(ii) that ended in conviction;

(c) whether the persons who boused and sheltered victims or offenders in such cases were proceeded against as abettors; and

(d) if not, why not?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin's statement in reply is summarized below:

Year	Women Victimised		Total Victimised	Accused		Total Accused	Cases Reported	Number Convicted
	Hindu	Muslim		Hindu	Muslim			
1931	394	425	819	477	1026	1403	825	297
1935	375	440	815	439	936	1402	856	294
1936	423	425	853	527	907	1434	867	307
1937	393	485	878	512	953	1465	893	325
1938	482	515	997	565	1278	1843	1015	273
Total	2072	2290	4362	2520	5100	7547	4456	1496

The reply to part (c) of the question was that abettors were proceeded against where evidence was available—a very evasive answer.

Offences against women are not peculiar to Bengal. They occur in other provinces also—perhaps particularly in those in which Muslims are in a majority. Why it is so, it is for the leaders of Muslim society to determine and apply the remedy. In Bengal it is found that though more Muslim women are victimised than Hindu women, there is no Muslim organization which makes it its duty to try to bring the offenders to book and help the women victimised, whereas there are several such organizations conducted by Brahmans and Hindus, the best known being the Women's Protection League founded by the late Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.

It is noteworthy that the number of Muslim accused is more than double the number of Hindu accused, though the number of Muslim male adults is only slightly larger than the number of Hindu male adults.

There are two other points to be noted. One is that the number of offences has greatly increased since the introduction of provincial autonomy in Bengal under a preponderantly Muslim ministry. And the second is that during the second year (1938) of provincial autonomy the number of the accused (1843) and the number of cases reported (1015) were the highest during the five years for which statistics were given, but the record of convictions was the lowest.



How will the Bengal ministers explain this shameful fact?

But it is not at all our point that it is the ministers who are solely or mainly responsible for this shameful state of things. It is the men of Bengal, irrespective of creed or caste or station, who are mainly to blame. And though we menfolk have not done our part and therefore must naturally hesitate to enquire whether the leading women, the educated women, have done theirs, it must be said that they, too, have not done their duty towards the helpless victims of beastly men's lust and cupidity. We say 'cupidity', because there is a traffic in women and female children.

We have read in newspapers that there are some *mollahs* and other Muslims who consider the abduction of Hindu women praiseworthy. We shall be glad indeed if this is not true. But supposing it to be true, that shameful notion can explain only the abduction of Hindu women by Muslim scoundrels. The statistics officially furnished show, however, that the number of Muslim women offended against is larger than the number of Hindu women similarly treated, and the number of Muslim accused is vastly larger than the number of Hindu accused. Hence, it is quite clear (and we know it from other sources, official included) that the Muslim women offended against are victimised by Muslim scoundrels in the vast majority of cases. Whether it be true or not that abduction of Hindu women is considered praiseworthy by some Muslim *mollahs*, it cannot be true that the abduction of Muslim women is looked upon by them as praiseworthy. How then will the leaders of Muslim society explain the fact of the large number of Muslim women being offended against?

Some Mussalman editors and other Mussalmans used to say that the reports of Hindu girls and women being abducted by Mussalmans were due to the fact of the existence of a large number of girl widows and the custom of lifelong widowhood in Hindu society leading to love intrigues and that Hindu communalists exploited such occurrences to rouse communal passions. It is not at all necessary to discuss or refute this theory. What one may legitimately ask the propounders of this theory is: as the marriage of child widows and young widows, and even of elderly widows with children is not forbidden in Muslim society, how will you explain the victimisation of a larger number of Muslim

women than of Hindu women and that mostly by Muslim males?

We are far from blaming Muslims only or mainly for the disgraceful state of things revealed by the statistics relating to offences against women in Bengal. The fact that there is such a large number of Hindu brutes in Bengal makes us more ashamed than we can express in words. Of course, such scoundrels, to whatever religious community they may nominally belong, are neither Hindus, nor Christians, nor Mussalmans, nor the followers of any other religion. But the followers of every religion which sets a high value on women's honour and chastity owe it to themselves to rid their community of such pests and to make the utmost possible effort to safeguard the honour of womanhood. Hindus are proud and justly proud of the high ideal of womanhood held up in their epics and mythological works, as well as presented by many historical heroines and flowers of womanhood in humbler walks of life. It will not do to be merely proud of these ideals. They require us to rigidly purify society, to have nothing to do with men of impure character, however high their position, and to fight in every possible way the vicious and degrading notion that women are objects of men's animal enjoyment.

While men are to do their part, girls and women should be made fit to protect themselves. With that object in view the needful physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual education should be imparted to them. One's own inner purity and dress and deportment in consonance with it, are the best armour.

The statistics officially supplied are shocking. But perhaps a larger number of cases never come to light at all. Some are not reported because of the fear of social obloquy. Some are not made known to the police because of the terrorism of scoundrels. And the police also sometimes take no action on the reports made to them.

Many girls and women abducted are never heard of again. Whether they are killed or sold in provinces and places far from their homes, never comes to light. Formerly the Hindu girls and women who were abducted—particularly when they were abducted by Muslims, were not taken back by their families or Hindu society, and had perforce either to live with their abductors, or to follow a life of shame, or to commit suicide. Social opinion is now more humane and reasonable. In many, perhaps most cases, such girls and women find shelter again in their own homes and society,

and there are also some Homes provided for them by philanthropic bodies.

One regrettable fact has to be mentioned in conclusion. Owing to the large number of Muslim accused and owing to the allegation made by some Muslim journalists and others that cases of abduction of Hindu girls by Muslims were all or mostly concocted by Hindu communalists, Congressmen in Bengal in order not to offend Muslims and in order to placate them have had no connection or very little connection with the work done by women protection societies. The outspoken utterance of President Subhas Chandra Bose on the subject of offences against women in Bengal on which we wrote a note in one of our past numbers, is perhaps the only publicly known departure from the Congress attitude in this matter.

We have more than once publicly declared our opinion—particularly in *Prabāṭi*, that while we value political freedom very highly indeed, we value woman's honour at least as highly, or rather we must say, more highly. Human society cannot be what it ought to be unless women are enabled to lead chaste lives. It is possible for society to endure in a state of political dependence, but it cannot endure if women's honour be not safe.

Some persons may have the mistaken notion that when we shall have political freedom, women's honour will be safe automatically. If the foreigners who keep India in bondage and the throwing off of whose yoke is considered synonymous with winning political freedom, had been the men who alone, or who for the most part, or who in any appreciable numbers, committed crimes against Indian women, then their overthrow or expulsion would have made Indian women safe. But the offenders against our women are almost entirely our own countrymen. Therefore, the war of emancipation of the Motherland is not the same as a war to free the race of mothers from the fear of brutes in human form. This latter is a war in which every mother's son and every mother's daughter should feel called upon to take part.

### Central and Provincial Budgets At A Glance

The budget estimates, for the year 1939-40, of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are shown in thousands of rupees in the table printed below.

Province or Br India	Population	Revenue	Ex- penditure	Balance (+) or Deficit(—)
Punjab	23,508,853	116,700	119,600	—2,900
Orissa	8,043,681	18,432	20,267	—1,835
Bihar	32,371,434	53,850	53,725	+ 125
Madras	46,740,107	162,345	164,072	—1,727
Sind	3,887,070	38,323	37,635	+ 688
Bombay	18,190,000	125,517	128,363	—2,846
U. P.	43,408,763	132,345	136,933	—4,593
C. P. and Berar	15,507,723	48,574	48,348	+ 126
Assam	8,622,251	28,445	30,184	—1,739
N.-W. F. P.	2,425,076	19,328	18,642	+ 686
Bengal	50,114,002	137,800	146,500	—8,700
Br. India	256,859,787	821,500	826,500	—5,000

People expected that, as "provincial autonomy" had been introduced, the burden of taxation would be lightened. But there has been additional taxation instead in several provinces, including some where the ministers, being Congressmen, accept the moderate salary of Rs. 500 per mensem.

It is true that everywhere, if the "nation-building" departments are to work effectively on an adequate scale, the expenditure in them must be considerably increased, and there must be a corresponding increase in revenue. But revenue can increase without hardship to the people if their tax-paying capacity increases. There is no evidence that during the short period which has elapsed since the introduction of "provincial autonomy" the tax-paying capacity, i.e. the income, of the people has increased.

Much more can be spent for "nation-building," that is, on education, sanitation, and the improvement and expansion of agriculture and industries, if there is retrenchment all round. But the ministers can reduce only their own salaries, not those of the highly paid servants of the Government.

### An Anglo-Indian View of the Indo-British Trade Pact

In one of its recent articles *The Statesman* expressed the hope that "on what may prove to be the eve of war Whitehall will not compel the Government of India to enforce by certification a trade agreement between Britain and India which the Assembly has rejected." It states its reasons for this view partly thus:

"In the case of the Ottawa Agreement in 1932 the Government announced in advance that they would accept the verdict of the Assembly whatever it might be. Yet that was in the old bureaucratic days before the present Act was passed and provincial self-government existed. To flout the Legislature now when provincial self-government has been in operation for two years and federal self-government at the centre is hoped for at an early date is a course hard to justify in any event."

This a reasonable view.

In our last issue it was recorded that the Assembly at New Delhi rejected by 59 votes to 17 Sir Mohd. Zafarullah's motion that the Indo-British Trade Agreement be approved, and that subsequently the Council of State passed the Finance Bill, in the form recommended by the Governor-General, by 27 votes to 12. So what the Anglo-Indian paper wants is that the Government of India should not use the weapon which it has fashioned by the process of certification and secured through its standing majority in the Council of State. Such self-abnegation on its part would be unprecedented, and well-nigh 'unthinkable' in the case of an alien ruling body in its dealings with a subject people. But perhaps the Chouringhee paper thinks that the unexpected should happen for the following reasons:

"We shall win the war by carrying all the peoples of the Commonwealth with us. We must have reason and justice on our side. The idea of 'holding down' India is quite impracticable. India will be with Great Britain. Public feeling regarding the dictator countries is clear and unmistakable. But we trust that in the name of defence there will be no flatfooted folly from London from the outset indicating distrust of provincial Legislatures."

Is the Chamberlain Cabinet then going to be compelled by circumstances to give up its policy of avoiding war at any price?

### *Rajkot Award by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Not By Chief Justice of India?*

In our last issue we repeated the observation previously made in *Prabasi* in consequence of Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General of India, having entrusted to Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India, the work of interpreting the Thakore Sahab of Rajkot's promise to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, that "Mahatmaji has been indirectly made to accept and recognize in advance a limb of the Federation, namely, the Federal Court."

We have been criticized for making this and other similar observations. *The Indian Social Reformer* has written:

"This is not correct. As we point out in the Note on the Gwyer statement, the Federal Court is not in the least involved by the fact that the gentleman who was requested to advise as regards the correct legal interpretation of the Thakore Sahab's composition, happens to be its Chief Justice. The misapprehension would and should have been avoided by selecting some other personage to interpret the Thakore's words. The President of the Indian Legislative Assembly would have been quite as competent an authority on the legal aspect of the subject and he would have had the advantage of being well acquainted with the mental processes of Princes and politicians in this country." (Italics ours.—DORRIS, M. R.)

We shall presently state how our "misapprehension" arose. *The Indian Social Reformer's* observation that "the misapprehension would and should have been avoided by selecting some other personage to interpret the Thakore's words," is important. It shows perhaps that our "misapprehension" was not absolutely unjustified.

*The Daily News of Nagpur* devotes a whole column to criticism of what we wrote on the subject. As it questions our "intellectual honesty" and ascribes motives, any discussion on our part of what it insinuates in uncalled for and would be useless. But what it puts forward as arguments may be noticed.

Mahatma Gandhi has not probably read what we wrote in our last issue on the subject. But as his article in *Harijan* of April 15 contains the sentence, "It may interest the reader to know that Sir Maurice did not interpret the document in his capacity as Chief Justice of the Federal Court but as a jurist of established repute," he raises a point which has a bearing on what we wrote on the subject in our last issue.

We are not interested in making any hair-splitting distinction between Sir Maurice Gwyer, the private citizen and jurist, and Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India. He was chosen by the Governor-General of India, "His Excellency the Crown Representative," to interpret some Rajkot documents, not merely because he is a jurist of established repute—there are other persons in India of the same description and of Indian nationality, too—but because, he being the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, his "award" would have behind it the prestige of that Court, of the Crown Representative, and of the British Government, and therefore the Thakore Sahab would not dare make light of it.

The document is entitled "The Rajkot Award." We have read it carefully from the first line to the last, but nowhere have we found in it any express mention or any indication that it is a mere jurist's award but not the award of the Chief Justice of India. It is printed (in *Harijan*, April 8, 1939) as—

From

The Hon'ble Sir Maurice Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Chief Justice of India

To

The Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative, New Delhi

This does not read like the private communication of a private citizen—a non-official jurist.

The award begins thus:

Sir,  
I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. F. 6 (4)—P (S) /39, dated the 18th of March, 1939, enclosing copies of the Rajkot Darhar Notification No. 50, dated December the 26th, 1938, and a Note sent by His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the same date, and stating that, doubts having arisen as to the meaning which should be attached to these documents, my advice was requested as to the way in which they should be interpreted.

These words do not show that his advice was sought *not* in his capacity as Chief Justice but in the capacity of an ordinary jurist. Moreover he signs the document thus:

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Sd MAURICE GWYER  
Chief Justice of India

If the award was that of a mere jurist, why did Sir Maurice describe himself as Chief Justice of India?

The Chief Justice of the Federal Court was not holding a trial and hence the question of open sittings does not arise. When High Court Judges do some of their work in their Chambers, they, too, do not hold open sittings. But, nevertheless, the legal and judicial work done by them in their Chambers is done by them as High Court Judges. This Rajkot affair was not a trial. But the Chief Justice considered not only the documents of the two parties, but they had the advantage of submitting to Sir Maurice orally what they had to submit, as is stated in the third paragraph of the award. That they presented their cases orally is also mentioned in the following sentence of the award.

"I pause here to observe that the suggestion was made, though it was not at all strongly pressed when I saw the two parties together, that the letter had been obtained from the Thakore Sahib by some form of duress."

So there was something like the hearing of arguments.

When the Shareef case was referred to Sir M. N. Mukherji he did not hold any official position. So the two references are not of the same kind.

That the C. P. Congress ministry fought at the Federal Court to establish a right is quite true. Other ministries may have to do similar things. The Congress ministers, like other ministers, are for the time being officials, and as officials they have to recognise the British Government and everything pertaining to it. These ministers have, directly or indirectly, to

do many things which go to strengthen the British imperial rule in India. But the Indian National Congress has repeatedly and openly declared its absolute opposition and hostility to British imperialism. This is an unfortunate situation. But what Congress ministers have had to do cannot be regarded as the ideal for the Indian National Congress to follow. We do not see why we should have found or hereafter find fault with Congress ministers for recognizing and utilizing the Federal Court. The ministers are limbs of the Government and it is quite proper for them to act as such. But their actions cannot justify or furnish any precedent for those who are not limbs of the Government.

The help of experts is certainly required. But when there are non-official experts available, why accept the help of those experts who are servants of British Imperialism, against which war has been repeatedly declared, as was accepted in the Rajkot affair? The plain answer is, because the award or interpretation of a non-official expert might not have carried the same weight with the Thakore Saheb as Sir Maurice's did. In fact as and when the Viceroy intervened it was a foregone conclusion that the expert would not be a non-official.

We continue to think that, *vis-à-vis* the rulers of the Indian Princes, the Indian National Congress is not yet as powerful and influential as the "paramount power."

When we said in our last issue that "Mahatma has been indirectly made to accept and recognise in advance a limb of the Federation, namely, the Federal Court," that did not cast any moral aspersion on him. It might have implied that other people were astute, he was not.

As to our attitude towards the Government scheme of federation—if anybody cares to know the attitude of one who does not belong to and is neither the follower nor the leader of any party, we may say that we have explained it on page 379, column 1, of our last issue.

[There is another note on this topic on another page.]

### *Suadeshi "Sentiment" Produces Big Practical Result*

The centenary of the birth of that great industrialist and philanthropist, the late Mr. Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata, has furnished an occasion for recalling how the steel industry at

Jamshedpur originated. Mr. J. J. Ghandy, General Manager, Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., Jamshedpur, said in the course of his "Career Lecture," delivered under the auspices of the Calcutta University, "that it was only after protracted appeals to national sentiment, that the necessary capital was secured." Students of politics in India know how and where the Swadeshi sentiment originated and acquired strength.

Mr. F. R. Harris says in his chronicle of the life of the great Mr. Tata:

"Experts reported very favourably upon the quality of the ore, satisfied themselves about the immense quantity available, and expressed the view that it could be cheaply converted into pig iron and made into high grade steel. At this stage, which was reached in the spring and summer of 1906, the project flagged again. A preliminary prospectus was prepared and submitted to various financial interests in London, but unforeseen difficulties were encountered. There were differences about the degree of control which was to be entrusted to the representatives of English investors. A disposition seemed to be manifested to sweep the Tata firm aside. Far more disconcerting was the lack of interest shown by the London Money Market, which is always ready to pour capital into China, or Patagonia, or Timbuctoo, but shows a traditional unwillingness to invest in new enterprises in India. Mr. Dorabji and Mr. Padshah, acting for the Tatas, had, moreover, come into touch with London during one of its periodical phases of depression. Money was very 'tight,' and all fresh projects were looked at askance. The sum asked for was very large. It would have met with a doubtful reception at that moment had the works been projected for England, being for India, people buttoned up their pockets. Eventually there was one exciting period when about four fifths of the required capital was actually promised, but the Syndicate fell through, and the enterprise again seemed doomed, and Mr. Dorabji returned to India."

"For more than a year the negotiations were continued in England but never with more than partial success. By the summer of 1907, however, a new situation had been created in India. The 'Swadeshi' movement, which on its more praiseworthy side meant the cultivation of the doctrine that the resources and the industries of India ought to be developed by the Indians themselves had reached its height. All India was talking 'Swadeshi,' and was eager to invest in 'Swadeshi' enterprises."

"Mr. Dorabji and Mr. Padshah, who had spent weary months in the City of London without avail, after their return conceived, in conjunction with Mr. Balmora, the bold idea of appealing to the people of India for the capital needed. The decision was a risky one, and many predicted failure, but it was amply justified by the result. They issued a circular, which was practically an appeal to Indians. It was followed by the publication of a prospectus, which bears the date August 27, 1907. Mr. Axel Sablin, in a lecture delivered to the Staffordshire Iron and Steel Institute in 1912, has described the instant response. He says:

"From early morning till late at night the Tata Offices in Bombay were besieged by an eager crowd of native investors. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, they came offering their mites; and, at the end of the three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction requirements, £1,630,000, was secured, every penny contributed by some 8,000 native Indians. And when,

later, an issue of Debentures was decided upon to provide working capital, the entire issue, £400,000 was subscribed for by one Indian magnate, the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior."

*Quotation from B. D. Basu's "Consolidation of the Christian Power in India" in Mr. Schiff's Book*

Mr. Leonard M. Schiff, author of *The Present Condition of India*, writes to us from Cawnpore in a letter dated April 21, 1939:—  
"Dear Sir,

My attention has just been drawn to a reference to my book *The Present Condition of India* in the March number of your esteemed journal and I discover to my distress that I have inadvertently used a large quotation from Major Basu's well-known book. As a matter of fact I must admit that I have never read it; therefore it is not conscious borrowing! As far as I recollect, the quotation came to me from the U. P. Congress Committee's Report on the Cawnpore Riots of 1931 in which there is a useful historical section and I do not think that there was any reference to the source of the quotation. I have tried to be careful as to necessary acknowledgments and I take this opportunity to express my regret for what was an entirely unintended plagiarism.

"Thanking you for your kindly reference to my book,

I am, Sir,  
Yours sincerely,  
Leonard M. Schiff"

We had said in our March issue that the source of Mr. Schiff's quotations was not acknowledged, "no doubt inadvertently." We had also characterized his work as "really a very valuable book."

### Daya Ram Sahni

India has lost a most distinguished scholar and archaeologist in the recent death in March last of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C.I.E., M.A., the first Indian to be the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

He had a most distinguished career in the Punjab University and topped the list in the Master of Arts Examination. He was lecturer in the Punjab University in 1903-4, was appointed Government of India Scholar for training in Archaeology, 1904; and assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, in 1910. He became Curator of the Provincial Museum,

Lucknow, in 1912; Superintendent of Archaeology in Kashmir (on deputation) in 1913-17, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1917-25. He was appointed Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India (1925), and then the Director-General early in 1931. He was the first Indian to hold this exalted position.

He was responsible for numerous discoveries and excavations of many ancient sites in India including Harappa, Mohen-jo-daro and Sarnath. He was the discoverer of

important excavations at Bairat, Sambhar and Raurh, which have put Jaipur on the archaeological map of India.

The most important of his numerous publications are :—(1) Catalogue of Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath; (2) Guide to Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath; (3) Two Chapters contributed to Sir John Marshall's 'Mohen-jo-daro and the Indus Civilization'; (4) Annual Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, 1929-30; (5) Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat and at Sambhar (in the press).



Daya Ram Sahni

### Har Dayal

Dr. Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. (London) who went to the United States last October for a short visit prior to his return to India and to help organize the Fifth World Parliament of Religions of the World Fellowship of Faiths, suddenly passed away in his sleep from a heart attack on March 4, 1939.

Memorial services were held in New York on March 12. Tributes to his memory were given by leaders of many faiths. Mrs. Srimati Indumati Marathi sang a Sanskrit hymn and the Indian National Anthem, "Bande Mātaram." Prayers of eleven great faiths were read. His widow, Mrs. Agda Erickson Dayal, said a few touching words about Dr. Har Dayal. The service ended with the singing of the Universal Anthem.

emotional problems. His latest book was *Twelve Religions and Modern Life* (1938).

He was 54 years old at the time of his death and a man of genial personality.

Dr. Har Dayal was a brilliant speaker; he lectured in English, French, German and Swedish. He possessed a remarkable memory. Dr. Har Dayal lived, studied and worked for cultural, ethical and sociological regeneration in India, England, France, Germany, Sweden, Turkey, United States, Hawaii, West Indies, and Algeria. He knew many languages: Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi, English, Persian, French, German, Swedish, and was learning Greek and Esperanto. He was an eminent scholar of Literature, Religion, History, Sociology and Philosophy.

Har Dayal, even at the age of 19 or 20, was known as an idealist. In that time, 1905-1908, while he was at Oxford, the Nationalist Renaissance of India was at its vivid dawn—India's political goal was declared to be "Independence"—a Republic of United India became the National idea, of which Har Dayal became a most brilliant proponent. Influenced as he had been even then by the self-sacrificing example of Lord Buddha, he determined henceforth to live a simple life, devoted to truth and national regeneration.

In 1911 he came to San Francisco at the invitation of some American scholars. He was appointed a lecturer in Hindu Philosophy at Stanford University. He became humanist thinker along the path of peace.

Lala Rajpat Rai, one of the foremost leaders of India, wrote in his book, *Young India* :

"Dr. Har Dayal is a unique personality. He lived a life of purity and wanted others to do the same. He is an idealist of a strange type. He is simple in his life, apparently quite indifferent to the opinions of others about him. He does not court favor at the hands of anyone, and would go out of his way to help others. He is loved and respected by hundreds of thousands of his countrymen, including those who do not agree with his views."

On account of his political opinions and activities during one period of his life, he was prevented from returning to India. But permission had been recently given to him to come back.

### "Social Conquest of the Hindu Race"

We republish in this issue an article by the late Dr. Har Dayal on the Social Conquest of

the Hindu Race. Written thirty years ago, when it originally appeared in *The Modern Review* for September, 1909, it was read with great interest and in fact created some sensation.

### Jnanendra Mohan Das

In Jnanendra Mohan Das Bengal has lost a man who, during the greater part of his active life, had devoted himself entirely to promoting the cause of the Bengali language and literature. He was the author of some books for youthful readers and some school books, besides a scholarly, though small book on the religion of the Jews. His edition of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt's epic *Meghnad-badh* with a scholarly introduction and annotations is perhaps the best edition of that work. But among his books the one which is best known to Bengali readers is *Banger Bahare Bangali*, "Bengalis Outside Bengal," in which he has given biographical sketches of a good many Bengalis, mostly in comparatively humble walks of life, who were remarkable for their achievements.

His *magnum opus* was his Dictionary of the Bengali Language in two volumes. It is the largest and the most scholarly complete Bengali lexicon which has been yet published. The number of words it explains is 1,15,000. It is a monument to his scholarship, industry, perseverance and devotion. He worked for it for some two decades from 12 to 14 hours a day. As the production of practically one man, it is unique. While suffering from the inroads of that fell disease, diabetes, to which he succumbed, he was collecting words for the third edition of his dictionary. This work alone should have won him an honorary doctorate from the Calcutta or the Dacca University. But he did not cultivate the arts of flattering men in power and pushing himself forward. He knew several languages: Bengali, English, Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit, and some Persian and Arabic.

He was a man of gentle and unassuming manners and was known for the purity of his life. Many years of his life were spent in the United Provinces. For years he was confidential clerk to the Inspector-General of Police, U. P. and as he had to accompany that officer in his tours, he came to have an intimate knowledge of all U. P. districts. Owing to ill health, he retired from Government service comparatively early in life and passed away at the age of 67.

## Jaladhar Sen

Jaladhar Sen, who died last month in his eightieth year was perhaps the oldest among his contemporary Bengali litterateurs. On account of his sociability and affectionate disposition, he was known to a large circle of Bengali litterateurs and journalists as "Jaladhar-dā," which is an abbreviation of Jaladhar Dādā (Elder Brother Jaladhar). He had been successively the editor of several newspapers and periodicals and was known as a novelist and writer of short stories and essays. What first made him famous was the account of his travels in the Himalayas, which originally appeared serially in *Sahitya* and was afterwards published in book form. He was the founder and Sarvādhyaaksha for life of the Bengali literary club Rabi-bāsar, and was the editor of the Bengali monthly *Bhāratvarsa* at the time of his death.

## Calcutta Hartal and Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha

Last month there was a successful hartal in Calcutta by way of protest against the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill Not to speak of Hindu shopkeepers and other Hindu men of business, some Mussalmans also voluntarily closed their places of business till the appointed hour in the afternoon. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha took the lead in asking the Hindu citizens of Calcutta to observe hartal. There was also a huge public meeting on hartal day presided over by Mr N. C. Chatterjee, Barrister-at-Law, who made a very telling and well-argued speech. It has been objected that as the Bill is anti-national and anti-democratic, all citizens irrespective of creed, caste and colour, should have been asked to observe hartal, and that by asking the Hindus alone to observe hartal a communal colour was given to the affair. It is theoretically true that the hartal should have been all-communal. But nobody had prevented the promotion of such a hartal. The Congress as an all-communal organization could have promoted it. But if the Congress or any other all-communal body did not do it, were the Hindus not to try to protect their interests as well as the interests of the nation? If the Hindu Sabha had asked the Mussalmans also to join, the latter could have and certainly would have objected by saying: What authority, what business have you to ask us to join?

It is rather queer that when Hindus seek

to protect their interests, and that, too, without in the least seeking to prejudice or injure the legitimate interests of others, they should be accused of directly or indirectly fomenting communalism! When the Congress refrains from taking up the cause of the Hindus when they are the aggrieved party, it is to be hoped that is not communalism of a negative sort.

## Calcutta Ward Health Associations

It was in the year 1925 that Ward Health Associations were started in Calcutta with the idea of rendering free medical aid to poor people and stamping out epidemics like tuberculosis, kalaazar and malaria, which had been taking heavy tolls every year. According to that scheme a free treatment centre was opened in every ward and arrangements were made to rouse the sanitary consciousness of the people, by exhibitions, lantern lectures, etc. Their excellent work was highly appreciated by the Government as well as the public.

Poor people who could not get access to the big outdoors on account of congestion flocked to these centres, where they could get all facilities and attention. The annual exhibitions, lantern lectures and other methods of propaganda have roused sanitary consciousness to an appreciable extent even among women. The sanitary survey resulted in many instances in the improvement of plague spots. We are surprised to learn that the Corporation has suddenly discovered that some of the Ward Associations were not working well and so thought it advisable to stop Corporation grants.

We cannot follow the logic of penalising many for the sin of a few. If some Associations did not work well, why could not the Corporation by their highly paid officers check their negligence and bring them to task? While the civilized world is utilizing all agencies like Public Health Associations, Nursing Associations, etc. for public-health service, we wonder how the Calcutta Corporation could go backwards and lay the axe at the root of the institutions started during the Mayoralty of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das.



the Howrah station they were accorded a hearty send-off by a large number of Hindu citizens of Calcutta. The remaining ten of the batch are: Anil Kumar Sarkar, Atul Chandra Das, Ajit Kumar Datta, Sailendra Nath Sarkar, Satyendra Nath Saha, Matilal Datta, Rabindra Chandra De, Surendra Nath Chatterjee, Anil Kumar Ghosh and Anil Kumar Mukherjee.

This batch of Satyagrahis was to go directly to Poona to join the batch under the leadership of S. J. Bhopalkar.

Babu Bankim Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., chairman of the reception committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference held at Kumbha, gave the following message to the Satyagrahis assembled at the Howrah station on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha:

With mixed feelings we have come here today to bid you farewell and we wish you to keep yourselves cheerful under all privations and always bear in mind that God will help your noble cause. To protect your culture and religion, mothers and sisters—is not communalism, only godless anti-Hindus dare say so. Comrades, take no heed of the Nizam's jails or police rifles. Always feel that your cause is the cause of mankind, Manulohayana or Hinduism. When we all will have to meet death to-day, to-morrow or the day after, let it come in the noblest of causes, for the protection of the best culture on Earth. Always bear in mind that this struggle is bound to be lifelong; today it is against the Nizam's Government, to-morrow it will be against the Union Jack and other flags. Our best wishes are with you and we expect of you, the vanguard, Bengal's contribution to this great cause.

Ireland he would say that they were living in a changing world. Basta of complete friendly relations with Britain could not be secured so long as partition continued.

When the Irish people heard of aggression being spoken of they felt sore about it, because there had been continuous aggression in north Ireland for centuries.—*Reuter.*

### *Failure of Gandhiji's Mission at Rajkot*

It is a matter for extreme regret that Gandhiji's efforts to prevail upon the Thakore Sahel of Rajkot to introduce constitutional reforms in his State have for the time being failed. Mahatmaji's fast did not change the heart of that prince. He has somehow managed to wriggle out of the Gwyer award. It did not or could not bind him hand and foot. Or perhaps it was not meant to be effectively coercive. During the negotiations preceding Gandhiji's ultimate failure, there was at one stage talk of making another reference to "the Chief Justice of India." Should there be a reference to that gentleman again, we hope it would be distinctly mentioned that what was sought was the non-official interpretation of the jurist Sir Maurice Gwyer, not the official one of the Chief Justice of India bearing the same name and having the same personality. Or, better still, as it has been urged, e.g. by the *Daily News* of Nagpur that it was an "accident" that Sir Maurice Gwyer was the referee or interpreter and that it might have been some other jurist let not that "accident" be repeated and let all "misapprehension" be prevented on similar future occasions by the choice of jurists holding no official position.

Ever since his arrival here on his mission of peace Gandhiji had made it a point to hold daily the congregational evening prayer on the Rashtriya Shala grounds. The practice was kept up during the fast.

On the evening of the 16th instant a report was brought to Gandhiji that the Bhayats and Mussalmans of Rajkot were going to hold a black flag demonstration at the evening prayer. There was also a report that a *garland of shoes had been got ready for the occasion*. He made light of the fears of those who brought the report. He had full faith in the Mussalman and the Bhayat leaders who had friendly discussions with him during the last five days. But in case the worst came to the worst he would welcome it. Accordingly, he gave peremptory instructions that anybody approaching him, no matter with what intent, should be given free access and not obstructed in any way.

He motored as usual to the Rashtriya Shala prayer ground. Almost simultaneously with it the demonstrators too, numbering about 600 arrived on the scene with black flags and placards bearing inscriptions some of which were highly offensive. They lined the fence enclosing the prayer ground from the main road. The Sardar happened to be away at Amreli that day and so missed the show.

Gandhiji bowed to the demonstrators, as is his wont, before he sat down to prayer, which was conducted as usual. All the time the prayer was going on the provocations kept on an unceasing demonstration of shouting and yelling.

## The Way of the Satyagrahi Mahatma

Shri Pyarelal continues :

The creation of disturbance at the prayer time under the very eyes of the Bhayats and Mussalman representatives who had sat with him in conference only the other day was for him the "unkindest cut of all." The prayer over, he rose to go. The demonstrators had by now begun to pour in through the entrance of the narrow passage leading to the prayer ground. Gandhiji instead of going by car as usual, decided to walk through the crowd so as to give the demonstrators full chance to say or do to him whatever they pleased. At the entrance the crush was too great to allow further progress. The pushing and jostling by the demonstrators at the rear on either side of the gangway was growing apace. The dust and the din added to the confusion. Friends tried to form a protective cordon. But Gandhiji waved them off. "I shall sit here or go alone in their midst," he told them. All of a sudden he was seized by an attack of indescribable pain in the region of the waist, and felt as if he would faint. This is an old symptom in his case that seizes him whenever he receives an acute mental shock. For a time he stood in the midst of that jostling crowd motionless and silent, his eyes shut, supporting himself on his staff, and tried to seek relief through silent prayer, a remedy that has never failed him on such occasions. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered he reiterated his resolve to go through the demonstrators all alone. He addressed a Bhayat, who stood confronting him and who, he subsequently learned, was besides a police officer in plain clothes. "I wish to go under your sole protection not my co-workers." Some Bhayats had already noticed his condition. They now bade the rest to make way for him, and leaning on the shoulder of the Bhavat friend in question, Gandhiji walked to the waiting car. "This is the way of Satyagraha," he remarked as the car drove off, "to put your head unresistingly into the

lap of your 'enemy,' for him to keep or make short work of just as he pleases. It is the sovereign way, and throughout my half a century of varied experience it has never once failed me."

Two Mussalman representatives from the Civil Station came to see him soon after, according to previous appointment. "You were less than fair to yourself and to us in exposing yourself to such a risk. Anything may happen in a motley crowd," they remarked to him with reference to the happenings of the evening.

Gandhiji in reply described to them how such risk-taking had become a part and parcel of his life. There were at least half a dozen occasions in South Africa and in India when he had risked his life like that, and he had never regretted doing so. In all cases the assailant or the would-be assailants had ended by becoming his friends. "But should the worst happen after all" he concluded, "what privilege can be greater for a Satya grahi than to fall with a prayer in your heart for those whom you wanted to serve but who under a delusion took you for an 'enemy'?"

Rajkot, 18-4-39

On many of the countless occasions when Mahatma Gandhi offered "prayer to the one and only God of us all," the congregations included orthodox Muslims. But the mob at Rajkot which disturbed him in his devotions included Muslims. What do those Muslims who object to music before mosques on the ground of its creating disturbance at the time of worship, think of the conduct of these Rajkot Mussalmans?

## Award of "The Chief Justice of India" or of "Sir Maurice Gwyer"?

In continuation of our note discussing whether the Rajkot award was given by the Chief Justice of India or by Sir Maurice Gwyer in his private capacity of jurist, we wish to mention that in the letter of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot dated 10th April, 1939, printed in *Harijan* of April 22, we find the words, "the award of the Hon'ble Chief Justice of India" and "the Chief Justice of India's decision." Similarly in the same issue of *Harijan*, Mahatma's letter to the Thakore Saheb, dated April 14th, mentions "the Chief Justice's Award" twice. In neither letter where the award is referred to twice in each is Sir Maurice Gwyer mentioned by name. Yet it is contended that he did not give his award as the Chief Justice of India, that is, of the Federal Court of India!

## "The Tragedy of Talcher"

Mahatma Gandhi writes of "the tragedy of Talcher":

The reader will recall the twenty to twenty-five thousand refugees of Talcher State in Orissa. They are living under great difficulties in the forests of Angul in

British Orissa. I rely upon these figures because they are vouched for by Thakkar Bapa and Shri Harikrishna Mehta. Both of them have a reputation to lose. Moreover Thakkar Bapa is purely a humanitarian and social reformer of long standing. He does not dabble in politics.

Only a few days ago it was announced in the Press that a settlement had been arrived at and that the refugees were about to return to their homes. This news was immediately contradicted and it was stated that the Raja of Talcher had refused to honour the pact entered into by Major Hennessey, Assistant Political Agent for Orissa States North.

Gandhiji then gives the full text of the pact signed on the 21st March last and the names of the important officers, European and Indian, who were present when it was signed. After reproducing the terms of the sanad under which the Raja holds Talcher, Gandhiji observes:

Under clause 6 of the sanad the Raja is bound to act in accordance with such advice as may be given to him "by the Agent to the Governor General, Eastern States, or such other Political Officer as may be vested with authority in this behalf by H. E. the Viceroy."

The Raja has therefore no option but to carry out the wishes of the Assistant Political Agent. The question is, why is there all this delay in carrying out the pact? The interests of over 20,000 refugees living on sparse food and practically without shelter are at stake. Delay is not only dangerous; it is criminal.

### *The Tragedy of the Indian States*

There are eight crores of people living in the Indian States. Except Russia there is no country in Europe which, singly, contains as many inhabitants. And there are many independent countries in that continent whose combined population would not come up to eighty millions. When any of these countries are deprived of their liberty, lovers of freedom in independent countries all over the world and in dependent India, too, mourn their lot and are indignant at the conduct of the aggressors. But here in India the people of the vast majority of about 700 Indian States have been living under irresponsible despots for generations—some for centuries, without any political right or civil liberty.

And Britain, the paramount power, guarantees the security of their thrones to the rulers of these States but does not practically guarantee any right to the States' people. It ought to guarantee good government to them. It is its duty to do so. Many pronouncements of Viceroys may be quoted in support of this view. One will suffice.

Prior to the rendition of Mysore in 1882 Lord Lytton wrote in his despatch to the Secretary of State:

"The British Government now undertakes the duty of preserving all native states of India from external enemies and of preserving internal order by measures necessary for securing the people from misgovernment and for supplying the lawful authority of the ruler. So also the powers of the British Government to prescribe the forms of administration and to insist that its advice be adopted are the necessary corollaries of the admitted responsibilities of the British Government for the internal peace of the whole Empire and general welfare of the people."—Quoted in *The Present Condition of India* by Leonard M. Schiff, page 122.

For securing to the people of the States the right of good government the paramount power should "prescribe the form of administration"—at least the kind of responsible government which it has given to the people of British India, and "insist that its advice be adopted." Because, for the continued good government of the States, occasional intervention of the paramount power—so rare an occurrence—is not sufficient. The rulers must be made constitutionally responsible to the people for their actions, and this the paramount power has both the right and the might to do.

### *Raja Rammohun Roy's Mission to England*

*The Indian Messenger* of the 23rd April last has published the cheering news that Dr. J. K. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, joint author with Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, M.A., of *Letters and Documents Relating to the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Vol. I, has collected a mass of materials from the archives of the Government of India on the subject of Raja Rammohun Roy's mission to England as the envoy of the Emperor of Delhi. Dr. Majumdar's book embodying these materials is now under preparation and will form Vol. II of the work referred to above.

### *The Poet's Message on the Bengali New Year's Day*

On the occasion of the celebration of the Bengali New Year's Day at Santiniketan the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, delivered a beautiful inspiring address in Bengali. The authorized version will appear in *Prabasi* for Jyaishtha. We give below one passage from it as inadequately reported and translated by a newspaper reporter:

At this far-end of the journey of my life I shall consider my life to be fruitful if I have been able to make even a small sacrifice, if I have been able to reveal that the success of my life does not lie in me alone but in all mankind, and if I have been able to do something for the amelioration of human pain and suffering.

The sages have classified all our work in two categories: "Shreyah" and "Preya"—that which is good and that which one likes. The path of the "Preya" is the path of selfishness; those who take to this are said to be divorced from humanity. Man's punishment is the sorrow which comes from it.

On this new year's day let us take the path of attaining the "Shreyah" through devotion.

### ***Bengal Students' Drive Against Illiteracy***

Some five hundred students in Calcutta had offered to act as volunteers in the campaign against adult illiteracy. They were given a course of training in the education of adults. On the completion of the course they were given a send-off on the 22nd April last in the Calcutta University Institute hall to their homes in the mofussil, where they will do their work during the summer holidays. Dr Syāmā-prāṣād Mukhopadhyay, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and Sir P. C. Ray took great interest in the movement.

The Calcutta University Institute meeting was addressed by the Hon. Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth of *The Statesman*, the Hon'ble Mr. Nalin Ranjan Sarker, finance member of the Bengal Cabinet, Dr Nahnakshya Sanyal, M.L.A., S.J. Santosh Kumar Basu, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, S.J. Nananjan Neogy, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Professor Anatinath Bose and Sir Badridas Goenka.

Bengal has very many more students. It is to be hoped that the first batch of 500 of them is only the vanguard and that thousands more will come forward to liquidate adult illiteracy in the country. The future of the movement would depend to some extent on the measure of success achieved by the first batch of workers. It is to be hoped that their efforts will be attended with success.

The general public should note and remember that the liquidation of illiteracy is not the duty of students alone. Those who are older and who are no longer students should also either work directly for the success of the movement or contribute to the funds required for carrying on the work of educating adult illiterates.

This is not, of course, the first attempt in Bengal to remove adult illiteracy. Even some decades ago, the work used to be done in various places, though the workers did not belong to any central organization. Many of the workers were interned or otherwise victimized by the guardians of law and order. As the present movement has got official and semi-

official patronage, the workers do not run any such risk.

We wish all success with all our heart to the youthful servants of the Motherland who have resolved to share their knowledge with their unfortunate ignorant countrymen, and hope that our good wishes will not directly or indirectly obstruct their work in any way.

### ***Youth Movement and Bengali New Year's Day***

For some years past our students of both sexes, with the support of some of their elders, have been celebrating the Bengali New Year's Day by marching in procession with flags, mass drill, and similar observances. This is the result of the sense of solidarity which they possess and also increases that solidarity. Such celebrations are useful and deserve encouragement.

### ***Water Hyacinth Eradication Week***

The Bengal Government declared a Water Hyacinth Eradication week last month and granted holidays on different dates to some of their servants to enable them to take part in the very necessary work of destroying this vegetable pest. It has greatly obstructed agricultural work and water transport in many districts of Bengal and has thus been economically injurious to the province. It has also affected public health to a great extent. If the efforts of the Government and the public succeed in eradicating it, Bengal will be somewhat more prosperous and healthy than at present.

### ***The Hague Peace Palace***

*World Youth* publishes a picture of The Hague Peace Palace and says, the Palace accommodates the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Permanent Court of International Justice, The Academy of International Law and a Library on international and municipal law. The Court of International Justice was founded in 1922 and is composed of 15 judges appointed by the League of Nations. The first peace conference was held at The Hague in 1922.

As the judges and the arbitrators find their office a sinecure, perhaps they are rusting.

Perhaps Hitler and Mussolini think that The Hague Peace Palace ought to be kept in a big museum of antiquities, if not destroyed entirely.

## *Bill to Amend Government of India Act*

From the days when the Government of India Act of 1935 was being debated upon in the British Parliament as a bill, Indians had been proposing various alterations in it. But their cry was a cry in the wilderness. After the bill became an Act, the same people have been suggesting some amendments to make the constitution embodied in it, and particularly its federal part, somewhat worthy of being worked by Indian nationalists. But the high and mighty British imperialists have all along loftily said that the Government of India Act of 1935 is such a supremely superb piece of drafting and legislation that the alteration of a single comma in it was unthinkable. All this was said because the subject people of India asked for these alterations in their own interests.

But now that it is apprehended that Britain may be involved in a war and in that war the resources of India in men, money and materials must be used even against the wishes of her people, British imperialists have found that that last word in legislation is capable of amendment and does in fact require amendment.

It is unnecessary and useless, too, to enter into details. The amending bill is meant to deprive the provinces of their autonomy to the extent required during emergency. During such period or periods the Government of India will control the provincial governments. Whether there is or is not an emergency will be determined in the last resort by the British War Office, which cannot be expected to be squeamish in dealing with provincial autonomy.

We recognize that in war time there must be centralization of authority. But that centralized authority must be placed in hands responsible to the people's representatives. So long as the Government of India remains irresponsible to the people of India, it ought not to be allowed to control the autonomous provinces, whatever their measure of autonomy.

India objects to be drawn into any war in which her interests are not directly involved. In any case, she must be allowed to judge on every occasion whether her interests are involved or not. At present, the provincial cabinets have some representative capacity, as the ministers composing them were elected by some constituency or other, and they have some power. The central government has no cabinet composed of ministers elected by the people. So it is only the action of the provincial cabinets which to some extent reflects popular opinion. But the amending bill deprives them of liberty

of action in an emergency. The central government is empowered by the bill to control the popular ministries. This the Congress, or any other nationalist body, can never agree to. It is quite possible that under certain circumstances when Indian interests are at stake, even the Congress ministries may support Britain's war policy. But it is of the essence of provincial autonomy that they should be allowed to do so or not freely. The Congress agreed to work the provincial part of the British-made constitution of India simply because it was promised that there would not be any interference with the constitutional activities of the ministers. When the bill puts an end to this non-interference, the Congress will be bound to fight the whole constitution.

The British Government thinks that by means of the amending bill it will be possible to dragoon the provincial cabinets. But it is forgotten that, as soon as interference begins, all the Congress cabinets may resign in a body. Congress is sufficiently powerful in the majority of the provinces to prevent any other cabinets than its own from working. So when the Congress ministers resign in a body in all Congress provinces, practically the only alternative left would be to suspend the constitution and for the governors to assume and exercise all powers. Perhaps the British Government thinks that it is sufficiently powerful to fight external enemies and at the same time face a non-violent movement of rebellion in India.

There is one amendment in the bill which has nothing to do with any war in the literal sense. It is that, with the exception of the Aligarh and Benares Universities, legislation with regard to all other government-established universities in British India will come under the jurisdiction of the governments of the provinces where they are situated. So when the bill becomes law, the Hoq cabinet in Bengal will be able to carry on its campaign against the Calcutta University effectively. War against the Calcutta University is in a way war against Bengal nationalism, which the British Government hates.

## *Chinese Successes in War*

Friends of freedom all over the world will rejoice to note that the Chinese armies are again active and have been making headway against the Japanese aggressors.

## *Chinese Non-military Endeavours*

While China has been carrying on her war of defence and liberation, her leaders are not

oblivious of other national duties. The News Releases regularly sent by the China Information Committee, for which we are grateful, contain in almost every number proof of such patriotic endeavours. In the latest three numbers received, Nos. 375, 376, 377, we find items like the following: Building China's Steel-Works, Chinese Hydraulic Engineers Kept Busy, Building Sino-Foreign Relations on Cultural Basis, National Health Administration's Two Years' Progress, etc.

### *China Loses Five-eighths of her Libraries*

One News Release of the Chinese Information Committee gives the very sad news that of China's some 4,000 public or private libraries, more than 2,500 are in the war areas, and of these hundreds have been destroyed by Japanese bombs and shells, while the rest have been either seized in toto or thoroughly pilaged by the invaders, according to the latest issue of the fortnightly published by the Chinese Librarians' Association in Kunming.

In the provinces of Szechwan, Kwangsi, Shensi and Kansu, forming parts of China's Southwest and Northwest, the Journal says, there are only five libraries which have more than 50,000 volumes each. In the meantime libraries which contain more than 10,000 books each are few and far between in Kweichow, Yunnan and other Frontier Provinces.

### *Tenth Health Number of Calcutta Municipal Gazette*

The tenth Health Number of the Calcutta Municipal Gazette is a very useful publication and is artistically got up. Many of its articles are by persons who have expert knowledge of the subjects on which they write. The illustrations are finely executed. Many of them are not only works of art, but have a right to be included in a publication which aims at instructing people as to how to build the body beautiful.

the Zamindars. The latter would do well not to obstinately adhere to their evident determination not to give up any of their advantages in favour of the Kisans. If they do not yield willingly, they will be compelled to do so. We do not ask the Zamindars to yield to the argument of the big stick. It is only just that the condition of the Kisans should improve. But their condition cannot improve unless the Zamindars give up some of their advantages. They are not justly entitled to the whole of their income.

So far as the Kisans are concerned their demand that the Zamindari system should be entirely abolished without any compensation to the Zamindars, is not just. If all private property were abolished, the landed estates of the Zamindars would go the way of all other kinds of property. But if factories, commercial firms, banks, other business concerns, house property, etc., can be owned by individuals or collections of individuals, why not landed estates? Many persons have purchased Zamindaries with money earned by their labour in other avocations. If the Zamindari system were to be abolished, these persons in any case would be entitled to compensation.

### *The Attitude of the Maharajahdiraj of Darbhanga*

At the All-India Landholders' Conference which was held at Lucknow last month, the Maharajahdiraj of Darbhanga took up a reasonable attitude. In the course of his presidential speech he expressed the opinion that the landholders must recognise that they could not stand aloof from the factors governing the tendencies of the new world in which they found themselves. They must think how best they can fit themselves in "the general scheme of national regeneration which is the most vital problem of the present generation." But the landholders who had assembled at the Conference belonged generally to the die-hard variety.

## *A Marathi-speaking Province Demanded*

At a meeting held at Nagpur on the 20th April last under influential auspices, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Whereas it is the declared policy of the Indian National Congress to encourage linguistic distribution of the provinces with a view to foster the growth of cultural unity and healthy spirit of progressing as autonomous units of Federated India and whereas administrative difficulties and experience have shown that a time has come when the Marathi-speaking tracts of the Central Provinces and Berar should form themselves into a sub-province as a step towards the ultimate formation of the entire Maharashtra as one province, whereas a demand for such a sub-province for the Marathi-speaking tracts has been accepted by the Provincial Government in the C. P. Legislature this meeting hereby resolves that public opinion be created and mobilised for the formation of such a province and early steps be taken to convene a conference and establish a committee of experts to examine the financial and other matters involved incidentally in the formation of such a province and this meeting urges the members of the Provincial and Central Assemblies to move for a separation of this province in the manner provided in the Government of India Act

## *Question of Formation of Mithila Province to be Examined*

The following resolution was passed on the 23rd April last at the 28th session of the All-India Maithil Sabha held at Darbhanga under the Presidentship of the Maharajahdhiraj of Darbhanga :

"This Mahasabha directs the executive committee of the Mahasabha to examine thoroughly the question of the formation of Mithila as a separate province with provincial autonomy and to decide whether this is a feasible proposition and if so how this can be achieved."

The Congress party's daily in Patna has not found any "conspiracy" or "effrontery" in this Maithil move.

The reasons why a separate Mithila province is desired may perhaps be found in the following resolutions of the Maithil Mahasabha :

"This Mahasabha deprecates the attitude of the Bihar Government towards Maithils in respect of Government appointments and different nominations made by the Government and requests the Bihar Government to give up this attitude of neglect towards Maithils."

"This Mahasabha records with deep regret the effort of the Congress organisation to suppress Maithils and requests the Congress High Command to give Maithils due representation according to their population strength."

## *Bengal's Small Industries*

"Bengal's role in the industrial evolution of India is almost as great as her part in politics, and so far as the small industries are concerned, Bengal has been a fertile home of innumerable pioneering ventures for the last quarter of the present century." Thus observed Mr. N. N. Rakshit addressing the students of the University of Calcutta on the subject of "Small Industries."

This was the sixteenth of the series of lectures on

"Careers" organized by the Appointment Board of the University of Calcutta.

Mr. Rakshit divided the small industries existing in Bengal in two classes—(a) small factories using power-driven machineries, and usually situated in the suburbs of cities and (b) cottage industries using little or no mechanical appliances, and carried on in villages of Bengal.

Mr. Rakshit gave a list of a hundred small industries which could be started with a capital of 5,000 or less.

## *Ex-Detenu Obtains Blue Ribbon of Calcutta University*

Sj. Atindra Nath Bose, an ex-detenu, has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Research Studentship of the Calcutta University in arts this year. He stood fourth in the Matriculation with distinction in every subject. Although a science student in the Intermediate, he took honours in History in the B.A. and stood first with first class honours. From *Buxa Detention Camp* he took the M.A. degree in History standing second in the first class. While interned in a village in Bakuro district, he obtained the B.A. certificate in French. During home domicile and conditional release he studied the economic conditions of ancient India and submitted his thesis on Rural Economy of Northern India.

Sj. Bose surveyed an almost unbroken track of Indology and made liberal use of the profuse literary material of the Buddhist period. His deductions on land-system and land-revenue, famine and labour conditions are already published in oriental journals and speak of a sound and critical use of data. His thesis for the P.R.S. was highly appreciated by his examiners.

After release Sj. Bose joined the Statistical Laboratory as an assistant to Prof. P. C. Mahalanabis and conducted a Diet Survey of the citizens of Calcutta. He has also a flair and penchant for journalism and writes in current periodicals on literary and sociological topics.

Though Sj. Atindra Nath Bose is the only ex-detenu to obtain the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University, there are other political sufferers who have done remarkably well in University examinations while in detention or shortly after release, showing what class of our youth were generally victimised.

## *"Anti-War Day"*

Last month President Subhas Chandra Bose appealed to all sections of the Indian people, irrespective of their political creed, to observe "anti-war day." The appeal was not made in connection with any pacifist propaganda. The idea was not to taboo all war and

make the people of India thoroughgoing ahimsa-ists. By the observance of the anti-war day, S. Bose wished to mobilize public opinion in India in favour of non-participation in any imperial war (waged of course by Britain), and to pass resolutions condemning the British Parliament's bill to amend the Government of India Act of 1935, introduced with the main object of empowering the central government in India to issue directions to the provincial governments in the event of a war which the latter must carry out. We are certainly against India participating in any imperial war, and we have already criticized the aforesaid amending bill. But, though our comments come after the observance of the anti-war day, we wish to make a few brief ones.

When India becomes independent she will decide like other independent countries what war to participate in, what not, whom to fight, whom not to fight. But even while remaining a part of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations, she must insist on the right to freely decide what war she will participate in—a right which the Dominions have and exercise.

But it should not be thought that all wars that Britain may engage in are imperial wars in the sinister sense. If she enters upon a war to extend her empire, that is an imperial war with which India should have nothing to do. If in any part of the British empire Britain tries to suppress by force of arms or otherwise a violent or non-violent freedom movement, India should not in any way support any such endeavour on Britain's part; on the contrary, it would be perfectly right for India to oppose or thwart any such British endeavour, if she possibly can. But if Britain engages in a war with any Fascist or Nazi State which seeks to enslave and annex any other country, there is no harm in India participating in such a war. India must, however, have the right of free choice. Indian patriots have blamed Britain for not fighting on behalf of Abyssinia, China, Czechoslovakia, Republican Spain and Albania. Supposing now or in the near or distant future, she discovers her mistake and decides to fight Italy or Japan or Germany, it will be perfectly legitimate for India to help Britain to do so, provided of course she is allowed freedom of choice like the Dominions. To find fault with Britain on some occasions because she did not fight in defence of the liberty of other nations, and then again on other occasions, when she may decide so to fight, to stand aloof on the excuse that all British wars are imperial wars,

would not be right. It is true we are not yet free and Britain holds us down. But it is also true that we have got some amount of freedom and expect to win more. And it is true, moreover, that the chances of India becoming and remaining free would decrease if the totalitarian States dominated the world instead of the democratic States doing so. Britain and France and Russia and the United States of America are not free from defects. The first two are holding down the foreign people in their empires. But the totalitarian States are a greater menace to human freedom than the former. Therefore, speaking generally, in any great war in which the democratic and totalitarian States are ranged on opposite sides, India may freely decide to throw in her lot with the former even before she is fully free. Further, if by participating in any British war which is not one of aggression and which will not interfere with the liberty of any nation India can promote her own interest, she may rightly decide to participate in it.

Subjection to no nation is desirable. All subjection is harmful and degrading. But if India must needs remain under subjection for a little while longer, it would be wise on her part not to contribute directly or indirectly to such increase of the power of any non-British nation or group of nations as might enable it to wrest India from Britain and bring her under its power. The new yoke of the new stranger would be more galling than the accustomed yoke of the old one, and would cause fresh wounds. There would be bleeding afresh under the old callousities. It is hateful and loathsome to have to write seemingly but not in reality apologetically in favour of any variety of servitude. But facts have to be faced. So while we are ashamed of our slavery and while seeking in our own humble way to end it, we must, even at the risk of being misunderstood, caution whomsoever it may concern against doing anything which may lead to greater enslavement of the world (including India) than now.

We have already had our say on the bill for amending the Government of India Act of 1935.

### *New Entrants to All-India Services*

A resolution has been passed in the Bengal Legislative Assembly urging that "the Secretary of State for India be moved to reduce the scale of pay for all new entrants to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service." Even in countries which are richer than India



the scales of pay of public servants are lower than those fixed for the all-India services. We have in many of our past issues given comparative statistics in support of our remark. Recently in the March number, pp. 257, some such statistics have been again given. The provincial cabinets cannot reduce the pay of those who are already in these services, nor can they fix lower scales for new entrants to these services. But unless the salaries of these high officers are reduced, there cannot be sufficient retrenchment to increase expenditure in the nation-building departments without increased taxation. For these reasons the abovementioned resolution is to be commended.

### *Calcutta's New Mayor*

Mr. Nisith Chandra Sen, Barrister-at-Law, has been unanimously elected Calcutta's Mayor for the year. Even the European group supported his election. And he was the nominee of the Congress party. He possesses great experience as a councillor of the Corporation of Calcutta. He is also an experienced and influential member of the Indian National Congress and a leading advocate of the Calcutta High Court. There is no question that a man of affairs of his standing will do all that is possible for the Calcutta Municipality with the limited powers and opportunities of the Mayor. We congratulate both him and the Corporation on his election.

### *Railway Disasters Again*

It is greatly to be deplored that last month there were again two collisions, one on the Eastern Bengal Railway at the Majdia station and the other on the East Indian Railway at Dohri-on-Sone. Many lives have been lost and many more persons have been injured. The usual enquiries will be held. But when will effective steps be taken to make railway travelling safe? And what will they be like?

### *Has President Roosevelt Asked For the Moon?*

President Roosevelt's last month's telegram to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini may not make history, but it has been much talked of. He asked these dictators whether they were willing to give assurances that their armed forces would not attack certain independent nations for a minimum period of ten years. Mussolini's reaction has been characteristic. He scoffed at the idea as absurd and considers it unjustifiable to place the axis powers in the dock. Herr Hitler has taken more time—perhaps to make a more theatrical

gesture: he has summoned the Reichstag on the 28th April to hear his reply to President Roosevelt.

### *Bombay Government and the Hyderabad Satyagraha*

Perhaps the Hyderabad State had asked the Bombay Government to order the newspapers of the province not to criticise the Hyderabad administration and to prevent Satyāgrahis from proceeding to that State from the province. Mr. K. M. Munshi, home minister, has taken up the correct attitude. He explained the position in the Bombay Assembly, saying:

The Government would not allow the newspapers in the Presidency to carry on a campaign for the overthrow of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his dynasty or to create inter-communal discord, but the Government would concede to the press "the same liberty of criticising the administration of Hyderabad State which the press enjoyed regarding the Bombay Government's administration." Nor would the Government stop persons proceeding to Hyderabad territory "with the intention, which if carried out there, might amount to a breach of the Hyderabad State laws."

The Arya Samajist and other Hindu Satyāgrahis are not trying to overthrow the Nizam or his dynasty, or to create intercommunal discord. They simply want to have ordinary religious rights and civil liberties.

### *N. W. F. P. Martyrs' Day*

PESHAWAR, April 24.

"In this heart of Khyabkhan where we stand today to commemorate the great memory of those brave comrades, who fearlessly laid down their lives for the country's cause, where the blood of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs has freely flowed and intermingled, this little monument will for ever bear testimony to their unparalleled courage and sacrifice and will inspire our countrymen to march to gether towards freedom."

This stirring message was given by Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan, while placing wreaths on the Martyrs' Memorial before a huge crowd, who assembled at Khyabkhan Bazar to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the Peshawar massacre of April 23, 1930.

The enthusiasm of the people knew no bound when 4000 Red-shirts, marched past the Memorial in lines of four carrying huge tri-colour banners and shouting "Hindustan Azad," "Inquilab Zindabad."

Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier was standing close to the memorial with a Gandhi cap in hand.

Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan, proceeding said: "These brave men are not dead. In death they have richly lived."

Recalling conditions that prevailed in April, 1930, Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan said:

"The Memorial which had been constructed overnight to commemorate the event, was pulled down by brutal force, but today, the Martyrs' Memorial erected again by the people is being guarded by the Police and the Congress Government has stood for this protection."

Referring to the previous day's disturbance over construction of rival memorials, Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan said: "True Khudai Khidmatgars should never commit violence. We must win our opponents by love and Khudai

Khudmatgar acting otherwise, lose their claim to serve the people."—U. P.

### Burma Riots Enquiry Committee

The final report of the Burma Riots Enquiry Committee has been published.

Whatever the immediate or provoking cause of the riots, the Indian community of Burma—particularly perhaps its Muslim section, had to bear the brunt of the communal frenzy of the Burmese populace. The failure of the police to give adequate protection to Indians in Burma was very discreditable and was tragic in its consequences. The Committee observes:

"We feel it necessary to say that on the whole the establishment of Police, both in Rangoon and in Burma generally, proved in the emergency inadequate in numbers, in training, in equipment, in preparedness and in confidence in themselves to give to the Indians of Rangoon and of the districts that measure of protection which as British subjects in Burma they are entitled to receive."

This is a very severe indictment of the Police and Government of Burma. It cannot be said that the riots enquired into by the Committee were the first of their kind in Burma and therefore the Government of Burma could plead that they were taken by surprise. In explaining the failure of the police the committee attribute it "to the inexperience of Burma in meeting civil disorder, and the complacency in that respect, which, notwithstanding the warning of the Coringhee riots of 1930 and the altered political conditions, has been maintained." So the Burma Government had the experience of the Coringhee riots and yet they were complacent.

Most of the Indians in Burma are settled there. They make money there, no doubt. But they spend it and invest it, too, mostly there. And the development and prosperity of the country are not a little due to them. Yet animosity has been created against them before and after the separation of Burma. This should be combated by promoting better relations between the two communities there by the joint effort of both.

It is not that the Indians are ousting the Burmese. Burma is a comparatively big country with a comparatively small population. The surveyed areas of the provinces of Bengal and Burma in 1930-31 were 49,186,909 and 155,849,528 acres and their populations 51,087,328 and 14,667,146 respectively. So Burma is more than thrice as big as Bengal but has much less than one-third the population of Bengal. Not to speak of other industries, agriculture alone can maintain more than thrice its present population. For, according to the statistics of 1930-31, only 18,022,071 acres were sown but 59,788,871 acres which were

culturable lay fallow in addition to 3,794,912 acres current fallows. There are extensive forests which are an actual and a still greater potential source of income. Burma's mineral wealth, too, is great, and industrial prospects bright.

So when the Riots Enquiry Committee observe that

"both Indians and Burmans need urgent public re-assurance—Indians, that their status as British subjects in Burma will be upheld and that the position, which the benefits they have conferred on Burma entitle them to, will not be lost, and Burmans, that the economic growth and interests of the Burmese races will not be unnecessarily stifled and overlooked,"

they do not ask for an assurance which is at all impossible to give to Burmans or Burma Indians.

### Unfair Assemblage of Items in Second Tariff Amendment Bill

In the course of the debate in the second tariff amendment bill in the Central Assembly Dr. P. Banerjee pointed out the unfair manner in which different items had been brought together in it. Said he:

Sir, this Bill has been placed before us in the shape of a miscellaneous Bill and it deals with four items which are entirely unconnected with one another. This is hardly fair to the House because these items affect different interests differently. Rice is an agricultural product. Magnesium Chloride is a manufactured product. Paper and wood pulp are manufactured and partly manufactured; and lastly, silk and silk goods are also partly manufactured and partly unmanufactured. Now, it is impossible to deal with that amount of fairness and justice with these different items which would be desirable in a single Bill. Our difficulty is further accentuated by the fact that not one Bill but three Bills have been thrown at our heads and the notice that has been given is very inadequate.

### Government of India and Discriminating Protection

In the course of his speech on the second tariff amendment bill, Dr. P. Banerjee commented thus on the Government of India's scarcely veiled hostility to the policy of discriminating protection accepted fifteen years ago:

"We all know that during the last five years one Member of the Government of India—I will not name him—has been showing a definite amount of bias against protection. This bias has gone so far that we may say that it is a sort of malady, and what is a matter of great regret is there the contagion has spread to the other Members of the Government. It is a great pity that the Honourable the Commerce Member, who is an Indian and who is not a bureaucrat, has not been able to escape the contagion. We have the right to expect better things from him. However, we should like to know definitely what is the present policy of the Government of India. Do they or do they not stand by the policy of discriminating protection laid down by the Fiscal Commission and accepted by the Government fifteen years ago?"

"Certainly," answered the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member. Dr. Banerjee continued:

"If so, they should not act in the manner in which they have done in recent years. It is one thing to launch a frontal attack on discriminating protection; it is another to destroy it but by hit attacking it from behind. I am sorry that this policy of discriminating protection has been attacked from behind and is being destroyed gradually by a slow process. This is wrong. If you think that the policy of discriminating protection is wrong for India, then you should come out boldly and say, 'we are going to reverse the policy.' But you should not destroy this policy in a manner where the people will not be able fully to understand your motive. This policy has been very successful during the last fifteen years. It has given rise to many industries in this country—industries which would not have been able to prove a success without the help of this protection. There are many other industries which will require in future the assistance of Government. Therefore, if the Government do not accept a sound policy of protection the country will greatly suffer and the Government of India will stand condemned before the bar of public opinion. I hope and trust that the present Government will consider the pros and cons of the question and take care that they are not affected by the contagion to which I have referred but take up a reasonable attitude towards the question of protection."

### *Retirement of Sir N. N. Sircar*

By the retirement of Sir N. N. Sircar the Government of India loses a very able member. When friends and opponents alike have showered encomiums upon him, it would be superfluous for us to add our tribute of praise.

It has been reported in the papers that he will revert back to practice in the Calcutta High Court. That if true, will undoubtedly be a gain to litigants and also advantageous to their lordships the judges before whom he will appear. But as it is no longer necessary for him to make his mark in the profession, law, it is to be hoped, will not monopolise his time and attention and the public at large will have the advantage of his great talents, learning, experience, and fighting powers.

### *Conscription in England*

The bill introduced in the British Parliament to amend the Government of India Act with the object of centralising authority in the hands of the Central Executive is an indication that war may break out in the near future. Another similar indication is the conscription bill introduced in the same legislature. Preparations had been going on in Britain on land and sea and air to meet some foe, who need not be named, and now steps have been taken to increase her effective man-power.

The Labour party was opposed to conscription, and that for good reasons, but its intent was lost.

If by some honourable means—by alliance

between the great democratic powers of Europe and America, for example—war could yet be prevented, that would be the best way to avert the impending calamity to humanity. But pusillanimous surrender to bullies or cowardly betrayal of some small nation or other, which has been tried before, is not only dishonourable but can put off the clash only for a short while.

### *Italy Swallows Up Albania*

Albania is (or rather was) such a small State with such a small population and correspondingly small army that there was not the least chance of her being able to successfully defend herself against Italian aggression. So the inevitable has happened. It speaks much for the courage and patriotism of the Albanians that many of them fought against overwhelming odds and sold their lives dear.

Perhaps, if they had been Satyāgrahis and non-violent resisters, they would have said, "We will not fight, we will not shed blood, but neither will we surrender."

### *The Fate of Spain*

General Franco has been master of the whole of Spain for some time now. It is not definitely known yet what advantages Italy and Germany will have in Spain for helping General Franco—and what will Britain have for not helping the Republican Government of Spain.

Mussolini has declared that unless Britain leaves Gibraltar, he will not withdraw Italian soldiers from Spain.

### *Germany and the Smaller States of Europe*

Herr Hitler's ambition is not yet satisfied. He is sure to try to bring as many small States of Europe under political or at least economic subjection as he can by bullying or by fighting. But if any State shows fight, as Poland seems inclined to do, or as Holland said it was prepared to, he will not be in a hurry.

### *"Parliament of Man and Federation of the World"*

Considering the state of the world country by country, if there be some robberies or murders in a civilized country with a settled government, people do not despair of the future of civilization in that country. For the number, power and influence of those there who obey or are prepared to obey the moral laws and laws of the State are greater than those of persons of the opposite kind. The former can control and sometimes reform the latter.

Similarly when some nations or their masters transgress moral and international laws, we need not despair of the future of civilization

in the world. What is wanted is such a great combination of States which obey moral and international laws as would be able to keep in check and reform States or combinations of States which break these laws. Such a great combination is yet to be. Great thinkers and idealists have dreamt of it, still dream of it. The dream will be a reality some day. What form it will take cannot be definitely forecasted.

The power of combination and of obedience to the lower self displayed by had men must be exceeded and surpassed by the power of combination and obedience to the higher self of man put in practice by the good. God has endowed man with this power and with freedom to develop and exert this power. It is for man individually and mankind collectively to be more and more perfect in this way. It is the glory of human nature that, though he is free to fall or rise, he perceives the beauty of the ascent and, difficult though it be, tries to ascend and reach the summit.

It is better that God has given man the power to dream of the Ideal World State and to build it up step by step by his free exertions than if He had given it ready-made, to some impeccable, instinct-bound, machine-like creature.

### **Gandhi-Bose Talks**

It is not practicable to include in a monthly review up-to-date comments on news. But we had hoped to be able to say something in this issue on the conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose. But they did not conclude on the 27th April last.

[Nor did they conclude on the 28th April. We are unable therefore to give any definite information.]

### **Poet Tagore and Acharya Ray and**

### **Gandhi-Bose Talks**

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the credit of the great national organization to which they own allegiance. That is the reason why all saner elements in the country have been urging the leaders of both parties to compose their differences. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran journalist, has already advised Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Subhas Bose to resolve the Congress impasse by having a heart to heart talk.

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Independent and dispassionate opinion all over the country will emphatically and wholeheartedly associate itself with the patriotic and soulstirring appeal which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has made both to Mahatma Gandhi and to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to meet immediately and by a heart to heart talk save political India from the threatened disaster. A similar appeal, as our readers are aware, was recently made to the two leaders as well as to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran editor of the *Modern Review*, who is essentially a non party man and is held in the highest respect and esteem by all sections of his countrymen, both within and outside the Congress, and whose services to nationalism and to the cause of democratic freedom are second to those of no other publicist in India. These appeals and that of Sir P. C. Ray, who besides being a savant who has raised his country high in the estimation of the world by his great contributions to science, has for forty years rendered services of priceless value to his country in the various fields of national activity, educational, social, industrial and political, will, we have no doubt, touch all patriotic hearts and particularly those of the great leaders to whom they are specifically addressed.

*The Behar Herald* of April 25th last writes:

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When the name of even an editor of a monthly, who wrote private and personal letters to the Poet Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and S. J. Bose, has been mentioned in this connection without his previous knowledge, it is only proper that the public should know that the initiative in this matter was taken by S. J. Haridas Majumdar of the Amrita Samaj in collaboration with S. J. Satindranath Sen.

### **Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta Again "Doctored"**

Rowe, April 27.  
Prof. Surendra Nath Das Gupta has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Rome University.  
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### **Mr. Nariman's Presidential Address - at South Calcutta Political Conference**

In the course of his long and forceful presidential address last month at the South Calcutta Political Conference, Mr. K. F. Nariman said:

"Certainly," answered the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member. Dr. Banerjee continued:

"If so, they should not act in the manner in which they have done in recent years. It is one thing to launch a frontal attack on discriminating protection; it is another to destroy it bit by bit attacking it from behind. I am sorry that this policy of discriminating protection has been attacked from behind and is being destroyed gradually by a slow process. This is wrong. If you think that the policy of discriminating protection is wrong for India, then you should come out boldly and say, 'we are going to reverse the policy.' But you should not destroy this policy in a manner where the people will not be able fully to understand your motive. This policy has been very successful during the last fifteen years. It has given rise to many industries in this country—industries which would not have been able to prove a success without the help of this protection. There are many other industries which will require in future the assistance of Government. Therefore, if the Government do not accept a sound policy of protection, the country will greatly suffer and the Government of India will stand condemned before the bar of public opinion. I hope and trust that the present Government will consider the pros and cons of the question and take care that they are not affected by the contagion to which I have referred but take up a reasonable attitude towards the question of protection."

### *Retirement of Sir N. N. Sircar*

By the retirement of Sir N. N. Sircar the Government of India loses a very able member. When friends and opponents alike have showered encomiums upon him, it would be superfluous for us to add our tribute of praise.

It has been reported in the papers that he will revert back to practice in the Calcutta High Court. That if true, will undoubtedly be a gain to litigants and also advantageous to their lordships the judges before whom he will appear. But as it is no longer necessary for him to make his mark in the profession, law, it is to be hoped, will not monopolise his time and attention and the public at large will have the advantage of his great talents, learning, experience, and fighting powers.

### *Conscription in England*

The bill introduced in the British Parliament to amend the Government of India Act with the object of centralising authority in the hands of the Central Executive is an indication that war may break out in the near future. Another similar indication is the conscription bill introduced in the same legislature. Preparations had been going on in Britain on land and sea and air to meet some foe, who need not be named, and now steps have been taken to increase her effective man-power.

The Labour party was opposed to conscription, and that for good reasons, but its amendment was lost.

If by some honourable means—by alliance

between the great democratic powers of Europe and America, for example—war could yet be prevented, that would be the best way to avert the impending calamity to humanity. But pusillanimous surrender to bullies or cowardly betrayal of some small nation or other, which has been tried before, is not only dishonourable but can put off the clash only for a short while.

### *Italy Swallows Up Albania*

Albania is (or rather was) such a small State with such a small population and correspondingly small army that there was not the least chance of her being able to successfully defend herself against Italian aggression. So the inevitable has happened. It speaks much for the courage and patriotism of the Albanians that many of them fought against overwhelming odds and sold their lives dear.

Perhaps, if they had been Satyagrahis and non-violent resisters, they would have said, "We will not fight, we will not shed blood, but neither will we surrender."

### *The Fate of Spain*

General Franco has been master of the whole of Spain for some time now. It is not definitely known yet what advantages Italy and Germany will have in Spain for helping General Franco—and what will Britain have for not helping the Republican Government of Spain.

Mussolini has declared that unless Britain leaves Gibraltar, he will not withdraw Italian soldiers from Spain!

### *Germany and the Smaller States of Europe*

Here Hitler's ambition is not yet satisfied. He is sure to try to bring as many small States of Europe under political or at least economic subjection as he can by bullying or by fighting. But if any State shows fight, as Poland seems inclined to do, or as Holland said it was prepared to, he will not be in a hurry.

### *"Parliament of Man and Federation of the World"*

Considering the state of the world country by country, if there be some robberies or murders in a civilized country with a settled government, people do not despair of the future of civilization in that country. For the number, power and influence of those there who obey or are prepared to obey the moral laws and laws of the State are greater than those of persons of the opposite kind. The former can control and sometimes reform the latter.

Similarly when some nations or their masters transgress moral and international laws, we need not despair of the future of civilization

in the world. What is wanted is such a great combination of States which obey moral and international laws as would be able to keep in check and reform States or combinations of States which break these laws. Such a great combination is yet to be. Great thinkers and idealists have dreamt of it, still dream of it. The dream will be a reality some day. What form it will take cannot be definitely forecasted.

The power of combination and of obedience to the lower self displayed by bad men must be exceeded and surpassed by the power of combination and obedience to the higher self of man put in practice by the good. God has endowed man with this power and with freedom to develop and exert this power. It is for man individually and mankind collectively to be more and more perfect in this way. It is the glory of human nature that, though he is free to fall or rise, he perceives the beauty of the ascent and, difficult though it be, tries to ascend and reach the summit.

It is better that God has given man the power to dream of the Ideal World State and to build it up step by step by his free exertions than if He had given it ready-made, to some unpeccable, instinct-bound, machine-like creature.

### **Gandhi-Bose Talks**

It is not practicable to include in a monthly review up-to-date comments on news. But we had hoped to be able to say something in this issue on the conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose. But they did not conclude on the 27th April last.

[Nor did they conclude on the 28th April. We are unable therefore to give any definite information.]

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In the course of his long and forceful presidential address last month at the South Calcutta Political Conference, Mr. N. F. Nariman said :

## Resignation Tendered by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Rajendra Prasad Elected Congress President

As no agreement was arrived at after three days' talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and also among other leaders, Sj. Bose tendered his resignation when the All-India Congress Committee met in open session on the 29th April last. He explained his reasons for doing so in a calm and dignified statement. He began by drawing attention to and reading out the Tripuri Congress resolution relating to the formation of the new Working Committee. The relevant portion of that resolution is :

"In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji."

Sj. Bose then gave his reasons for resigning :

I regret very much that since the Tripuri Congress I have not been able to announce the personnel of the new Working Committee. But this has been due to new circumstances beyond my control. Owing to my illness, I could not proceed to meet Mahatma Gandhi; in lieu thereof, I started correspondence with him. This enabled us to clarify our ideas and viewpoints, but did not bring us to a settlement. When I realised that correspondence had proved ineffective, I wanted to make a frantic effort to meet Mahatma at Delhi—but that effort also failed.

After Mahatma's arrival in Calcutta we have had prolonged conversations, but unfortunately they did not lead to any solution. Mahatma's advice to me is that I should myself form a Working Committee leaving out the members who resigned from the previous Working Committee. This advice I cannot give effect to for several reasons. To mention two of the principal reasons, I may say that such a step would be contrary to the directions in Panty's resolution, which provides *inter alia* that the Working Committee should be formed in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji and should command his implicit confidence. If I formed such a Committee as advised above, I would not be able to report to you that the Committee commanded his implicit confidence.

Moreover, my own conviction is that in view of the critical times that are ahead of us in India and abroad, we should have a composite Cabinet commanding the confidence of the largest number of Congressmen possible, and reflecting the composition of the general body of the Congress.

Since I could not implement Mahatma's advice, I could only repeat my request that he should kindly shoulder the responsibility vested in him by the Tripuri Congress and nominate the Working Committee. And I told him that whatever Committee he appointed would be binding on me, since it was my determination to implement Panty's resolution.

Unfortunately for us Mahatma felt unable to nominate the Working Committee.

As a last step, I tried my best to arrive at an informal solution of the above problem. Mahatma told me that the prominent members of the previous Working Committee and myself could put our heads together and see if we could arrive at an agreement. I concurred and we made that attempt. If we had succeeded in coming to a settlement, we would then have come up before the A.I. C. C. for formal ratification of our informal agreement. Unfortunately, though we spent several hours in discussing the matter, we could not arrive at a settlement. I have, therefore, to report to you with deep regret that I am unable to announce the personnel of the new Working Committee.

I have been pondering deeply as to what I could do to help the A.I. C. C. in solving the problem that is now placed before it. I feel that my presence as President at this juncture may possibly be a sort of obstacle or handicap in its path. For instance, the A.I. C. C. may feel inclined to appoint a Working Committee in which I shall be a member. I feel, further, that it may possibly be easier for the A.I. C. C. to settle the matter, if it can have a new President. After mature deliberation, therefore, and in an entirely helpful spirit I am placing my resignation in your hands.

In resigning Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose has acted reasonably and in a self-respecting manner.

The following letter received from Mahatma Gandhi, in which he expressed his inability to suggest names for the Working Committee, was read by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose at the A.I. C. C. meeting yesterday, while announcing his resignation :

"My Dear Subhas. You had asked me to give you in terms of Pandit Pant's resolution names for Working Committee. As I have told you in my letters and my telegrams I feel myself utterly incompetent to do so. Much has happened since Tripuri. Knowing your own views and knowing how you and most of the members differ in fundamentals it seems to me that if I gave you names it would be imposition on you. I had argued this position at length in my letters to you. Nothing that has happened during three days of closest conversation between us has altered my view. Such being the case you are free to choose your own committee. I have told you too that you could discuss with ex-members the possibility of mutual approach and that nothing would please me better than to know that you were able to come together. Into what has happened since, I need not go. You and ex-members present will make the position clear before A.I. C. C. Only it has been a matter of greatest grief to me that mutual settlement has not been possible. I hope, however, that whatever is done will be done with mutual goodwill."

In this letter Mahatma Gandhi says that he feels himself "utterly incompetent to" "give names for Working Committee" "in terms of Pandit Pant's resolution."

This declaration of his 'utter incompetency' by the Mahatma makes one curious to know whether Pandit Pant's resolution was drafted and moved with the previous knowledge and approval of Gandhiji. In the absence of any means of satisfying one's curiosity on that point one may conclude either that Gandhiji had no previous knowledge of that resolution, or

that, though he had such knowledge he now finds it impracticable or inexpedient to act up to the resolution. The second alternative must be unthinkable to all who hold Mahatmaji in the highest respect.

Mahatmaji in his letter to S. J. Bose says : "Knowing your own views and knowing how you and most of the members differ in fundamentals, it seems to me that if I gave you names it would be imposition on you." But in the course of the feeling and earnest appeal which Pandit Nehru made to S. J. Bose to withdraw his resignation he declared :

During the last three days of the conversation between Mahatmaji and our President and others in which I also joined some time or other, I was pleasantly surprised to find an enormous degree of agreement so far as the problems discussed were concerned. Generally speaking, there was a desire on the part of everyone present to meet others' viewpoints to be accommodating, and in fact I was almost sure that this house would be presented with some kind of a decision behind which there stood the President and other people. Unfortunately, owing to some hitch at the last moment that could not be done. But I realise that there was not a vast distance separating us. Unfortunately, some difficulty no doubt cropped up, which was least expected, but the desire to hold and act together was so strong that it seemed to me inevitable that we shall act and hold together yet.

So Pandit Nehru perhaps thought that S. J. Bose and most of the other members did not differ in fundamentals, whilst Mahatmaji thought otherwise !

After S. J. Bose had read out his statement Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had striven sincerely during the last few days to bring about an agreed settlement, moved a resolution requesting the Congress President to withdraw his resignation and asking him to nominate afresh the old Working Committee.

President Subhas Chandra Bose made an important statement in which he indicated his reaction to Pandit Jawaharlal's resolution. President Bose reiterated his views on the imperative necessity of having composite Working Committee and of inclusion of 'fresh blood'

every year in the Working Committee. He cited the examples of "National Cabinets" formed in France and Britain in emergencies.

President Bose said : "I do not know exactly the mind of the A. I. C. C. today. But I respectfully submit that if you desire that I should continue as President you should be good enough to show some consideration for the views indicated above. If, however, you think otherwise you should kindly relieve me from the responsibility of the Presidency."

Mrs. Naidu then endorsed Pandit Jawaharlal's appeal to S. J. Bose to withdraw his resignation.

Replying President Bose said that his attitude was not uncompromising, but he could give a final reply to the Chairwoman's appeal until he knew in what form the resolution was accepted by the A. I. C. C.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then wanted leave of the House to withdraw his resolution. Permission was granted by the House and the resolution was withdrawn.

The A. I. C. C. then, under the direction of Mrs. Naidu, proceeded to the election of a President. It was pointed out by more than one member that the election of a president then and there would be irregular and unconstitutional. Points of order were raised. They were overruled. Mr. M. S. Aney and Mr. M. N. Roy were not allowed to speak. They walked out in protest.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected president. He is quite fit for the office and a devoted worker. No objection to his election can be raised on the ground of lack of sufficient fitness. But the election itself may be held invalid on technical and constitutional grounds.

An election can be held only after the resignation of the person holding office has been formally accepted. Thus the A. I. C. C. did not do. Nor did it reject the resignation or send it back to S. J. Bose for reconsideration.

The ordinary procedure for the election of the Congress president may not be followed when it is impossible to follow it. But in the ordinary sense of the word 'impossible', it cannot be said that the ordinary procedure could not have been followed.





## BRITAIN'S STAND—AT LAST

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

TENS OF THOUSANDS of people in this country have been asking themselves: Can we afford Mr Chamberlain? He has certainly been a serious liability to the nation and by his actions—or rather lack of actions—has helped the German nation, our potential enemies, to disarm millions of our potential allies, to do away with millions of pounds' worth of defensive fortifications—to the detriment of France and ourselves—and to add a tremendous increase of armaments to Germany's already large store. When Mr Eden was Foreign Secretary he at least had the wisdom to consult with his diplomatic advisers. When Mr Chamberlain got rid of Mr. Eden he took foreign affairs into his own hands to inaugurate a new personal policy of "appeasement." His idea was to show at Munich how much more could be done in diplomacy by a simple Englishman than had been done by the diplomats and trained advisers of the Foreign Office. He has only now waked up to the fact that when Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* he meant what he wrote. Hitler has been carrying out his policy steadily and thoroughly ever since, and it is by no means ended yet.

We in this country are paying in taxes £1,000 sterling every minute we live, night and day, as the price of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Even in a country so wealthy as this, that kind of expenditure cannot go on indefinitely. It is little comfort to us to know that other countries are begging themselves by their expenditure on armaments. Guns rather than butter may be a short term policy, but it can never be a long term policy without disastrous results.

The present Government was elected pledged to pursue a policy of collective security, a policy in which the members of the Government incidentally never believed. As Mr. Baldwin pointed out in the House of Commons, while he was Prime Minister, if he had told the truth about their intentions to the electors during the last General Election the present Government would never have been returned to power. But the hard facts of the present situation are driving the Government to realise even at this eleventh hour, that collective

security is the only policy in which there is any hope of peace or security. What the Government do not realise yet, but will be compelled to realise in the long run, is that collective security can never be fully effective until we and other nations are willing to part with some of our individual national sovereignty. As I have pointed out before, the genesis of much of the trouble in Europe today was in Manchuria seven years ago. By our failure to come to the assistance of China, by our advice to and failure to help Abyssinia, by our preventing the Spanish Government from getting the arms to which they were legally entitled, we have enabled that thrice-perjured traitor and breaker of oaths (as Mr. Duff-Cooper described him in the House of Commons) to annex Austria, to take the Sudetenland and follow that up by taking Czecho-Slovakia and later Memel, without our making any attempt to fulfil our obligations as a member of the League of Nations to other members of that body.

In 1931, when the Labour Government laid down office, peace was in sight, a Disarmament Conference was being arranged, and Hitler was practically unknown. We are greatly responsible for his ever coming to power. As a result of eight years of National Government rule in this country—with no regard for international pledges except where our own "interests" are concerned—war clouds have drifted over the world and have grown thicker and thicker over Europe until now they seem just at the point of bursting.

In his recent Proclamation Hitler declared that Bohemia and Moravia had been for a thousand years part of the living space of the German people. History does not seem to be his strong point. These countries were never German; they were Czech. Hitler went on to say that citizens of these areas had been citizens of the German Empire. But the German Empire only began in 1870. Charlemagne founded the Holy Roman Empire in 800, but he never managed to conquer Bohemia thoroughly, and the Bohemians, even in the sixteenth century under Charles V, took no part in the general politics of the Holy Roman Empire which, as Voltaire said, was

neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. (It reminds me very much of a criticism I heard many years ago in India of the Indian Civil Service, that the members of it were neither Indian, nor civil nor servants.)

The latest German annexation, Memel, is of course not in the same plane with some of Hitler's other aggressions. Memel is practically a German town, with a large German population, but the method of getting it back into the Reich is the same as in other cases—brute force. Hitler took over Memel for the German Reich on 22nd March. Some days before—on 10th March—the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was questioned in the House of Commons on the situation in the Memel district of Lithuania. He replied that conditions there had not appreciably changed since he had last replied to a similar question on 1st February but that the present situation was "being closely watched." When asked further what the British Government was doing, there was no reply. Presumably the situation in Czechoslovakia was also being "closely watched" before the Germans marched into Prague. They had already crossed the frontier when President Hacha was, in an all night sitting with Hitler, presented with an ultimatum and informed that unless he signed away his country's freedom Prague would at once be bombed from the air. The information about Hitler's intention to march into Czechoslovakia on 15th March was in the hands of the British Government ten days before the event, yet in the interval Sir Horace Wilson, the Prime Minister's Chief Adviser, had the whole of the British press instructed that all was well and that the political international barometer was at "Set Fair". The newspapers—assuming that Downing Street had some special information to justify this unexpected intelligence—responded only too well to their Downing-Street-inspired instructions. Stock Exchange securities went up by leaps and bounds—only to fall into still greater gloom two days later when the actual truth could not be concealed. Sir Horace Wilson is of course in the Prime Minister's confidence. He accompanied Mr. Chamberlain to Munich and so determined was he to boost the Prime Minister's stock that he ignored the solid facts of the international situation which gave the lie to the inspired outlook doled out to the reporters.

The Prime Minister, at long last, has come to realise that Hitler's word cannot be relied on. Well, his advisers told him so before and after Munich and were made to feel that they

were working against that policy of appeasement that Mr. Chamberlain was sure he could bring to fruition. And now he has waked up to the realisation that without Russia we and France can do little to stop Hitler in any further outmuges he may attempt on international decency. We rubbed our eyes as we read the word of Mr. Garvin in the *Observer*: "There is no firmer ally than Russia in the defence of freedom." How times change! Russia has been treated as a pariah during the whole term of office of the National Government and now—when her help is vital to us—she is no longer a "red menace" but the greatest help in the defence of freedom.

But if Mr. Chamberlain has been proved to be so dangerously wrong in his policy we are entitled to ask if he is the man now to lead the country in a policy in which, heretofore, he has never believed. His intentions for peace are no doubt quite genuine but the road to Hell is paved with good intentions and what we want now is a strong man who will lead the country in a policy of collective security in which he really believes and not one who pursues a policy half-heartedly because he is driven into it.

Mr. Chamberlain and his chief adviser, Sir Horace Wilson, have been prepared to shut their eyes to everything in order to get an economic agreement with Germany. The Federation of British Industries actually concluded an agreement in Berlin with their opposite numbers there two days after the scandalous march of the German troops into Prague. That agreement is now dead but if it had come into operation it would have caused a severe strain on our relations with the United States. Even after the German Army was in Prague, the Prime Minister, instead of expressing the horror of the nation in the House of Commons, could find nothing stronger to say than that it was not in accordance with the "spirit of Munich", but even then he allowed the Federation of British Industries to go on with their negotiations in Berlin.

If Hitler, as the mad dog of Europe, is to be restrained, it will require more than a pious declaration against aggression from France, Russia and Great Britain. An alliance must be formed—a military alliance—of nations pledged to go to the assistance of any nation attacked, and that with all the resources they command. The only thing that will stop Hitler is fear of the consequences. He does not fear Mr. Chamberlain because he believes Mr. Chamberlain will talk and will not act decisively, and in time, and he has had good reasons for

that belief. Even in his Birmingham speech, although Mr. Chamberlain asked "what reliance could be placed upon any other assurances" from Hitler, he went on to say that he was "not prepared to engage this country by new unspecified commitments operating under conditions which cannot now be foreseen." Yet it is just by such commitments that we would be able to rally to our side such countries as Poland and Rumania—if it is not now too late. We cannot at present foresee the exact conditions under which Hitler may seek to dominate these countries and bring them at least under the German sphere of influence but that he intends to do so—or to try to do so—before long, neither they nor we have any doubt. The only method of getting these countries to join with us in a pact against any further Hitler aggression would be to conclude a military alliance with them, as well as with France and Russia, obliging ourselves to come to their assistance if they should be attacked. After all, they realise that we were bound to China, Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia as members of the League of Nations, but words instead of actions were all they got from us when attacked. Neither Poland nor Rumania will be satisfied with a pact that does not include military action, should the necessity arise, nor can we expect them to be satisfied with less. The only fear is that even now we may be too late as Germany has already concluded an economic agreement with Rumania before our mission to that country has even set out. As usual Mr. Chamberlain has delayed and talked while the Germans acted.

Whatever may be publicly said in Italy, the recent actions of Hitler have weakened rather than strengthened the Rome-Berlin axis. Hitler has abandoned his former declared intention of gathering under the wing of the German Reich only Germans. He has now taken the Czechs, who are Slavs, and certainly not German—a thing that Mussolini was certain he would never wish to do. As recently as September 1938—only six months ago—Mussolini, in an Open Letter to Lord Runciman, wrote that

"If Hitler proposed to annex 3,000,000 Czechs Europe would be right in moving, but Hitler does not think of it. The writer of this letter is in a position to tell you confidentially that even if 3,000,000 Czechs were offered to him, Hitler would refuse such a present."

But in spite of the guns, aeroplanes and armament factories that Hitler has acquired by his plundering of Czecho-Slovakia the position of Germany today is probably weaker than it

was before its annexation. Hitler has now within his borders a sullen and determined people who live for nothing but to shake off his yoke. In addition to this there is a large—though necessarily not very vocal—section scattered through Germany who would gladly see the fall of Hitler and whose chief desire is to live at peace with the other nations of the world and have a greater measure of freedom for themselves. Hitler has in fact driven a nail into his own coffin. No single man or nation can dominate the world and Hitler's excesses in persecution and ruthlessness will bring their own reward. Germany's economic foundations are shaking and Hitler must stretch out for further domination or perish. This then is a time not for talk but for action. "Thus far and no further" should be said to the megalomaniac while there is yet time, and it can only be said by nations who are united and determined to come to the aid of the country attacked whether it seems to be in our own "interests" or not. To take that stand in Great Britain and give our people a strong lead another than Mr. Chamberlain will have to speak for Great Britain and speak in language that even Hitler cannot misunderstand. This is not merely the opinion of his political opponents but of many who are nominally supporters of the Prime Minister.

Even as recently as last week—on 23rd March to be exact—Mr. Chamberlain, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, said that there was no desire on the part of His Majesty's Government to stand in the way of any reasonable efforts on the part of Germany to expand her export trade. He went on to say "Nor is the Government anxious to set up in Europe opposing blocks of countries with different ideas about the forms of their internal administration." But one block—or axis—has already been set up, and unless the countries opposed to the Fascist domineering form of politics hang together they will certainly hang separately just when the Dictators choose the best time to tackle them one by one.

Since writing the foregoing Mr. Chamberlain has—exactly a fortnight after His Birmingham speech—made the statement in the House of Commons which this country, France, the United States and all Hitler's potential victims, have been waiting for. If Poland is attacked by Germany, Hitler will at once have to reckon with France and Great Britain. Russia will no doubt join in, as will Rumania if she feels certain of our united

support. Neither Rumania nor Poland feel very happy about allowing Russian troops through their territory as they both took in parts of Russia at the conclusion of the Great War and that is one of the difficulties in a united front. France has now concluded an economic pact with Rumania while the delegation from Great Britain has not yet set out. Russia cannot afford to allow Germany to control Rumania as that would give her access to the Black Sea and thereby to Russia.

Hitler's disregard for his own solemn promises and his rape of Czecho-Slovakia have like chickens "come home to roost." He has over-reached himself and a halt has been called. If he now dares to go further on the same lines his doom is sealed.

Mussolini in his speech a week ago preached the crude doctrine of brute force. He wanted no more "talk of brotherhood":

"Relationships between States are relations of strength and these relations of strength are the determining elements of our policy"

"Woe to the weak" was his warning to

other nations, as he intimated his policy of more cannon, more ships and more planes:

"Even if it should be necessary to make a clean slate of all that which is called civilian life."

Mussolini finished with the declaration that "If there should come the coveted formation of a coalition against the authoritarian system, these regimes would pass from the defensive and counter-attack at all points."

Well, the coalition against the authoritarian system is partly formed and his challenge has been accepted. It will be interesting to see if the Fascist bombast is more than empty sound when confronted with the might of the democratic nations. Had we taken up this stand long ago, much of the bloodshed and trouble throughout the world might have been avoided. Even now I believe the very fact of this intimation that we are ready to meet any attack will probably save countless lives. Lord Halifax's warning of "Halt! Major road ahead" has now been altered to "No passage this way." That intimation the Dictators will disregard at their peril.

Westminster, London  
1st April, 1939

## ANONYMOUS

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

HOWEVER amazed and delighted we may have been on beholding those anonymous works of genius which are to be found scattered all over the face of the earth, we are enraptured every time we meet with fresh examples.

When the traveller suddenly comes across gigantic images in stone carved on the rocky ledges above dangerous mountain tracks, he cannot help admiring the natural creative impetus of such works of genius.

Among the Mongolian deserts one constantly meets with the works of these anonymous artists which, it is so difficult to understand today.

Many theories have arisen as to the stone women which have been found in these parts, and recent critics have concluded by the costumes of these figures that they were funerary monuments.

Such figures often carry a chalice in the left hand, with a rising flame, such as the one shown in my picture, "Guardians of the Desert"

The flaming chalice however, is not a funerary emblem but the symbol of a cult, and this is shown by its ritual position and its constant repetition.

In some bronze miniatures brought by the Mongols there are signs of the same ritual, the same cult. The one which we acquired is now in the Yuna collection, and the Mongols asked such a high price for the replica that we were unable to purchase it.

These bronze statuettes had rings fixed to the head and this would seem to suggest that they were hung about the neck like amulets, for the fact that they were highly polished seems to confirm this.

What particularly struck our attention however was the presence of the same chalice as that we saw on the stone women.

We have undoubtedly here a trace of some very ancient cult, and this flaming chalice gives rise to so many ancient associations that it



Signs of Maitreya By Nicholas Roerich



Command of Rigden Jyepo By Nicholas Roerich



Towards Kaulasa By Nicholas Roerich



The Brahmaoutra By Nicholas Roerich



Portrait of Professor Nicholas de Roerich By Sergei Lar. Roerich

would be foolish to accept any arbitrary conclusion straight away.

The question is naturally *one of the most extraordinary interest.*

The Mongols also showed us small bronze crosses of an ancient type—probably Nestorian—which were worn next to the body.

Not far from Batukhalka are the ruins of an ancient city near which are the remains of a Nestorian cemetery. Such a figure might well have been the memorial of a Mongol prince who was Nestorian.

These anonymous works of art garm-hed with milky quartz and scattered throughout the desert leave an indelible impression on the mind. Some of them are sacred monuments or large suburgans, others are human figures and sometimes phallic emblems.

Such spontaneous creations make us meditate. One feels that they have been evoked in answer to the call of some inner necessity and that the toil spent on fashioning them was a sacred task.

The anonymous artists spent their efforts to erect memorials for unknown travellers, and

this often under the most trying circumstances.

Knowledge of this type which leads us back to immense antiquity has something inexhaustible in its nature. We encounter unknown psychologies and desires, and the unathomable character of these far off people fills us with a strange fascination.

There are many treatises already published on the subject, but a great many more, some containing very detailed investigations, are in manuscript.

We have frequently searched through private libraries for such manuscripts and often found that their value had been recognized since they were bound with fine book plates in beautiful bindings. On the other hand we often discovered that vandals had torn out parts of the text. There is a great deal of anonymous creative work in such manuscripts and they contain much that is noteworthy and based on careful observation. Evidently they were necessary to those who produced them.

Let us salute such anonymous work let us try and esteem its inner significance.

"Aside from and over and above everything else, Emerson appeals to youth and to genius. If you have these, you will understand him and delight in him, if not, or neither of them, you will make little of him. I do not see why this should not be just as true any time hence as at present."

The last time that Burroughs saw Emerson was at the seventieth birthday breakfast of Oliver Wendell Holmes, in Boston. "But then," said Burroughs sadly, "his mind was like a splendid bridge with one span missing; he had—what is it you doctors call it?—aphasia,—he had to grope for his words. But what a serene, god-like air! He was like a plucked eagle tarrying in the midst of a group of lesser birds."

A few months before Emerson's death Walt Whitman went to Concord to see him, and he found the visit so delightful that he could not leave for home without writing to Burroughs to tell him about it. "Concord, September 19, 1881. Dear John: I have had a curiously full and satisfactory time with Emerson—he came to see me Saturday evening early, Mrs. E. also, and staid two hours—Yesterday I went there (by pressing invitation) to dinner, and staid two hours—a wonderfully good two hours—the whole family were very cordial, including Mrs. E. and the son, Edward, a doctor, a fine, handsome, 'cute, glowing young man, with a beautiful wife and child. I took to them all. I cannot tell you how sweet and good (and all as it should be) Emerson look'd and behaved—he did not talk in the way of joining in any animated conversation, but pleasantly and hesitatingly, and sparsely—fully enough—To me it seemed just as it should be. . . . Walt Whitman."

Shortly after this letter, he wrote again from Boston. "I am now back here finishing up only staid a few days in Concord but they were marked days. . . . For my part, I thought the old man in his smiling and alert quietude and withdrawnness. . . . more eloquent, grand, appropriate and impressive than ever, more indeed than could be described. Isn't it comforting that I have had, in the sunset, as it were, so many significant, affectionate hours with him, under such quiet, beautiful, appropriate circumstances?"

The next year Emerson died. A letter from Burroughs to Whitman dated May 1, 1882,

contains the following: "What a blank there is in New England! To me Emerson filled nearly the whole horizon in that direction. But I suppose it is better so, though the very sunlight seems darkened.

"If our passage were not paid to England, I should not go. . . . I have had no heart for the trip from the first, and now the death of Emerson (now those few words penetrate me!) and your troubles, make me want to stay at home more than ever."

The chapter on Emerson in Burroughs' volume, "Birds and Poets" gives the naturalist's mature summing up of his estimate of the great Concord philosopher and poet. Here Burroughs' ardent worship of Emerson during youth, his imitation over differing views on certain poems of Whitman and over Emerson's aloofness from the political emotions of the day,—both these phases of Burroughs' feeling for Emerson are fused with a later and calmer judgment concerning the greatness and uniqueness of his character and his writings. "There have been broader and more catholic natures," he writes, "but few so towering and audacious in expression and so rich in characteristic traits. Every scrap and shred of him is important and related." Again in the same essay he says: "I know of no other writing that yields the reader so many strongly stamped medalion-like sayings and distinctions. . . . It is the old gold or silver or copper, but how bright it looks in his pages! Emerson loves facts, things, objects, as the workman his tools. He makes everything serve. . . . He bends the most obstinate element to his purpose, as the bird, under her keen necessity, weaves the most contrary and diverse materials into her nest. . . . He has a wonderful hardness and push. Where else in literature is there a word, moving in so rare a medium, that gives one such a sense of tangible resistance and force?"



intelligent for them to turn a face to the hinterland?

I am not anti-Semitic, any more than I am anti-Scotch, anti-Negro, anti-Patagonian or anti-English. But I am more interested in India than in Jewry or Englishry. I am pro-Indian, definitely.

Obviously I am not dealing with abstract ethics. The problem here is more concrete and more fundamental. The primary duty of an Indian is to provide for the security, safety and welfare of his fellow-countrymen. It is a well-established fact that India is the world's No. 1 economic problem: Indians are down in the ditch. There are millions of half-starved Indians looking for a morsel of food. There are millions of half-naked and ill-housed Indians seeking clothing and shelter. Nowhere on earth is to be found such a mass of utter degradation and inconceivable misery as in India. Life, for the majority of the nation, is horrible nightmare—an unspeakable hell.

Curiously, the Indian pseudo-humanitarians and pseudo-idealists, living in a theoretical dreamland and spouting lofty sentiments in noble language, seem to be totally unconcerned of these monstrous conditions right at their own door. They indulge in pro-Jewish hysteria: they yell their heads off to save the Jews in far-off Europe, but they scarcely raise their little fingers to help their flesh and blood in their own country. Isn't it a case of befuddled conscience? One does not quite know whether to weep or laugh over the current ballihood about the Hebrew refugees.

Many a Jew has come to India with nothing more than a toothbrush and an extra shirt, and in a short time has he piled up a fortune. But does anyone recall a Jew, in or outside of India, who has been of great help to Indians? The Cohen, Elias, and Ezra families are among the biggest landholders of Calcutta, but what important contributions have they ever made to the welfare of the Indian community? Do they ever hear the cries of the Indians in desperate needs? Sisson, the Jewish merchant, made his millions in India and transferred them to the banks of the Thames. I do not recall that he or any other Jewish money chests paid a farthing to an Indian cause.

Most of the Jews from Disraelis and Montagus and Readings downward have been hostile to the emancipation of India. They have been the props, the bully-boys, of English imperialism in India. They never bothered about any brotherhood of mankind, which they apparently regarded as a moralistic fiction.

They always set the interests of the British empire and the share market above the verities of moral truth. Brotherhood of man? To the Jews, lording it over India, it is only an opiate dream, a mirage of fable. Rights of man? All moon-hine.

The rank and file of the rich Jewish-Englishmen are imperialists, they are for colonizing India with Jews, if they can. These would be "colonials" and not Indians, the former occupying a position superior to the latter. Taking their stand under the umbrella of Mr. Chamberlain, they would want imperialistic control of India along lines of their own advantage. They do not care a hoot about the Indian nation. Their chief concern is to line their pockets with gold. If Indians wish to save their folk and win their freedom, they should stop Jewish immigration so as to prevent the Jews enjoying, and Indians suffering, a further entrenchment of foreign interests at this most critical time in Indian history.

There is already distress in India of the most appalling sort. Business is poor. Money is scarce. Thousands of college graduates are without jobs, and without hopes of getting any. Millions and millions of persons are literally on the edge of starvation—and among them are young children. They are the slaves and victims of insecurity. "We have not only lost our way, but lost our address."

Indians are the suppressed and persecuted people of the world—one-fifth of the human race. They are already experiencing vicious attempts to pit community against community, language against language, religion against religion, and keep them divided. They cannot afford any more a sanctuary to Jews, or any other peoples of foreign races. To be more specific, they must let the "elect of heaven" alone. Their first obligation is to save the lives, provide the livelihood of their own people, and build their own nation. There is plenty of moral heroism in that.

Self-interest is the guiding principle of every nation in America and Europe. The leaders of the Indian nation, too, must have a sense of political and economic realities, and lay off international altruism for a while. The fundamental Indian policy must never be diluted by any rapid and mushy sentimental impulse. It must be founded on the practical sense and proper self-interest of the Indian nation. Leave high-flown international idealism, however eloquently urged, severely alone. Stop chasing moonbeams.

Iowa City, U.S.A.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST NOISE

By ANDRÉ LION

"Noise is the actual murderer of all thought," said the great philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer.

Generally, not everyone is a philosopher, whose ideas are worth while being preserved. However, noise not only kills precious thoughts but also damages health, having a detrimental influence similar to that of fright and terror. American scientists, some years ago, established that noise raises blood pressure and heart activity and may seriously affect digestion. Strong and persistent noise often causes irreparable damage to health. Even when asleep the human nerve system may be irritated by noises.

Deafness is the worst consequence of persistent noise. In noisy trades often 20 to 60, even 80 per cent of the workers are hard of hearing, the result of gradual destruction of the auditory nerve tissue. Even noises of minor degree cause a decrease of awareness resulting in a rise of accidents in traffic and industry and with intellectual workers a decrease of concentration. The constant nerve strain caused by strident noise eventually leads to a reduction of efficiency, as investigation in American laboratories has proved in the case of many trades. Moreover, noise often incites people to inadequate efforts: typists in noisy surroundings strike the typewriter keys stronger than is the rule. And finally, exhaustion, irritability, and a neurasthenic condition are general consequences of the nerve strain caused by the constant endeavor to overcome noise influence.

Thus, noise abatement is an economic as well as a health problem. And a technical one. Engineers are convinced that at least 90 per cent of industrial noise could be reduced to half of its intensity and thus save the hearing of many young workers in boiler works or cotton spinning mills. But engineers have met many difficulties since they first started fighting noise. Only six years ago technicians in the science of phonetics established a measure for the subjective intensity of sound impression. Their standard of reference is a barely audible sound of 1000 vibrations a second, intensity Zero. Their measure is the decibel in the United States and the phon in most other countries, both

measures deviating very little. This same standard sound of 1,000 vibrations, increased in loudness from the threshold of hearing to that of pain, has an intensity of about 120 decibel or phoo.

Intensity alone does not determine the sound's loudness, but the combination of its frequency and intensity. If two sounds of different frequency are of equal loudness, the one with fewer vibrations, that is the lower one, generally has a greater intensity at its source and exerts a greater pressure on the eardrum. This pressure is small at the threshold of hearing, namely, only three billionths of a pound per square inch for the standard sound. But increased in loudness from 0 to 120 decibel, to the threshold of pain, the same sound exerts a force on the eardrum of one-twentieth of a pound per square inch, about 15 million times more.

Every noise is located somewhere between these two thresholds: At 10, low whispering and the ticking of a watch; at 24, the bustle of an average household; at 30, the rustling of the trees, at 40, the average office sounds and the tearing of paper; at 50, the typewriter and the vacuum cleaner noise; at 55, a quiet residential street; at 65, an average car; at 75, a motor truck; at 85, a waterfall; at 90, a subway; at 97, a rivet hammer; between 100 and 110, auto horns, at 120, an airplane propeller; and at 140, the largest power amplifier.

Every sound is the result of some vibration. That means that often noise is an indication of some mechanical shortcoming. A rattling motor certainly shows an inferior efficiency and is sooner worn-out than one that operates noiselessly. This is another reason why engineers fight noise wherever they meet it—to increase the life and efficiency of machines. And in that battle all modern means are mobilized. For instance light. Or its most up-to-date application, the "electric eye". Westinghouse research engineers now utilize it to measure the growth of metals under the pounding of a peculiar, only recently emerged noise-maker, the so-called magnetostriction. This magnetostriction is the property of iron and magnetic alloys to lengthen and shorten in an electro-magnetic field, as in most electrical

machines using alternating current that first magnetize the iron and then demagnetizes it. The change of length sets up vibrations which, first, create mudjet pressure waves in the air, heard as a buzzing noise, and, in the second place, impair the efficiency of the motor. Consequently, engineers and metallurgists are on



Research Engineer working with the "electric eye yardstick." The galvanometer in the center receives minute impulses from photo electric cells which record the amount of lengthening and shortening in metals subjected to magnetization and demagnetization

the look-out for a noise-free metal for use in electrical machines. And that is why there has been developed this "electric eye yardstick" for measuring the most infinitesimal changes in length of new metal alloys test strips.

These strips rest on a system of ball bearings between heavy brass bars to minimize the influence of outside temperature changes. The earth's magnetic force and other magnetic fields are neutralized by a system of metal strips and coils. The main part of this measuring apparatus is a tiny roller, as small as a darning needle, to the end of which is fastened a mirror no bigger than one-third of an inch. If a test strip placed on the roller is magnetized by direct current and thus lengthened, a light beam focussed on the small mirror is reflected to a divided photo-cell, registering the amount that the roller turns because of the elongation of the strip. As the light beam moves, one part of the cell gradually records more light than the other, tracing the deflection of the beam which may be as minute as four ten-thousandths of an inch at a distance of 39 inches. By actuating a galvanometer the photo-cell magnifies these small deflections a hundred times, thus making them readable.

In the same laboratory engineers are developing a kind of "electrical brain" which

will eventually rout another noise source namely the vibrations of rotors, the whirling parts of electromotors and generators. This "brain" is actually a robot which both feels and sees the rotor unbalance which may be as small as a drop of water in vacuum cleaner or washing machine motors and as heavy as 15 pounds in large machines. This "dynelectric balancer" has already been applied to large rotors weighing 4,800 pounds, working out quick calculations and thus saving many hours of fruitless search for the cause of off-center weight.

Unbalance is a first cousin to noise. Speeding up, as *etc.*, to more than 10,000 revolutions a minute in a vacuum cleaner, an unbalanced rotor besides being noisy creates a tremendous force which is transmitted as vibration to other parts of the machine, to the building itself, and to the nerve of housewives or workers. In order to overcome the threat of such vibrations, the brain in the balancing robot is provided with electric and magnetic currents and light from a Stroboglow. Vibrations as slight as two one-hundred thousandths of an inch are detected and translated into electric currents, relayed to an amplifier and analyzed by this amazing man-made "brain" which calculates where the



The beam of a Stroboglow lamp, part of the newly developed "Dynelectric Balancer," is focussed on a small motor rotor revolving 1,800 times a minute. The lump of pulley, just opposite the pointed steel indicator, appears to stand still although it is whirling through space at the velocity of a rail road train

rotor is unbalanced and how heavy a weight is required to restore its balance. The light of the Stroboglow automatically flashing on and off with each rotor revolution, makes the point of unbalance appear to be standing still and thus visible.

Anti-noise city ordinances against blatant automobile horns, overloudly screeching radios, or even against barking dogs or slamming of doors are only the beginning of a universal noise-abatement campaign. Noise should be killed before it actually comes to life. The deafening blows of the rivet hammer, one of the most unbearable dissonances of modern city life, could be eliminated only by a better way of steel construction, namely by electric arc welding. A few months ago 1,000 tons of steel girders and frames were silently fused together to build the 13-storey Woman's Hospital of Pittsburgh, using a new Westinghouse process of alternating current welding.

Exterior noise can be kept out by sound-deadening insulations and even by air conditioning, which, beside providing cool and dehumidified air for homes and offices, permits windows and doors to be closed against noise.

But how to discover the source of a noise and analyze it in order to control it? There is another robot, a kind of noise detective which not only measures the loudness of a sound but separates it into its different parts and measures the pitch and intensity of each component part. This analyzer resembles and acts like an obsolete radio set with its switches, dials, meters, condensers, transformers, and four tubes. But where a modern radio has a tuned electrical filter, the analyzer has a mechanical one of

7,000 vibrations a second, against which the frequency of every noise component is balanced. As the sound engineer sweeps through the analyzer's frequency range, its decibel dial indicates noises at specific frequencies, recording every contributor to the total noise output of a machine or a vehicle under examination.

The super-sensitive ears of this measuring apparatus already have uncovered many misleading noises in street cars, trains, airplanes, and electromotors and have often placed the blame where it belonged. The loud siren-like noise of a new high-speed street car in motion was discovered to be caused by the air rushing through the motor's ventilating fans. The analyzer recorded the frequency of the noise as being identical with the number of the fan's revolutions multiplied by the number of blades. A close-up inspection disclosed that there was not sufficient room between the blades and the metal outside ribs.

Housewives have to thank these modern analyzers for the quiet operation of most electric refrigerators, washers, ironers, and vacuum cleaners.

Thus, the battle against noise progress in every field of modern life, aided by the most clever and intricate means of science and engineering, preserving and protecting our property, our health, and our nerves.

New York



## NURSERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

By MARCIA DODWELL

*Chairman of the Nursery School Project*

MADRAS is the pioneer city for Nursery Schools in India. They grew out of an investigation into the conditions of child life in the city, carried out by the Madras Y. W. C. A. in the cold weather of 1934-5. Some rather distressing facts came to light, one of which was that some of the children most in need of care were not always those of the poorest parents, but quite often children whose mothers were the bread-winners. Nurses, teachers, compounders, ayahs and others work as the mainstay of the family in this big city and the children are left in the care of child servants of about twelve or fourteen years who should themselves be at school. Or, sometimes an elder brother or sister is kept away from school in order to look after the tinies. Some long-suffering teachers have admitted children of less than five years to be looked after in their youngest class in order that the oldest children may continue in school. The need for some special arrangements for the care of children of pre-school age was, therefore, obvious.

In April 1935 Mrs. D. H. Boulton, the wife of the late Mr. D. H. Boulton, I. C. S. (then Secretary for Education to the Madras Government), called together a committee of ladies in Madras and the first Nursery School was opened for six months as an experiment. It was soon full and had a waiting list. In fact it was so successful that by the end of the year it was made permanent and the Nursery School Project was founded in January 1936, "with the object of establishing a chain of real Nursery Schools in Madras City and eventually throughout the Presidency."

The first school was in Vepery where Tamil is spoken. The language of the northern suburbs of Madras is Telugu and soon a Telugu school was started in a very congested quarter in which hardly any of the children would have any garden or open spaces to play in.

Later in 1936, the ladies of St. Andrew's Church, the Kirk, formed themselves into a committee and started a Nursery School for Anglo-Indian children in the old school buildings of the Kirk. Many of these children come from very poor homes.

Informality and happy freedom are the dominant characteristics of the school programme. There are fixed times for toilet, washing of hands as before meals and after play, eating and sleeping. Each child has his or her own little mat and after lunch you may see them spreading them out. The children generally sleep for an hour or an hour-and-a-



An inmate of the Nursery school, a tiny tot, playing in the garden

half and when they awake they go out and play quietly on the verandah until all are up.

There are large sand trays on the verandah, and one of them often has wet sand. Out in

the garden there is a slide, a very large sand pit and swings. The children are encouraged to play out of doors until they come in for their first meal at 10 a.m. This consists of a hard biscuit or cookie and fruit. Then they have story-telling, simple action songs and kindergarten games. There are also simple crafts for them, painting, modelling, crayoning, etc. They have a good meal of curry and rice at mid-day and a large bowl of milky congee (Kauri) before they go home.

With those longest in the school it is easy to observe the development achieved in self-help and independence, and in the use of the play materials. These children have proved a real influence in the quick adjustment of those admitted later. After the first month or so shyness has practically disappeared in an atmosphere of beautiful friendliness toward all who come in contact with the children.

Records are made of the weights and heights of the children, and the time spent in sleep. The teachers do a certain amount of home visiting and most of the schools have a simple record of the home conditions. In cases of difficult behaviour these often throw light on the subject.

With the growth of the Project the need for trained teachers was soon felt and several of the keenest workers banded themselves together in 1936 to start a training class. It so happened that there were in Madras three American missionaries who had had special training in Nursery School work. Others had some qualifications which were useful; they included a worker from the Red Cross, a trained nurse and an English woman who had studied educational methods in relation to art. This band of workers gave their services and the training course has been in operation for two years now. A two years' course is offered to candidates who have passed the Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination and a one year course to those who have already had training in Education. Last April four candidates were awarded Diplomas. This autumn Miss Joy Comstock, B.A., B.Ed., is to become the full-time Supervisor of the Training Course.

Miss Comstock has been associated with the Project from the beginning. She helped to make the preliminary survey and she acted as Superintendent of the Vepery Nursery School until she went on furlough in 1937. It is very largely owing to help from the Indian headquarters of

the Red Cross Society at Delhi that the Project has been able to secure her services.

One of the last things Miss Comstock did before going on leave was to assist in the opening of a Nursery School in a village near Madras. Until recently the dwellers in this village, Pammal, were classed as a criminal tribe. They are no longer specially supervised



Nursery school  
An open air class

by the Government but they are, nevertheless, still ostracised by the people of the neighbouring villages. Social work is being done amongst them by a committee formed by Zion Church, Madras, and the Secretary was instrumental in getting the Nursery School started. It is run by a sub-committee of the Project and has financial assistance and the kindly interest of the ladies of the Madras Constituency of the All India Women's Conference. There are about twenty-five children in the school and they are one of the poorest groups one could wish to see. A last glimmer of the acumen of their ancestors gleams from their roguish little eyes and one feels that there is grand human material to work upon in them. A doctor from Madras gives his services for a periodical medical inspection, and he says that he has never seen a healthier group of village children in India.

Enquiries about the Training School have come from far afield and the workers have been very much encouraged by the fact that the Madras Government have sent three ladies in their Educational Service to study in the Training School. As well as this, it has recently been recognized by the Madras Government

and brought into line with other Training Schools in the Presidency, in so far as the special nature of the work allows.

In January 1938, H. E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow visited two of the schools when she was in Madras and it seems as though, in time

her hopes may be realized. She wrote in the Visitors' Book :

"They all seem so happy and intelligent and one can see that the teachers are in sympathy with the children. I would like to see these nursery schools copied all over India."

## THE PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF THE ASSAM AGRICULTURAL DEBTORS ACT

By KARUNAMAY MAZUMDAR

THE Assam Agricultural Debtors Act which was expected to benefit the ryots is on the contrary causing them great hardships as their credit is gone and they are unable to get any loan for carrying on agricultural operations. If the economic and social life of the country could be so organised by legislation as to render recourse to courts of law really unnecessary or unprofitable, we should acclaim the new order, but we are unable to accept a system which encourages dishonesty in debtors, involves forfeiture of contractual rights, destroys rural credit, stifles private transactions in money and replaces competent courts regulated by the substantive and procedural laws of the country by village courts of law, functioning slowly, clumsily and erratically, under no control or discipline whatever and in ways which do not inspire any confidence in their efficiency or sense of fairness, justice or proportion. The result is that the sense of security which the people felt by reason of the existence of the courts of law has departed and its place has been taken by a kind of bewilderment, born of an inability to adjust oneself to the new order of forced and whimsical compromises.

The Act has deprived the agriculturists of their credit. Persons who hold a lease of an acre or so of agricultural land are taking advantage of the Board for defeating their dues or the settlement of their debts on arbitrary and iniquitous terms. The *mahajans* and moneylenders finding that they cannot allow any more credit to the ryots are now chiefly resorting to the Board for realising the debts previously advanced.

The tenantry of a very large portion of Assam suffered from floods during the last monsoon and are in a very pitiable plight. The petty loans which the Local Government advanced was

hardly sufficient for them even to live from hand to mouth. The *mahajans* in the rural areas of Assam are not moneylenders in the legal sense of the term. In a sense they are the backbone of the agriculturists. In the lean season, they used to keep up the agriculturists by advancing money or grains. During the harvesting season they would realise part of their loan either in kind or in money with some profit.

The modern political theorists who have little knowledge of the practical world thought that the *mahajans* were a curse to the country and if any legal obstacles were raised against the easy flow of loan and its realisation by no less easy instalments that had prevailed in rural areas for ages, the agriculturists would be at once welling in wealth. The legal obstacles that have been forged for the realisation of agricultural loans, have had the contrary effect. They have taken away the credit of the *bono fide* agriculturists altogether. They are worse off now than ever. No *mahajans* are advancing loans to the agriculturists who are now unable to get any loan for carrying on their agricultural operations. It is to be regretted that the Local Government instead of enquiring into the pernicious effects of this reckless legislation is blindly extending its operation to other areas. The intention of the legislature may be good but legislation contrary to the course of natural or economic laws can only result in aggravating misery and disaster amongst mankind. No appeal lies from the decision of the Debt Conciliation Board in Assam. The wholesale repeal of the Act is therefore urged. The law against usurious loans and unconscionable bargains is sufficient to afford the necessary relief to the debtors. Agricultural loans should be more liberally given and credit of the ryot should be raised and not undermined to benefit them.

## PROHIBITION IN CONGRESS MADRAS

By DR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

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MAHATMA GANDHI completed his 69th year on the 1st October, 1937. He must have received congratulations, greetings, good wishes and probably tokens of affection, regard and respect from thousands of his admirers, but I doubt whether any one of the numerous appreciations of the very great services he has rendered to our motherland appealed to him so much as the practical way in which they were recognised by Madras. It was on this day that, for the first time in the history of India, the campaign in favour of total prohibition was launched by any Government. India had waited and waited long and patiently for that political power which only would enable her to implement what is probably the only policy as regards which all parties are unanimously agreed.

Srs Rajagopalachariar and Muniswami Pillai initiated prohibition in the district of Salem with effect from the 1st October, 1937. Just one year after that, the birthday of Mahatma was celebrated by the extension of prohibition to two other districts viz., Cuddappah and Chittoor.

As consideration of prohibition in connection with narcotics and foreign liquor will unduly lengthen this paper, I propose to confine my remarks to prohibition so far as it is concerned with alcoholic beverages only.

### THE PROBLEM IN MADRAS

It appears from official publication dealing with excise that in 1934-35, Madras derived as much as 27.1 per cent of her revenue from excise. Thus, it may be stated in passing, was the highest percentage of revenue derived by any province in India from this particular source. Let no one imagine that Madras held this unenviable position in this particular year only. A scrutiny of the same publications for previous years will show that all along Madras had been drawing a comparatively large percentage of her revenues from this particular source.

Then again of all her districts, Salem was the most notorious for drunkenness. A member of the Madras Cabinet informed me that Srs Rajagopalachariar who had lived in this district for over a quarter of a century and had

done temperance work there, selected this for his experiment at prohibition because he had concluded, no doubt rightly, that if prohibition could be made successful in a place hitherto so notorious for drunkenness people would not hesitate to accept its prospects to be certain wherever it was introduced provided the right technique was adopted. I propose to give some idea of the herculean difficulties which had to be overcome.

As is well-known, prohibition is now in operation in three districts, viz., Salem, Cuddappah and Chittoor. In order to save time, I intend to supply a few details which have an important bearing on this matter. For the sake of convenience, the figures I shall use below are given in round numbers. The area throughout which prohibition is in force measures 19,000 square miles, it has a population of 5½ million souls, it contains more than 5,000 villages and thousands of hamlets. 9 to 9½ lakhs out of the total population were in the habit of consuming excise articles mainly in the form of toddy which was tapped by about 13,000 men who followed this occupation to earn their living.

Enquiries made through officers of the Executive Department showed that before the introduction of prohibition, the expenditure on drink varied from 24 to 32 per cent of the earnings of the addicts, a very large majority among whom were drawn from the poorest classes in both the rural and urban areas. Some of these spent as much as 50 to 70 per cent of their earnings as against 15 per cent spent by the average working man in Britain. I, for one, feel certain that the only way to save these confirmed alcoholics is compulsory prohibition. There can be no question of interference with personal liberty. This argument can be used with equal justice against compulsory primary education and yet no one ever thinks of doing so in our days.

Another great difficulty which had to be faced was that every village every hamlet and practically every homestead scattered over this large area of 19,000 square miles has its own cluster of either palm or coconut trees or both



and that, in addition to the professional tappers, many of the inhabitants of those rural areas know how to tap themselves. In fact, many villagers prefer to tap their own trees and to ferment their own toddy. One can well imagine how difficult it is to stop the use of toddy when there are on a rough estimate  $9\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 million palm and coconut trees in the three districts which can be tapped without much fear of detection.

The last point to be remembered is that the excise revenue from these three districts derived from alcoholic beverages before the introduction of prohibition was approximately Rs. 26 lakhs. The introduction of prohibition has entailed the sacrifice of this revenue. Then again additional expenditure has been incurred for maintaining Prohibition and Development Officers, extending the activities to the Co-operative Department, providing recreational facilities, etc. It has been estimated that the total loss during the year ending the 31st March, 1939, will not be less than Rs. 34 lakhs.

The latest available Excise report for Madras will show that taking the three districts of Salem, Cuddappah and Chittoor together, the Congress Cabinet of Madras had to cancel the licenses of 2,151 excise shops besides 8,638 tapping licenses making a grand total of 10,789 licenses in all. I have intentionally refrained from saying anything about prohibition as we have it at present in non-Congress Bengal controlled by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq. I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning here that in our province the total number of licenses cancelled on account of the introduction of prohibition is 4 and also that the cancellation of these licenses has gone hand in hand with the granting of about 120 new licenses, there being thus an increase of about 116 excise licenses in Bengal. Let me once again place the figures side by side. Cancellation of licenses in Madras 10,789, addition of licenses in Bengal 116. That is the special variety of prohibition we have in our province.

I cannot find words sufficiently eloquent to give expression to the feelings of my admiration for the Congress Cabinet of Madras which, under the guidance of S. Rajagopalachari, was the first to implement this bold and forward ameliorative policy. I am absolutely certain that long after the heat and passion of the struggle for political power in the different provincial legislatures are forgotten, the name of Mahatma will shed lustre on this period as its directing spirit and those of Rajagopalachari and the members of the Madras Cabinet as his worthy colleagues and lieutenants who had the

power not only to appreciate the necessity of prohibition for the welfare of our masses but also the courage and initiative to make the experiment in a world where money is so often the decisive factor and where the claims of altruistic service are so little heeded. All honour to such men I say. I feel proud of being an Indian and I feel sure that every one here feels the same way.

#### FOURFOLD TECHNIQUE OF PROHIBITION

The success of the anti-drunk and drug campaign is due to the great care with which the technique of prohibition was perfected and implemented by S. Rajagopalachari who has made a life-long study of this problem has recognised that to ensure success four methods are to be employed. The first which naturally suggests itself is prevention of breaches of excise laws which, in this particular case implied contravening the provisions of the Prohibition Act. The utility of compulsion is limited as it very often provokes a sullen resistance from those people who are forcibly deprived of what they consider their personal liberty. The second is the creation of public opinion by propaganda. This amounts to prohibition through pressure indirectly applied through society. The third is the providing of counter-attractions to divert the thoughts of the addicts into healthier channels and last, though not least, finding out employment for toddy-tappers so that through sheer starvation, they might not be tempted to tap for toddy and to sell it surreptitiously.

The detection of offences against excise laws is no longer the task of officers of this department. A special prohibition staff has been appointed and it is helped by the ordinary Police, village officials and prohibition committees organised in Taluqs, that is, sub-divisions and in the larger villages. The members of these prohibition committees are either Congress workers or members of Temperance Associations. The result is that all the three districts in which prohibition has been introduced are covered by a network of organisations all lending the fullest possible co-operation and assistance to Government officials in direct charge of prohibition work. Thousands of vigilant eyes are watching every palm and coconut tree and evasion is so difficult that even the most confirmed drunkard must think twice before he tries to manufacture the sweet juice into toddy.

Propaganda in favour of prohibition is the second method adopted by S. Rajagopalachari to ensure success. The campaign opened by the Premier and the Minister-in-charge of the Excise Department is being carried on not only by

Government officials but also by the members of all the prohibition committees. Day in and day out, the addicts are being informed about the injurious effects of the use of stimulants and narcotics. What is more, their wives and children are being taught to realise the moral, intellectual and physical degradation incidental to these evil habits. In this way, the combined pressure of society, the family and the inner convictions of the addict are all co-operating to keep him straight.

Sr. Rajagopalachariar who has passed more than a quarter of a century in Salem is aware that alcoholics are in the habit of drinking in the evenings after a hard day's work in order partly to overcome their sense of fatigue, to forget the miseries of their life and to feel refreshed. In order to enable them to pass the evening hours pleasantly, in the absence of stimulants to which they had grown accustomed and the lack of which would tend to make them feel depressed in spirit, various devices to brighten village life have been introduced. Bhajans, street dramas, songs, dialogues, magic lantern and cinema shows have been organised. Sub-Inspectors of police are taking an active part in organising rural sports and games and in teaching the villagers cheap indigenous games. In some towns radio sets have been installed with the help of public contributions. The authorities of the Y. M. C. A. College of Physical Education, Madras, afforded very useful help in training about 250 rural workers in six centres. These have gone out to their villages and are spreading the gospels of physical fitness and prohibition throughout the length and breadth of the area selected for the experiment.

The fourth method followed by the Madras Government to ensure the success of the prohibition campaign was to find remunerative occupation for the 13,000 odd tappers who were thrown out of employment by the adoption of this policy. Actually, the number of such tappers is greatly in excess of the figure given which includes only such as follow this occupation for earning their daily bread. My information is that those who formerly followed tapping as a subsidiary and spare time occupation are nearly equal in number to the whole time tappers. These latter have given up tapping altogether and are depending exclusively on their principal occupation such as agriculture, cottage industry, work as day-labourers and so forth.

As for the whole time tappers, they have been induced to become members of about 90 Co-operative Societies organised by a Development Officer appointed for this specific object. These obtain the sweet, that is, unfermented

juice which they turn into either jaggery or molasses or sugar-candy. For these a market has been created through the efforts of the marketing organisation specially set up for this purpose. The Industries Department of the Madras Government has evolved a cheap and easy process for utilising the sweet juice in this particular way and it is being taught to all ex-tappers who seek instruction in it.

The result has been the creation of a new and profitable cottage industry which is gradually growing in popularity. As cocoanut trees can be tapped for sweet juice all the year round, the tappers have, in this way, been provided with continuous and profitable employment which keeps them engaged all the year round.

It is probably needless to add that if this method of devising a profitable source of work had not been found, some at least of the toddy tappers would have gone back to their old trade and thus, at least partly, imperilled the success of this great social experiment. It has to be added that nearly 85 per cent of the ex-tappers are now members of one or other of the Co-operative Societies while the 15 per cent who have not joined them have either left their former homes or applied for and taken land from Government which they are cultivating as its direct tenants.

I was nearly forgetting to add that Societies for encouraging thrift have been started. These distribute *hundi* boxes which are opened once a month when the savings are credited to the respective accounts. I am informed that these are becoming very popular. The one day in the month when these boxes are opened is always fixed in advance, and is marked by competitive rural sports and games in which the local boys are encouraged to participate.

No fair-minded man can help admiring the exceedingly practical way in which the problem of making prohibition a success has been solved nor the quickness with which highly satisfactory results have been achieved.

#### BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION

A question which might naturally be asked is what is the extent and nature of the success which has crowned the very laudable efforts of the Madras Government to introduce prohibition. It is not my intention to give you in my own words an idea of the measure of success attained in that province.

It is well-known that one of the duties of Officers-in-charge of Districts is to submit official reports of the work done within their jurisdiction and also that detailed reports are in great demand whenever a departure in any

direction is made from the old and well-established policy. I shall content myself with giving you very short extracts from the reports submitted to the Madras Government by the Collectors of the three Districts of Salem, Cuddappah and Chittoor. These reports are all cold-blooded statements of actual facts and can, by no means, be regarded as too-highly coloured accounts emanating from biased sources.

Mr. A F W Dixon, I.C.S., is the Collector of Salem where prohibition was made compulsory on and from the 1st October, 1937. I am quoting from the report which he submitted after prohibition had been in force for 9 months from 1st October, 1937 to 30th June, 1938. I am not in a position to quote from a later report as I lent my copy most foolishly to a friend who has somehow managed to lose it. In the opening part of this report from which I am quoting Mr. Dixon pays a tribute to the efficient assistance he had received from non-officials in the following terms:

"Special efforts were made to secure the co-operation of non-officials and the task of the police has been rendered much easier by the widespread co-operation and assistance rendered by them."

After referring to the providing of amusements and counter-attractions such as sports and games, bhajan parties and radios for ex-addicts, Mr. Dixon continues:

"The most noticeable effects of prohibition on the lives of the people are the absence of street brawls and family squabbles, improvement in the food supply, particularly at the evening meal, increased care for cleanliness and the children's welfare, reduction in indebtedness, and a generally more hopeful outlook."

He concludes his report in the following terms:

"Prohibition has now almost become a normal feature of district administration. The memory of drink except close to the borders, is fading and even the unstable addict is beginning to find the journey across the border for an occasional carouse an expensive and unsatisfactory affair. The villagers have now become quite accustomed to the new order of things. Considering the population of the district and the number of former drinkers, it is safe to say that the number of persons who now consume illicit liquor in this district is negligible. Illicit drugs are still coming in but there are reasonable prospects of considerably reducing smuggling in the future."

I shall next give you a few sentences from the study of the economic results of prohibition in Salem District made by Dr. P. J. Thomas, Head of the Department of Economics, Madras University. This evidence, coming as it does from a source above any suspicion of partiality throws a very valuable light on the economic results of the introduction of prohibition. He says

"The spending power formerly used for drink has been devoted largely for a more varied and adequate diet, better clothes, and more amusements. There has been a significant change in the items of food used by the working classes, especially in Salem town. The expenditure on tea and coffee, vegetables, curds, ghee, oils and meat has increased: The whole of the extra spending power, however has not been used for immediate consumption; several of the former drinkers have saved sums for purchasing ornaments and brassware and for repaying debt. Borrowings among labourers have been less this year largely due to the banishment of drink from marriage and other feasts. This will have healthy reactions, specially among agriculturists.

"The social and moral effects of Prohibition have been remarkable; in particular the position of women and children among working classes has substantially improved."

Mr. V. S. Heymadi, I.C.S. the Collector of Cuddappah district is of opinion that prohibition has become a success. The fullest possible co-operation is being obtained from non-officials. The villagers have helped Government in introducing prohibition in their district. Prohibition Committees in different villages have been brought into existence and various counter-attractions have been organized. These consist of reading news from Telugu newspapers by people residing in the villages every evening, holding sports in the evenings and having bhajan parties at night.

Khan Bahadur Javada Hussain, the Collector of Chittoor district in his report states:

"The vast majority of the people had prohibition as a real boon. Even the few addicts who find themselves deprived of drink within easy reach will, no doubt, consider this a blessing as the craving wears off. Women specially welcome prohibition."

He concludes by saying that prohibition in his district was definitely succeeding.

Early in January, 1939, the Prohibition officer in charge of Chittoor district stated that prohibition had already proved an unqualified success. At present grave famine conditions are prevailing in the district. This is why in spite of the introduction of prohibition, no definite economic improvement is noticeable in the homes of the labourers and peasants. It was also pointed out to me that, in spite of the prevailing scarcity, its ordinary evil consequences such as thefts and burglary are totally absent in this district. What little savings are effected by prohibition are being used for meeting household expenditure.

#### REASONS FOR SUCCESS IN MADRAS

In my humble opinion, prohibition has been a success in Madras as well as in different Congress provinces because in them the desire of the people at large to have prohibition has been given effect to by the cabinets concerned.

These cabinets from this particular point of view may be regarded as embodying the collective will of the majority. Prohibition at Salem where the experiment was first tried with its 2½ million population and 7 lakh addicts has become a landmark in the history of prohibition in India, if not in the world, because the people there were determined to root out the drink evil and further because the Madras Government provided them with the necessary facilities to carry out their will. The Madras Government has thus been a loyal servant of the people than which there cannot be higher praise for any truly democratic government.

Leadership in this direction in every Congress province has consisted in pointing out to the people the evils of drink and drugs and in making them appreciate the advantages contingent on the adoption of compulsory prohibition. This compulsion has not come from outside or from Government—all that can be said is that sober majority has imposed its will on the minority which, in this case, consists of those addicted to drink and drugs.

What has been the contribution of the Madras Cabinet in bringing about prohibition? The people had demanded it but as power for implementing the will of the people lay with the cabinet, it, like the loyal servant of the people that it is, did what it considered best to carry out the behest of the people. The first thing noticeable is that it sought the co-operation of the people themselves, for it was aware that if the people were really desirous of having prohibition, they would offer their help most ungrudgingly and loyally and also that their co-operation would be the deciding factor in the achievement of success. The people came forward most willingly and we all know how valuable was the work of the Prohibition Committees organized at taluqs, villages of the bhajans parties, of the physical culture clubs, etc. The Cabinet's contribution to the campaign lay in its ability to select the right type of men for the work and in placing all possible facilities at their disposal. It had also the capacity to utilize the services of every agency by which the success of the experiment would be ensured as well as to create new agencies for the attainment of this purpose. This is no small achievement as compared with conditions in Bengal where not even an attempt at a similar thing in Noakhali, the only district where we have introduced prohibition so far, has, as far as I am aware, been made on anything like the scale of Madras.

If it is argued that the people in general have no opinion either for or against prohibi-

tion and that the opinion created in its favour is the doing of the Congress which is now operating through its chosen agency, the present Madras Cabinet, I would reply by saying that the truly great and real leader is he who has the capacity to appreciate the essential needs of his motherland, who has the power to persuade his countrymen to accept his views on these matters and who, by the logic of his arguments and the strength of his genius and personality, can impose his will or, if you please, his opinions on them. Granting for the sake of argument that India as a whole had in the past failed to appreciate the necessity of prohibition, it has to be admitted that she has given birth to a Gandhi who by reason of God-gifted powers perceived its importance for her moral, social and economic regeneration and has actually succeeded in making us agree with his point of view. He has created public opinion in favour of prohibition and his lieutenants, I mean the various Congress Cabinets, in making this great experiment are, as matters stand at present, really carrying out the wishes of the country as its executive. It is this which explains its universal acceptance by Indian nationals of every political shade and complexion.

I, for one, have not the slightest doubt that, at last our long years of decadence and helplessness are over and today we are standing at the very threshold of a new era of progress and development. Every one who helps forward this movement, in however humble a capacity, is a partner in a new Indian renaissance than which there cannot be a more glorious adventure. Fortunate is the present generation to which Providence has entrusted the glorious task of initiating a new stage in the improvement and development of mankind in general and of India in particular. Every Indian ought to feel proud that he enjoys this glorious opportunity of serving his motherland and the world.

Another feature of the campaign launched against the drink and drug habit in Madras is that notorious as the presidency has been for its attitude towards untouchability in the past, the addicts have not been treated as social outcasts or criminals to be boycotted or avoided but as patients who are in want of "social" treatment if such a term is permissible. Recognizing the weakness of their moral fibre and their liability to temptation, special provision has been made for them by organizing agencies for brightening their otherwise drab and monotonous lives. It was this which in the past had driven them to drink as a means of relaxation,

of securing temporary oblivion from their ever-present miseries. Hence the cinema and magic lantern shows, the bhajan parties and the introduction of sports and games. These last specially have tended to encourage physical fitness among the younger generation, made them take pride in the possession of muscular strength, a powerful build and physical stamina and thus checked further increase in the number of addicts to drink and drugs.

This human touch, this sympathy with the weakness of our less fortunate and educated brethren, must have had a very powerful appeal for the addicts. On more than one occasion I have heard that both the Excise Minister as well as the Premier have spent hours discussing the individual problems and difficulties of addicts with them. All honour to these gentlemen who, in spite of the numerous and urgent calls on their time and energy, have never showed the slightest hesitation in trying to help these unfortunate men. I may be mistaken but I have not yet heard that any member of the Bengal Cabinet has ever gone out of his way in order to grant interviews to the victims of drink and drugs. In fact if Dame Rumour is correct, the difficulty is in another direction altogether and lies in the fact that they are so busy that they cannot always find time to grant interviews to members of the Opposition groups, except, shall I say, when no-confidence motions have been tabled?

Last and probably not the least important reason for the success of prohibition in Madras lies in the fact that the Cabinet there has by its action demonstrated the very valuable lesson that, in its opinion, spiritual moral and human values are more important than the ensuring of a revenue, however large, derived from a questionable source. It has also shown a greater faith in the essential goodness of human nature than those others who are of opinion that man is by nature an animal guided by his meaner instincts and passions. Opponents of prohibition indirectly admit that in their opinion mankind is built in such a miserable and unsatisfactory way that some at least will always use stimulants and narcotics even when the evil effects which follow from their use are explained to them. We, on the other hand, hold that man is by nature noble and that addiction to these injurious substances is due to ignorance, that it is the subtle temptation which comes to him at unguarded moments which causes his fall and that if these temptations are removed from his path, he will be what Providence has meant him to be—the noblest creation of the Divinity. It is this faith

in the innate nobility of man which impels us to remove temptations to go astray.—We hold that given a fighting chance, any man will be what God has meant him to be—an image of the Divinity Himself. Prohibitionists and among them the Madras Cabinet which, as the first really Indian Government to initiate this experiment in our motherland will always continue to occupy a position of honour, will most gladly welcome any pecuniary sacrifice however large in amount, which will offer a chance to the addict to raise himself from the level of a brute to which he has descended by reason of his evil habits, to the position which is his god-given heritage. We hold that no nation-building department should be financed with money obtained from the excise revenue because we find in the last analysis that real benefit to the country at large can never be secured at the expense of the misery of a part of it. The necessary finances should be obtained from other sources and if those who are in charge of the destinies of the country for the time being, do not know how to tap these sources, if all their ingenuity consists of merely imitating old and time-worn taxation devices, let them consult those others who have thought over such problems deeply and carefully for years and if the suggestions are worth following and also if they possess the necessary amount of courage, let them introduce new and as yet untried measures for increasing the revenue of our country. But such an attitude she may look for only in courageous and unselfish politicians whose one burning desire is to serve their country at the cost of self-sacrifice and not from careerists desirous of enjoying the emoluments of office or of occupying places of power, influence and authority.

The success of the experiment at prohibition in Madras can no longer be doubted. At Ahmedabad in the Bombay presidency as well as in other parts of India where it has been introduced by the Congress ministry it has proved equally successful. The only condition for attaining this is absolute sincerity in adopting the requisite means and in seeing that these are given effect to.

Mahatma Gandhi writing in his own inimitable way in the *Harijan* towards the end of December, 1938, pointed out that whatever delay is being made by the different provinces is due to the one apprehension that it would entail such diminution in the revenues that it would not be possible to balance their budgets. This difficulty according to him is not insuperable.

At one time India used to draw an immense revenue from her export of opium to China. She survived its loss when this was stopped. Supposing that by some stroke of magic, the addicts all over India could be induced to give up their evil habits, would anyone dare suggest that the different provincial governments would come to stand still? Only the other day, Bihar was overtaken by a catastrophic earthquake which swallowed up more than her annual revenue and yet she has managed not only to survive her losses but has also been able to make them good. What is true of the Bihar Government is true of all the provincial governments. Throughout India, whenever the provinces are overtaken by such natural calamities as drought, flood or famine, the respective governments manage somehow to carry on the work of administration. We prohibitionists hold that if we possess that proverbial grain of faith about which Christ spoke in those far-off days, we shall be able to move mountains. We say that we desire to do voluntarily and of our own accord what many governments have to do under compulsion. The only difference between them and us is that we look on the evil effects of drink and drugs in so serious a light, that we hold that they are as damaging as the consequences of natural calamities. The only difference, we are prepared to recognize between the two consists in the fact that in the former case the effects are so insidious as to escape our notice while the effects of the latter are so prominent as to thrust themselves into our immediate attention. Again the former are the doings of man while the latter are the results of the operation of natural forces over which we have no control.

Prohibition is profitable not only to the masses, the actual victims of the drink and drug habit, but also to their employers. To meet the deficit inevitable to the introduction of this ameliorative measure, the employers of labour who will be the first to benefit by it,

should be taxed. The price is not too high to pay in view of the new life it means for many millions, and the new and substantial accession of moral and material strength to Indian nationalism. Its adoption will lend a dignity and a prestige to the Indian National Congress which no other single measure can confer on it. There are undoubtedly other measures the adoption of which will improve the lot of our less fortunate brethren and they will have to be carried through and these will take time. But the introduction of prohibition implies the complete identification of the Congress with the interests of the masses and is undoubtedly the best and the easiest way of showing that it is really concerned about their welfare.

The Congress is the only All-India organization which is in a position to carry through the programme of prohibition in the eight provinces in which it can give a definite shape to the policy. It is a happy augury of the times that it has, under the guidance of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, put its hand to this great task. I am sure that even those who feel very grave doubts about the ultimate success of the prohibition programme will wish god-speed to the men who, undeterred by the difficulties which undoubtedly stand in their way, are determined to implement it and to stand or fall by its ultimate success.

To keep aloof from the movement and to be content with merely pointing out the difficulties may be worldly wisdom but this attitude can, under no circumstances, be said to be characterized by that noble and generous idealism which only has made progress a possibility in our miserable world. Even if these doubting Thomases are unable or unwilling to take any part in the attempt to make our motherland, a happier place to live in for our masses, let them at least have the grace to stand aside and to allow those others who possess the necessary courage to carry it to a successful issue.



"She Orthodox? She Jewish? She Catholic?" Each time the answer was "No". He then smiled and said "O I I See. She all religions."

As the result of half-an-hour with a sick woman in a squalid tenement in 1893, my oldest American friend, Lillian Wald, started a movement on the East side of New York City which revolutionised the nursing services.

She had received academic training as a nurse, and one day during a class lecture, a little girl came to tell her of a sick mother in childbirth. The child led her over broken roadways, past heaps of refuse, through an unclean market, past evil-smelling garbage cans, through a filthy tenement and across a court which lacked all decencies of sanitation, and up by slanting steps to the mother and newborn infant who lay on a wretched unclean bed in an overcrowded room. To Lillian that morning's experience was a baptism of fire. She never returned to the Laboratory and the academic work of the Medical School. To her came a conviction that such things were allowed because people did not know, and for her there was the challenge to know and to tell.

Burning with this fire she found a friend, Mary Brewster, who agreed to share the venture. They came down to live in the neighbourhood and, as nurses, to identify themselves with it. So began the great fight of the Henry Street Nurses' Settlement, not only against neglect of the sick, but against bad housing, unsanitary conditions, ignorance and apathy. It is a different East side today, and district nursing is now a municipal service extending all over the city, while Henry Street Settlement is still the house of the Good Neighbour—gathering in the young generation that they too may know at first hand where service is needed and serve because they love the people.

As at Hull House so at Henry Street, the love of God is made manifest through love of the neighbour.

Of quite a different type is Frances Perkins, now Secretary of Labour in the Federal Government,—trained as a voluntary investigator at Hull House she did brilliant work in New York City in a study of fire hazards and other research work, and was appointed as Labour Commissioner of New York State when Franklin D. Roosevelt was Governor. She is the first and only woman member of his Cabinet, now that he is President of the U. S. A., and, as Secretary of Labour is head of the most difficult department in the Roosevelt Administration.

This Department has been galvanised into

activity by the 'New Deal' legislation of 1933-38. Its powers and duties are increased by the National Labour Relations Act which gave legal status to Trade Unions, and the Fair Labour Standards' Act, which fixed minimum wages and maximum hours.

And while these new laws are generally accepted by employers the machinery to secure compliance has had to be built up and administrative problems have arisen calling for tactful handling. The laws relating to immigration and naturalisation of aliens involve problems which have been made more difficult of solution as a result of the state of Europe and consequent tendency of large masses of emigres to strive for admission to this land of liberty. There are special bureaux in the Labour Department to deal with questions affecting women wage earners and all matters relating to child labour. Also with industrial diseases and workman's compensations. While the Federal Employment Service has extended its activities as a result of the new Unemployment Compensation Laws which this year have become operative in nearly all States of the Union. And they involve the difficult diplomatic task of co-ordinating Federal power, to secure uniformity of administration, with *States' Rights* so jealously guarded by the States.

As an administrator Frances Perkins has shown grit and courage, she has had to endure fierce criticism and has refused to be deflected by intimidation or misrepresentation from using the powers vested in her department to enforce the law legalising Trade Unions; to improve the lot of wage earners and to assist the migrants to the extent allowed by the Law. If the Conference which has been called by the President succeeds in ensuring peace between the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial organisation who are now quarrelling, the credit will belong in large measure to the conciliatory efforts of Secretary Frances Perkins.

And there is Eleanor Roosevelt. She is the wife of the President—and I doubt if any President of the U. S. A. or any other country has had a more efficient or helpful partner. But she is much more than the President's wife. She is a person, whose driving force is immense; she keeps in touch with the ordinary house-dwelling woman—millions of her—by a daily diary published in a chain of newspapers through the States—and paid for at proper Trade Union rates I understand. This diary describes her day, who she meets, what they say, some of it shrewd comments on current

events, a lot of it quite small happenings that might happen to anyone—and there she shows her genius. She is quite sincere and has little use for snobs. She travels constantly lecturing, opening schools, etc., and all the money she earns by writing and lecturing she spends on social projects—sometimes quite experimental—in which she is interested.

She has publicly declared that the family of the President should not be parasites on the White House, but should go about the business of living their own lives. From the start she refused police escort when travelling without the President. I do not think she is particularly gifted in any one direction, but I would say that she is a type which stands for all that is finest in a democratic society. A woman—not afraid to act alone—who has a genius for friendliness and co-operation.

Finally there is Josephine Roche—a coal owner who inherited shares in a Colorado Mining Company and became a director. She found horrible conditions in the pits. Low wages, long hours, and a state almost of civil war—lives were lost in fierce strike battles in the State coalfields.

She worked to secure the controlling shares, and to this end bought out the worst opponent of reform at an exorbitant price. As soon as she was in a position to determine policy, she called in the Trade Union officials, requested

them to organise the mine workers, and worked out with them a co-operative system of management. One Trade Union officer—himself an experienced miner—was appointed as manager. It was from this man I heard the story of the struggle which the unionised pits had to face in the competitive market, of the owner's loyalty to principles and of the men's fine loyalty to her. When the banks refused her credit, the men came forward with their savings, as we went down the Rocky Mountain Mine, he pointed out all that had been done for the safety of the miners and when I told Josephine Roche of my impressions, her face lit up. "Today," she said, "every mine in Colorado is organised, and the Trade Union agreement covers the whole State". To convey an idea of her business and financial ability, it is enough to say that Mr. Morgenthau of the United States Treasury, called her to service in the Department during the crisis, and when last year she insisted upon resigning as an official—her office there with her name on the door is still retained for her use in such voluntary service as she has time to give to the Federal Government.

While America can produce and use to the full such women as these there need be no doubt about the spirit of her civilization.

[This article is a summary of a recent talk broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in their Empire Programme.]



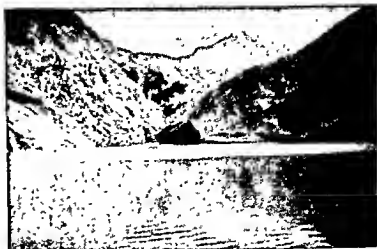
valley. The dam formed over the bed of the river by the fall of the slip was a massive affair measuring about half a mile long and about 200 feet high. The huge landslide was estimated to contain 12,500,000 cubic feet of rock. The fall was catastrophic in its magnitude, and continued for three days with deafening noise and clouds of dust which darkened the neighbourhood and fell for miles around whitening the ground and tree branches like snow. Great lumps of rock weighing tons were precipitated through the air like cannon-shots, striking far up on the slopes of the opposite side of the valley. It was largely composed of enormous masses of rock, some of which were calculated to weigh over 1,000 tons. There were in addition a very large admixture of detritus and broken rock and a thick layer of impalpable powder, which gave the whole place the look of being covered with white clay dust and it was found absolutely safe against either bursting or sliding.

Providentially the actual fall of the landslide was unaccompanied by loss of life, only a few uninhabited fields being overwhelmed. Gohna village had however the narrowest escape of being swept away altogether. Small wonder if the villagers thought that the end of the world had come!

The dam, which was thus formed, was now nearly 1,000 feet high and formed an impenetrable barrier to the stream. Steadily the water collected behind the dam, forming a lake which attained to a maximum length of about four miles long and half a mile broad in July 1864. The size of the slip and the dam formed by it may be imagined from the fact that it would have filled up the entire Nainital valley from China at one end to the sulphur springs on the other, and up to a level of the Government House.

#### FIRST REPORT

The first information was received by the Deputy Commissioner, Garhwal, in a Patwar's report which merely stated that a mountain had fallen and as the site of the slip was somewhat inaccessible and off the regular line of pilgrim road, accurate information con-



The Gohna Lake and Trisul (23,406 ft.)

cerning it was not available for some time and the importance of the event was not at first fully recognised. The P. W. D. Officers, who were on tour in the neighbourhood, found that a succession of slips had formed a vast dam 900 feet high, 11,000 feet wide at the base and 2,000 feet wide at the summit, which had headed back the waters of the Biraliganga. They despatched a telegraphic report to the Chief Engineer, via Pauri, the nearest telegraph station, distant sixty miles or about four days march from Gohna, in which a short summary of the facts and conditions of the event were given.

#### GOODYAR-TAL, THE SCENE OF AN EARLIER CATASTROPHE IN 1868

The report of the event caused deep concern to the authorities concerned, as twenty-six years before on the night of June 18, 1868, a very heavy flood had been caused in the same rivers, Biral and Alaknanda, by a heavy landslide falling into a lake, which had been formed some eight or nine miles higher up the valley than the present slip. The lake was called Goodyar-Tal and had been in existence for many years.

The result of the heavy slip falling into the lake was that the entire basin was filled up and the water forced over the dam which held it up, down into the bed of the stream. Another version is that in consequence of a very heavy fall of rain in the vicinity of the snowy range, the river rose very suddenly to a great height, and where the banks were confined, as above

Nand Prayag, all the bridges were washed away. The accumulated waters came so suddenly at night that there was no warning, and only a few who, probably awakened by noise ran up the bank, escaped, all the others with the houses and the bridge were swept away.

The flood occurred during the rains and the results were very disastrous. Seventy-five

#### GARUR-GANGA FLOOD: ANOTHER CATASTROPHE IN 1868

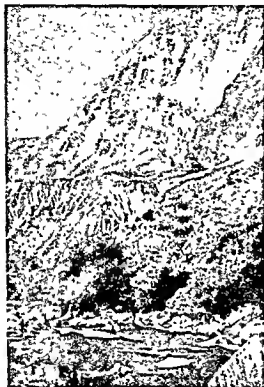
Again on August 3, of the same year 1868, a flood came down the Garurganga river to the north of this, and caused great destruction of life and property. Sixteen pilgrims bound for Badrinath were washed away while sleeping in a rest-house on the bank of the Garurganga river. At Pakhi-Tangni, some houses were destroyed and two persons drowned, while at Pipalkoti, a bank fell in and crushed three others. The fall of rain which caused this flood was in the nature of a waterspout, as the whole hillside had sunk about ten feet and a large landslip blocked up the river for a time.

#### GOHNA FLOOD—1893-94

Bearing this in mind, the authorities began to take every precautionary measure possible to combat the magnitude of the coming catastrophe, with a view to prevent loss of life and to save as much public and private property as possible. The rise of this lake against the dam was watched anxiously. There were some experts who suggested that the barrier weakened by percolation, might at any time, be carried away by the weight of the water behind it, while others held that when the level of the lake reached the top of the dam, the surplus water would flow peacefully over it but there was little likelihood of the dam collapsing owing to its thickness, and the Government of the North-Western Provinces, as the present U. P. Government was then called, held the view that nothing would happen until the accumulated waters topped the barrier when an enormous mass of water would carry run down the Alaknanda and the Ganges valleys. An Assistant Engineer was deputed at Gohna to watch the rise of the water following a visit of Lieut.-Col Pufford, R.E., Superintending Engineer, who held the view which was supported by the Government and in spite of other experts holding contrary views, his opinion was adopted and acted upon, and in the event was justified.

#### TELEGRAPH LINE

This part of the world is so backward in regard to roads and telegraphs that it was impossible to count upon letters going much faster than one can march. It was therefore proposed to arrange for a temporary telegraph line of 150 miles to the spot from Haridwar, so that absolutely no time would be lost in reporting the state of the dam and the lake from time to time. Ten telegraph offices were opened at



Exit from the Gohna Lake showing the 1894 slip which formed the lake

persons were drowned, most of them were pilgrims en route to Badrinath, who were encamped at Chamoli, at which place the greatest amount of damage occurred owing to the river taking a very sharp turn there. In addition to this, a flock of sheep, 800 in number, were also destroyed. The sheep were encamped on the banks of the Birahiganga, usually a small stream, and were suddenly swept away. The loss of property was valued at several thousands. The lower parts of Srinagar and Nand Prayag towns were washed away. Many of the bridges now up were not then erected. All traces of the former lake has now been obliterated and the channel is very much like the other water courses near it.

ten intermediate stations, viz., Hardwar, Rikhi-kesh, Byasghat, Devaprayag, Srinagar, Rudraprayag, Karanprayag, Nandprayag, Chamoli and Gohna. The cost of erection amounted to nearly Rs. 15,000. These places are all sacred spots at which pilgrims halt in their journey from Hardwar to the sacred shrines of Badrinath and Kedarnath. The Prayags or junctions of tributary rivers with the main Ganges stream are especially holy, and the camping grounds of the pilgrims are pitched close to the edge of the river-bed. These localities demanded

route about the summer months, an alternative route was constructed to keep travellers clear off the river valley for some forty miles through the interior of the district. This new diversion was commenced at Byasghat and went over the mountains to Rudraprayag. Another diversion of road was effected from Gopeshwar to Hat for pilgrims returning from Kedarnath on their way to Badrinath.

### MASONRY PILLARS

Large masonry pillars were erected to mark the danger limit of the expected flood below in the Burahi, Alaknanda and the Ganges valleys, beyond which all the inhabitants of the valley were warned to retreat. They were placed at intervals of half a mile along the entire length of the valley and their sites were so chosen as to allow of every signal pillar being visible from a long distance on each side of it. The height of these pillars above the bed of the stream had been fixed for the guidance of the telegraph department, when erecting their temporary line of wire. Patrols were arranged for under the direction of Civil authorities to provide for the safety of travellers. When the water topped the dam and subsequently burst, intimation was flashed telegraphically to the several stations established down below the valley and huge beacons were at once lighted on commanding positions so as to give prompt notice to the people of the impending catastrophe.

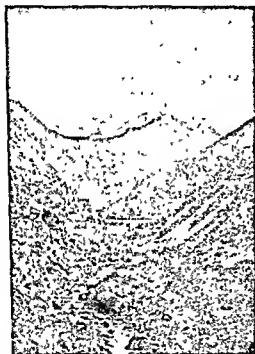
Of all the operations undertaken to ensure protection of life and property during the passage of the flood, the erection of masonry safety pillars at properly selected spots was by far the most important and far-reaching. With these limits of safety suitably fixed, the task of protecting the people from the flood became simply a question of getting timely warning of the approaching flood.

### MASONRY BENCH MARKS

Masonry bench marks were erected on the lake face of the dam at ten feet vertical intervals commencing from the top of the dam. They were numbered and telegraphic reports were sent regularly on alternate days about the progress of the lake water.

It may be interesting to mention that the total content of the lake when almost full was about 16,650 millions of cubic feet on May 14, 1894.

A proposal advanced by some experts to cut the lake was discounted as the cost of



The Burahunga, Gohna Lake and Trisol Peak  
(23,406 ft)

special protection, at the same time, they constituted good points from which to control the pilgrim and other traffic along the river routes. By April 12, 1894 telegraphic communication with Gohna was established and telegraphic reports of the rise of the water in the lake were regularly sent to the authorities and accurate forecast of the probable date on which the water would pass over the crest of the dam was made.

### ALTERNATE ROUTES OPENED

In order to protect the large number of pilgrims that were to pass along the river

operation for earth-work would have run into lakhs of rupees and the form of weir with a system of falls and shoots would cost a prohibitive sum. So the only thing which was done was to ensure that the water should escape down the river-bed without loss of life and with as little damage as possible to Government and private property.

#### BRIDGES DISMANTLED

The suspension bridges at Chamoli, Chatuwapipal, Rudra Prayag and Jakhni (Srinagar) were dismantled in early August and replaced temporarily by Jhulas or rope bridges to admit pedestrians.

#### GOHNA FAKIR PERISHED WITH HIS FAMILY

The first symptom of the approaching collapse occurred on the night of August 9 when a serious slip occurred after heavy rains in a down stream face of the dam, leaving an almost perpendicular section 400 feet high. This slip caused the death of a man known as the Gohna fakir, his wife and three children. The fakir had persisted in remaining in a very dangerous position below the dam. They had twice been forcibly removed to a safe place, but returned each time.

Percolation had begun to be noticed, which was now steadily increasing. On August 22 warning messages were transmitted far and wide. The lake water commenced to trickle over the dam at 6-30 a.m. on August 23. The destructive action of the overflow was at first very slow, and the volume of water escaping over the top of the dam did not exceed 200 cubic feet per second up to 3-30 p.m. But at 2 p.m. the percolation which had now increased to an alarming extent caused a sudden cutting back of the dam on the down stream side to within 1,000 feet of the overflow point.

At 3-30 p.m. on August 25, a message was telegraphically sent to all stations to the effect that the dam was cutting back, and that the lake was expected to commence falling during the night. The heavy rain and mist still continued to obscure the slip; but at 11-30 p.m. a loud crash was heard and dust was observed to rise from the dam in spite of the rain. At 12 midnight, it was ascertained that the dam was completely breached and the lake water was rushing down through a rapidly increasing channel. The effect on the dam had already been very marked and the upper surface suddenly sank four feet at midnight and soon after telegrams were despatched that a very

heavy rush of water was passing over the dam. With the advent of day light, it was discovered that the lake had become stationary and that a permanent outlet for the water had been formed of a firm boulder bed with a long gentle slope stretching far down the valley. The total fall of the lake during the night was 390 feet.

The depth near the dam was found to be 300 feet. The soundings from which this result was obtained showed that the bed of the lake had already silted up some 85 feet. The dam finally gave way at 11-30 p.m. on the night of



Gohna Lake and Triul

August 25. The first rush of the impounded lake water commenced then and lasted probably until about 4 a.m. on August 26. During this time the lake level fell 390 feet. A volume of some 10,000,000,000 cubic feet of water is estimated to have passed over the dam during four and a half hours and thence down 150 miles of the valley between Gohna and Haridwar. The flood was a terrifying affair.

Between Gohna and Srinagar, the average greatest depth of the torrent was estimated at about 150 feet above the river-bed and the average width in the upper reaches at about 500 feet, with steeply scraped banks formed by the mountain sides. The average velocity of the flood over this upper section of its course was about 26 feet per second. In the stretch between Gohna and Chamoli, the enormous mass of water released from the lake roared down the valley at a speed between 20 to 30 miles an hour to Chamoli. The greatest depth varied from 280 feet at the gorge immediately below the dam to 160 feet at Chamoli and the velocity was probably at least 40 feet per second.

The observation of the rise and progress of the floods was made by means of lanterns placed on the observation pillars which had

miles from Ranikhet. The onward journey has to be made on foot or on horse back or on Dandi through a bridle path covering nearly seventy miles to reach the destination.

**II Route:** The Ruler of Tehri State has just constructed a pilgrim cart road from Rikikesh upto Keertinagar, near Srinagar, primarily for the benefit of the pilgrims visiting Badrinath and Kedarnath. This route passes through the provincial road where persons travelling by stages will find bungalows at a

the Alaknanda valley while the former route, although not so good, and comparatively less comfortable, leads through a cooler region.

The proper season to undertake the trip is in summer, only the rainy season should be avoided. If tourists can afford three days more, they can proceed further and pay a visit to Badrinath.

#### TROUT FISHERMAN'S PARADISE

For the angler, there is excellent game in the Gohna lake. The lake is teeming with trout, which were introduced there in 1917-18 and it is possible to fish from waters. The lake also forms a large natural hatchery from which suitable rivers in Garhwal and Almora districts can be stocked and the forest department, in whose control the lake is, is taking measures to expedite the stocking of rivers. There is every possibility that Garhwal would ultimately become a trout fisherman's paradise. There is a house-boat there and the boat can be requisitioned by writing to the Forest officers.

The lake is surrounded by forests and some games can also be had in the vicinity. The country provides interest to a sportsman and he can satisfy his passion in those regions in which various kinds of games are available amidst primal forests that stretch along the feet of the Himalayas and which are grand, savage and untamed. To a holiday-maker, sportsman, tourist or pilgrim, Garhwal offers a warm welcome.

I am indebted for photos Nos. 1, 2 and 3 to Mr. D. Stewart, I.F.S., Conservator of Forests, Kumaon Circle, Nainital.—Author.



distance of every nine miles. The distance from this place to Gohna is about 75 miles. This route however is hot as it passes through



# COMMUNISM : WHAT IS IT ?

By S. C. SEN, M.A.,

*Late Principal, Sha College, Lucknow*

## I. A NEW CIVILISATION

COMMUNISM is, to my mind, not only a new mode of thought, but also a new mode of life; it is in fact a new civilisation, as Sidney and Beatrice Webb have shown in their great book, *Soviet Communism*\*. Civilisation has been variously defined by historians and philosophers, but none of these definitions seems to be adequate or wholly satisfactory. There is, however, no need for a strictly logical definition, as we all know what civilisation stands for. We know that civilisation is an organisation of social life and that that organisation must make for continued progress in all spheres of human life. In the past there were many such civilisations, but most of them had their roots in religion. So we speak of Christian Civilisation, Hindu Civilisation, Muslim Civilisation, etc. But in the communistic civilisation of today, it is not religion but economics that plays the dominant role. Yet communism is a many-sided civilisation touching all aspects of human life. It was outlined by Marx and Engels about a century ago, and it is being given a concrete shape now in Soviet Russia by their zealous disciples.

## II THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COMMUNISM

The aim of communism is to establish the reign of justice in man's dealings with man, to build up an economically classless society in which each will serve according to his capacity, and will be rewarded according to his needs. This aim or ideal is to be realised, as the communists tell us, by the abolition of profit-making and the nationalisation of land and capital.

### (a) The abolition of profit-making.

The motive which gives driving force to the production of wealth in capitalist countries is profit-making by the individual. This profit-motive stimulates industries of various kinds by holding out prospects of gain to the capitalist. On the one hand, the profit motive gives rise to a class of "speculators" who buy

in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest and thus enrich themselves at the expense of the consumer without making any contribution to wealth production; on the other, it produces another, perhaps more formidable, class of "exploiters", who employ hired labour for personal gain and fatten themselves by the labour of others.

In Soviet Russia where communism is being established with unparalleled zeal and foresight, "speculation" and "exploitation" are treated as serious crimes and heavy punishments are provided for them under the Soviet Law.

### *The Theory of Surplus Value*

The communists believe in the Marxian theory of surplus value and their condemnation of "speculation" and "exploitation" and in fact of all forms of profit-making, is based upon this Marxian theory. Suppose, I employ a carpenter for three days and then a painter for a day to make for me a marketable piece of furniture, and pay them wages at a fixed rate. The carpenter works on a piece of wood and turns it into a table. The painter then applies paint or varnish to the table and makes it a finished marketable commodity, which is then sold for Rs. 18. On taking account of the whole transaction I find that I spent Rs. 6 on the cost of materials (cost of wood and paint), Rs. 4 on wages (wages of the carpenter and the painter), and a further sum of Rs. 1 as ground-rent. After meeting all these items of expenditure, I have with me a sum of Rs. 7 left as my profit. But how are the materials worth Rs. 6 transferred into a commodity worth Rs. 18, and whence comes the surplus wealth? It is evident that the landlord who takes his rent sitting idly at home has contributed nothing to this transformation. It is equally clear that the capitalist who has done nothing beyond bringing labour and materials together has played only a passive role in the process of wealth production. Therefore, it is the active labour of the carpenter and the painter which is mainly responsible for the creation of the new wealth. Considered in money terms, the labour (of the carpenter and the painter) worth Rs. 4 has transferred the materials worth Rs. 6 into a

\* All quotations in this article, except where otherwise indicated, are from this book.

commodity worth Rs. 18; in other words, the labour which consumed Rs. 4 has created the new wealth of the value of Rs. 12 ( $18-6=12$ ), that is, three times its own cost of maintenance (wages represent labourer's cost of maintenance). Hence labour has inherent in it, as Marx points out, the quality of producing surplus value i.e. a value much greater than what it consumes. Therefore, the labour which produces surplus value is to be regarded as the only active agent in the creation of wealth. The orthodox economist would reply that this analysis is inadequate, as it ignores land, capital, and the entrepreneur's work as factors of production. He would further say that the landlord's contribution is remunerated by rent, and the capitalist's contribution as *entrepreneur* by profit, and that there is nothing unjust or unnatural in this arrangement. The communist would retort that whatever does not enter into wages for labour actively performed is unearned income, that considering the passive role played by the landlord and the capitalist, the wealth they absorb as rent and profit is unearned income, or is, at any rate, much too great for their actual productive work, and that the capitalist scheme of production unduly stimulates the profit-motive in the rich who fatten themselves on the toils of others by 'speculation' and 'exploitation'. Capitalism thus leads, on the one hand, to the growing impoverishment of the labouring poor, and on the other hand, to the increasing enrichment of the idle rich. Hence capitalism is the source of all those evils which spring from social inequality and injustice. Moreover, capitalism is also the breeding ground of imperialism and war. In capitalist countries, as G. D. H. Cole points out :

"Industrialism has grown up, not as a balanced scheme of production and consumption, but as a system of narrowly specialised production of certain classes of machine-made goods based largely on imported raw materials, and demanding the import of large quantities of food-stuffs as well. Any system of this sort must sell in order to buy, and it can raise the standard of living at home by selling more and more of its products abroad.

It must, moreover, if it is to have more to sell, assure itself of a constantly growing supply of raw materials. The inevitable results of this situation is seen in the growth of imperialism in the industrial countries of the west and in their rivalry for the possession of sources of supply as well as of expanding markets for their products."

This rivalry is the most potent cause of war. Hence capitalism is a great enemy of human well-being. But since profit-motive is at the root of capitalist production, capitalism can not be crushed without the abolition of profit-making.

## (b) The Nationalisation of land and capital

The communist's analysis of production shows that the profit-motive which is inseparably connected with capitalistic production cannot be rooted out except by a radical change in the productive role of the owners of land and capital. In other words, the landlord and the capitalist must cease to live on the toils of others and become, like the labourer, active creator of wealth. In order to bring about this consummation, both land and capital, the communists maintain, should be nationalised.

The first step towards nationalisation of land was taken in Soviet Russia by the infuriated peasants themselves who, taking advantage of the disturbed state of things during the revolution, forcibly took possession of all the land they could lay their hands on. The Soviet Government only completed this process of popular expropriation.

"What Lenin did with prudent promptitude was to get the Congress and Sovnarkom (Cabinet of Ministers) to issue a decree declaring all the lands the property of the people as a whole; throwing open to re-allotment among the peasant cultivators vast estates which were owned by the Tsar, the nobility, the Church, and the Monasteries, placing this re-distribution in the hands of the local committees to be elected by the peasants; and reserving for national administration, as model agricultural establishments, the home farms which a relatively small number of improving landowners had developed for stock breeding and grain growing on a large scale."

And it was not until a considerable time had elapsed that the actual transfer of the bulk of the land could be effected from individual to state control with due recognition of national ownership. The nationalisation of capital was perhaps a far more difficult task for which state action was necessary from the start; for it meant the liquidation of all classes of capitalists, whether financiers or traders, manufacturers or shipowners, speculators in land-values or investors on the stock-exchange. In Soviet Russia this policy of liquidation was courageously undertaken on a comprehensive scale by the Soviet Government who pursued it mercilessly to the bitter end. The results were that the control over production, distribution, and exchange passed from the rich few to the nation at large, and that expropriated capitalists who were paid no compensation had to take up productive work just like ordinary labourers.

## (c) The results of Nationalisation

The most outstanding effects produced by the nationalisation of land and capital in Soviet Russia deserve consideration, for they

throw a flood of light on communism in practice. Of course, we do not find there many of those things which our capitalist reasoning forces us fondly to expect.

"Nationalisation has not meant compulsion to take service under the Government as the only employer. It has not prevented millions of individuals from working independently or in voluntary partnerships and selling the products of their labour in the open market for their own or their family's subsistence. It has not meant the abolition of all personal property of any compulsion to have all things in common. It has not prevented inequality of income or possession, nor even the payment of interest on Government loans and on deposits in the postal savings banks."

But nationalisation has produced much more startling consequences among which we find the following, as the most conspicuous

#### (i) Combination of individuality with the abolition of social grades

The combination of the utmost development of individuality with the abolition of social grades is an achievement of the highest value for the human race. Lenin, as the head of the Soviet government, was, from the very beginning, opposed to the idea of a dead level equality or uniformity among men. He not only allowed, but actively encouraged the utmost development of individuality in social service. Hence we find in Soviet Russia a great diversity of occupations with divergent incomes and possessions for the utmost development of individuality; but at the same time there exists a constant attempt at equalisation with the help of progressive income-tax, death-duty and the like. The Soviet state has made it obligatory on every able-bodied citizen to engage in some kind of socially useful work, according to capacity, and no exemption from this duty is allowed in favour of any able-bodied person, male or female. Since the landlord and the capitalist have been liquidated and every individual citizen has to earn his bread by labour, there is only one social grade in Soviet Russia, viz. the grade of producers by hand or brain, including the young who are under preparation for productive work and the aged and infirm who have done their share of service and can only look back on their past. This is the communist ideal of a "class-less society"—a society in which each serves according to his capacity and is provided for according to his needs. Such a society is being rapidly established in Soviet Russia.

#### (ii) Universalism

Nationalisation has pulled down all economic barriers in Soviet Russia; and with their disappearance have vanished all other barriers

which separate man from man. Nationalisation has, therefore, established what Sidney and Beatrice Webb call "Universalism". They write:

"It is a distinctive feature of the social arrangements of the Soviet Union that, to a degree unparalleled elsewhere, they provide for every person, irrespective of wealth or position, sex or race, the poorest and weakest as well as those who are 'better off,' in all cases equality of opportunity for the children and adolescents and, increasingly, also a common and ever-rising standard of living for the whole population. This is well seen in the sphere of education. Other communities, especially during the past century or two, have striven to create educated, and even cultivated classes within the nation. The Soviet Union is the first to strive, without discrimination of sex or race, affluence or position, to produce not merely an intelligentsia but a cultivated nation."

#### They further proceed:

"What is still more unique is the absence of prejudice as to colour or race. The hundred or more different races and language groups of the USSR of nearly all shades of colour, including the wildest nomads and the most rooted townsmen, the most urbane diplomats and the most primitive barbarians, enjoy not only complete identity of legal and political rights, but also the fullest equality of freedom in economic and social relations. Wherever schools exist at all, those living within reach are educated in common; they work together at wages rates differentiated only by differences in the tasks; they use the same public conveyances, the same hotels, and holiday homes, the same public utilities; they join the same trade unions and other voluntary associations; they sit side by side in the lecture rooms, libraries, theatres and cinemas. They form mutual friendships irrespective of race or colour, and intermarry freely. Again, there is no imposition of a central pattern. On the contrary, the cardinal bond of the Soviet Union is the guarantee to each 'national minority' of its own 'cultural autonomy.'"

#### (iii) Planned economy

Lastly, we must refer to the introduction of "Planned Economy" as one of the most outstanding results of nationalisation. In Soviet Russia, the state, through its different organisations set up for the purpose, works out statistically what exactly the whole community may reasonably need and desire, and communicates to each factory, or mine or any other centre of production, what share it has to bear in the total production.

"For this purpose, every factory or mine, every farm or oilfield, every institute or office, and indeed every enterprise whether industrial or cultural, now makes a return showing what machinery and materials it is using, and what commodities and services it has been and expects to be producing, to be compared with next year's acreage needs and desires of the whole community. This enormous calculation, which was, in every other country, thought to be beyond human capacity, is actually performed in the USSR by the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) in incessant consultation with the powerful All Union Central Committee of Trade Unions, the highly organised Consumers Co-operative Movement, and the several People's Commissars directing the tens of



thou-and\* of separately admini-tered factories, mines, oilfields, state farms, warehouses, ships, railways and what not "

This gigantic national planning has been productive of immense good to the people. It has abolished starvation-wages as well as rentierism, pauperism as well as plutocracy. It has enabled every citizen to find work according to his capacity, and has thus stamped out unemployment. It has established a reasonable balance between agriculture, industry and other sources of occupation, and has made the alternation of slumps and booms impossible. Such results can take place only in a country where nationalisation has placed all economic control in the hands of the nation at large. In capitalist countries, where economic planning is being introduced in imitation of Soviet Russia, its success will necessarily depend upon the nature and extent of the control which the state will be able to exercise over production distribution, and exchange

### III. COMMUNIST POLITICS

From the political point of view, communism is both a theory and a method. These two aspects of communist politics may be discussed separately.

#### (a) Communism as a political theory

As a political theory, communism holds that the political structure of a society is determined by economic causes, by the economic forces which are generated in course of the development of its productive and distributive processes. When in a society, which is predominantly agricultural, wealth is produced by a labouring class under the control of a landed aristocracy, which absorbs the major portion of the wealth created, leaving but small returns for the labourers, the political power, which follows wealth, passes into the hands of this wealthy class of landlords, and the society thus formed is called "feudal". With the advance of science and the application of science to industry, feudalism gives way to industrialism, the feudal structure of the society is broken up, and political power passes from the landlords to the capitalists who control production and distribution in the interest of their own class. This is called "Capitalism". But Capitalism, like Feudalism, is also a passing phase in the historical development of society, for the conflicting economic forces which capitalism generates are sure to bring about its own downfall. Capitalism gives rise, as we shall see, to two opposing classes and a conflict between them, and thus it paves the way for communism

which aims at resolving all class-conflicts by establishing a class-less society. In communism the contradictions of capitalism are resolved and reconciled and an equilibrium established. Granted that communism must, in the nature of things, supplant capitalism, two important questions present themselves for solution. How is the transition to communism to be effected? Can we consciously help in the process of transition?

#### (b) Communism as a political method

In so far as communism attempts to answer the above questions, it becomes a political or revolutionary method.

The vicious system of production and distribution produces, the communists hold, stresses and strains in the social structure, causing conflicts and struggles among the classes. Capitalism gives rise to two great conflicting classes, the class of capitalists who possess "pelf and power" and enjoy all the good things of life, and a property-less labouring class, who having nothing of their own except their power to work, sell their labour power to the capitalist to earn their living. This class of proletarians must be made fully conscious of their own wretchedness and organised under the leadership of a thoroughly disciplined revolutionary party. This is the first step. This leadership in Russian revolution was supplied by the Bolshevik party. When the proletarians become sufficiently strong and self-conscious, they must rise against their oppressors, the capitalists, and seize from them all political power, for without such power the Communist's social and economic programme cannot be carried out. This is the second step. This step was taken in Russian revolution by the proletarians under the leadership of the Bolshevik party which was controlled and guided by the genius of Lenin.

When power is gained, the proletarians must establish "a dictatorship of the proletariat" which shall exist only so long, as the classless society which is the ideal of Communism does not materialise. "A dictatorship of the proletariat" does not mean, as it is apt to mean, tyranny or despotism of an individual or a clique. It only means class-rule, the rule of the proletarian class over the entire nation. It means the unrestricted exercise of power by the proletarians in the establishment of a classless society, but this power is to be exercised, not in an arbitrary or dictatorial fashion, but in a way which must reflect the general will of the class. Hence a "dictatorship of the proletariat" means nothing more than some form of the

popular or representative Government of the entire proletarian class set up temporarily for the express purpose of destroying all class-distinctions and thus inaugurating a society of free individuals, in which, with the abolition of classes, the state, as a *Class-dictatorship* or as a coercive party machinery, will wither away, and will be replaced by a mere administrative organisation for the good of all.

In Soviet Russia a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established

"In contrast with every other community, the USSR has evolved a complex and multifarious representative system of complete originality based upon the principle of universal participation in public affairs, under the guidance of a highly organised leadership of unique kind. As we have described, man is represented in three separate capacities, as a citizen, as a producer and as a consumer. In each case the franchise is the widest in the world, though with peculiar and steadily dwindling disqualifications, whilst the extent to which the entire population actually participates in elections is without parallel. The representative system has hitherto been, above the 70,000 village or city Soviets, one of indirect election; but it was in 1935 decided to replace this by direct election upon a franchise uniform among both sexes, all races, and every kind of occupation, throughout the USSR."

The Russian Soviet system is rooted in the past history of Russia; but in a country with a different tradition and culture the advent of Communism may usher in a proletarian Government of a different type based on a different plan or pattern of representation

#### IV COMMUNIST ETHICS

At a party conference held in 1924 Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, enquired what was permissible conduct for a communist and what was not. The party conference, after long deliberation, decided that "no one code of behaviour for the new man could be settled on, but the general principles could be stated." The communists believe that ethics, like politics, springs from the operation of those social forces which mould and fashion the life of man in a particular community, and that since these forces are continually changing, there cannot be an absolutely unalterable moral code; but at the same time they hold that in the midst of these shifting changes there are certain general principles which lie at the root of a good life, and that these stable principles can be formulated. The Communist Ethics is therefore, social and mundane in its outlook; it has no reference to anything beyond the mundane existence, and no concern with anything beyond the social life of man. The social factor of Communist Ethics arises, as the

communists point out, from the peculiar nature of man.

"Man is the creation of the society from the family group right up to the state. Without some form of social grouping *Homo sapiens* is non-existent. The individual is thus the group in one of its manifestations. Equally, the group life is only one of the directions taken by the lives of its individual members. The service which morality requires the individual to give to the community is only a particular outcome of the instinct of self-preservation without which individual life could not continue; a form of the service which he renders to himself in order that his own individuality may be developed to the fullest practicable extent. The prosperity and success of the community as a whole is a condition precedent to the utmost prosperity and success of the individuals of whom the community is composed. Scientifically considered there is not, and never can be, any conflict between the genuine interest of the individual in the highest and fullest development of his own nature and his own life, and the genuine interest of the community in being constituted of the highest and most fully developed individuals. Morality is thus, in a real sense a part of the nature of the universe, not to be invented but to be discovered."

In this discovery the communist ideal of a class-less society must play the most important part

Being a social animal whose life is bound up organically, so to say, with the life of the society, man is under an inescapable obligation to serve his community. But social service has no meaning or significance unless it is directed to the realisation of an ideal or purpose. This ideal is supplied by the communist conception of the "class-less society" about which we have already spoken. Being asked about the criterion of good conduct, one of the most influential and widely respected leaders of the Communist Party once said:

"Whatever conduces to the building up of the class-less society is good and whatever impeded it was bad."

Therefore the communist ethics in its broadest outline may be stated thus:

Keep before you the picture of a class-less society as your ideal and serve your community as best as you can so as to bring about a speedy realisation of the ideal.

Three important results have followed from the practical adoption of the Communist Ethics in Soviet Russia. In the first place, the acceptance of the communist morality makes it incumbent upon every individual to employ all his mental energy to discover what should be the best line of action, consistently with his ideal or purpose in life, in the circumstances in which he may be placed, and to adopt that line of action which he finally decides upon. Hence moral excellence depends upon a scientifically correct appraisal of the facts which present themselves in a particular situation. This

brings about a new attitude to science, an attitude which encourages the cultivation of science on the most extensive scale as a supreme national duty, and insists upon the widest possible diffusion of scientific knowledge without the distinction of race or sex. Secondly, a moral lapse, in this view, is a failure of the individual to read the situation correctly in a detached scientific spirit, a failure which is due either to an error of judgment or to an insufficient mental equipment. Whatever may be the cause, a moral failing, unless it is proved to be a deliberate default, deserves to be sympathetically corrected, rather than to be punished with undue severity. This attitude has resulted in an extraordinary degree, in softening the rigours of the criminal law (except in the case of the enemies of the Communist state) and in the humanisation of the houses of correction, such as prisons, prophylatoria, etc.

The third important result is the emergence of a new conscience, a new sense of social justice. This new conscience demands equality of rights and opportunities for all. It does not discriminate between man and man, nor between man and woman, and insists on the distribution of goods and services according to needs. In the matters of sex-relation it permits equal freedom to both sexes; and although it allows the greatest latitude in marriage and divorce, it condemns sexual excesses of all kinds as incompatible with a good communist life. It does not brand with illegitimacy any child born out of wedlock, but it takes severe notice of any conduct in which the future interest of the child is neglected or jeopardised.

In the economic sphere this new conscience sets up a new scale of values, and insists that labour should cease to be a continuous drudgery for an inferior class, which it has been hitherto, but should be the means of joyous service and occupation for all; that exploitation should come to an end and with it pauperism and plutocracy. It condemns inequality of all kinds, whether in work or leisure, in education or recreation.

## V COMMUNISM AND RELIGION

Communism has sometimes been acclaimed as a new religion. There is, indeed, some truth in this description, for has not communism placed before man a new ideal of life which has infused new hope and called forth new veneration? Has it not evoked in its votaries a new enthusiasm, bordering almost on fanaticism, such as characterised the religious martyrs of old? Like Christianity, communism aims at bringing down the kingdom of God on earth;

it aims at establishing a class-less society in which human brotherhood of the purest type will prevail. Like Christianity, communism has its churches and church dignitaries, its confessions and excommunications, its ceremonies and rituals only they are called by secular names and serve secular purposes. It has ennobled and uplifted human life to an extent which is really astounding. Yet Communism is not a religion in the truest sense of the term. Both in theory as well as in practice, it is anti-religious. It not only denies an immortal soul and the supersensuous world, but it attempts by all possible means to bring to atrophy the God-urge in man—the urge which impells the finite man to seek communism with the infinite. The religious policy of the Soviet Union is reflected in its social programme which passed through two stages. In the first stage the programme was violently anti-religious and included the following items:

- (a) An active propaganda against beliefs in God, immortality of the soul, and the other world.
- (b) The persecution of the clergy and the believers.
- (c) The forcible closing of the churches and other places of worship and the confiscation of church properties.

This destructive programme continued for many years under the Soviet regime until it was realised that religious persecution defeats its own purpose. In 1931 Kerzhenshev wrote:

'A believer whose religious feelings are affronted will become still more religious. Thus the forcible closing of a church against the will of the population will merely evoke a desperate passionate struggle and confirm the dupe- of the priests in their faith. The cultural standards of the population must be raised, books of popular science circulated, the cinemas and theatres substituted for church ceremonies, for people go to church for entertainment also for the sake of singing or ritual. In this way we shall achieve the emancipation of the workers from the yoke of religion.'

Thus a change gradually came over the religious policy of the Soviet Union and an overt flank attack was resorted to in the place of the open frontal assault. A new programme was adopted which aimed at weaning away the mind of the people from religion by multiplying the means of scientific knowledge and recreation. This was the second stage.

Religion, the Communists argue, flourishes in ignorance, poverty and sickness; and if these can be weeded out, religion will die of inanition. Therefore, the new programme included elaborate measures for fighting ignorance, poverty, and sickness, and providing adequately for the cultural and physical recreation of the people. This secular programme was wisely

devised and was good in itself; but the anti-religious motive behind it was not only blasphemous but silly. The cause of human happiness can never be advanced by the methods of intolerant persecution which the Communists pursued at the first stage, nor by ignoring the demands of the higher nature and confronting them with the pleasures of the lower—the methods which the Communists adopted at the second stage. The Communists were wise enough to discover the folly of religious persecution, but how long will they remain blind to the absurdity of killing religion with science and recreation?

The anti-religious policy of Soviet Russia derives its strength from the materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx about which we shall speak presently, and from the feelings of horror and detestation with which religion came to be regarded by the Russian people on account of its unholy alliance with Tsarist oppression. Rasputin, whose profligacy and pernicious influence on the Tsar and the Tsarina are well-known, was not a solitary instance of the degraded clergy. Prof. MacMurray did not perhaps exaggerate when he declared in 1934, after carefully studying the condition of religion in pre-revolutionary Russia, that

"nearly all that religion has been and has meant in Russia, ought to perish forever from the face of the earth and from the memory of men."

But in a country with a different religious tradition it is doubtful if the anti-religious programme of Communism will make much headway, for the ideal of communism is, as it must appear to a sober judgment, more in harmony with a theistic than with an atheistic scheme of life.

## VI. THE BASES OF COMMUNISM

From what we have said so far, it is clear that Communism is a secular civilisation with a comprehensive socio-economic programme and a taboo on religion. This new civilisation draws its strength and sustenance from two main sources, from the philosophy of Karl Marx, and from the innate urge or passion of the human nature for social justice. These two are the bases of communist civilisation, and as such, deserve consideration.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into a detailed examination of Marxian philosophy in all its aspects. We shall content ourselves with a few critical observations on some of its fundamental tenets. The first thing to remark about

Marxian philosophy is that it has a predominantly economic bias and is therefore, one-sided, in spite of its undoubted contributions to the understanding of socio-economic problems. Marx starts with an economic theory of value and endeavours to show how the class that produces wealth by its labour is exploited by other classes who take only a passive part in the productive process, how this exploitation of labour leads to concentration of capital on the one hand, and pauperism on the other, and how these results prepare the ground for Communism. So far as this socio-economic theory in its broadest outline is concerned, I can say with Prof. Laski that,

"It is a great indictment of capitalist production, massive in its outline, convincing in its detail, an indictment such as neither Carlyle nor Ruskin had the power or strength to draw."

As an analysis of economic facts, it may not be technically faultless but it has, on the whole, borne the test of history; and it is becoming increasingly apparent that all over the world things are moving fast towards the goal of industrial nationalisation which Marx so strongly advocated as a remedy against the evils of capitalist production.

From his economic theory Marx draws the corollary that all social formations are determined by economic causes, that all historical institutions, whether political or commercial, legal or ethical, are the results of socio-economic conditions. That there is some truth in this interpretation of history no one can deny. Take, for instance, the history of English Puritanism or of American Revolution, and you will find it impossible not to recognise the economic incentive as a fundamental factor. But it is equally true that these historical upheavals cannot find their adequate or complete explanation in terms which are exclusively economic. Factors other than economic enter into the picture and deserve equal consideration. Or take again the rise of Christianity or Buddhism as a historical phenomenon, and explain it in purely economic terms, eliminating the personality of its great founder, such an interpretation will be nothing but a travesty of history. Economic determinism, as a theory or scheme of historical interpretation, is fallacious, for it involves the substitution of a part for the whole cause.

The socio-economic outlook which preponderates in the writings of Marx makes him blind to the influences that come from the depths of human personality. This explains his "historical materialism" which gives rise to

economic determinism in history and atheism in religion. Philosophers have fought long and arduous battles over the issues involved in the materialistic interpretation of man and the universe, and a scholarly student may decide for himself what side to take in this age-long conflict. What is more important is to set forth those considerations which go to show that materialism is inconsistent with the social scheme which Marx himself unfolds.

The denial of God and the supernatural world such as we find in Marxian Materialism is detrimental to the progress of science and arts by which Marxism lays so much store. Such a denial, by limiting beforehand the powers of the human mind, breeds or fosters a dogmatic attitude which saps the spirit of free enquiry. Dogmatic theology is as fatal to scientific progress as dogmatic secularism. Again, materialism does not admit the existence of a higher nature in man, the nature from which springs his urge for the invisible world, the urge for the world of beauty and goodness, holiness and perfection, the urge which flowers into arts and religion. Hence Marxism is inimical to the progress of science and arts. Moreover, Marxism with its insistence on class-hatred and class-war looms before us as the harbinger of social chaos; for violence begets violence, and revolution, unless tempered by extraordinary self-discipline and goodwill, provokes counter-revolution, as we are witnessing to our sorrow today in Soviet Russia. Psychologically speaking, repression whether in the religious or in the political field is bound to produce "reaction formations."

But Karl Marx was higher than his

philosophy. Though his reason quailed before empiricism, his moral nature rose to the highest altitude, and was fired by an impersonal love, by a love or passion for justice. Laski truly says:

"Marx was the first thinker to expose in all its hollowness the moral inadequacy of a commercial civilization. He showed that in any society where the main effort is the attainment of wealth the qualities that are basically noble cannot acquire their full vigour. He made finally impossible any economic system which makes the volume of trade the test of national well-being, and he put in the fore-front of social discussion the ultimate question of the condition of the people. He performed the incalculable service to his generation of bringing to it a message of hope in an epoch where men seemed to themselves to have been the helpless victims of a misery from which there was no release. In every country of the world where men have set themselves to the task of social improvement Marx has been always the source of inspiration and prophecy."

Marx is distinguished from all other writers on socio-economic questions by his great passion for social justice. It shines brilliantly through all his works, and it is this noble passion that gives his communism all the beauty and strength it possesses and enables it to cast its mysterious spell on all noble minds, young or old. But Marxian materialism with which Communism stands wedded weakens its subjective foundations, though it may improve the social environment in which Communism flourishes. What the result of this combination of communism with materialism will be it is difficult to foresee. Whether Communism will be compelled by its inner logic to break its tie with materialism, or materialism will engulf its nobler passion—time alone will show.

## JAPANESE WORLD COMPETITION

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ONE of the most outstanding features of the Japanese trade during the last twenty years has been its severe competition in almost all the markets of the world. The prices at which Japanese goods are being sold in markets in Africa, in North and South America, in England, in Europe, in India and in China, in fact, in every market of the world are at times so astoundingly low and competitive that traders, industrialists, manufacturers, economists and even statesmen have one and all felt nonplussed at the Japanese competition. Various arguments and theories are being put forward to explain the situation. The object of this article is to explain Japanese competition from all aspects giving facts and figures wherever possible.

To understand correctly the magnitude of the development of the trade of Japan, it would be useful to have some data on her general trade and prosperity during the last seventy years. The following table would therefore be very useful :

TABLE No. 1

Year	Total Foreign Trade. Yen	Population.	Trade per Head. Yen	Remarks.
1868	25,000,000	28,111,600	0.90	
1870	47,000,000	32,000,000	1.50	
1884	53,000,000	37,500,000	1.43	
1894	230,000,000	41,000,000	5.60	
1897	Gold was introduced as legal tender.			
1899	433,000,000	43,500,000	10.00	Ship building was encouraged by laws.
1901	690,000,000	46,200,000	15.00	War with Russia.
1912	1,145,000,000	52,750,000	22.00	
1915	1,240,000,000	52,700,000	23.50	
1918	1,680,000,000	54,500,000	30.00	European war
1923	3,050,000,000	58,000,000	52.60	Biggest Earth quake in Japan
1931	2,380,000,000	65,300,000	31.80	Gold Embargo
1933	3,932,000,000	67,200,000	58.50	
1937	7,300,000,000	70,000,000	104.00	

From the above table, it would be clear that the industrial development of Japan has been phenomenal. There is admiration for the Japanese people for their complete and thorough organization and competition yet it has a demoralising effect on many nations that are lying to come up, e.g., in a country like

India which is just beginning to organize its industries. When the Japanese selling prices are taken into account, a feeling of pessimism is felt because on a careful analysis, it looks as though with the best of talent and organization it is impossible to compete with Japan. If the Japanese competition were straight and fair, there would be some justification for this feeling of helplessness but the facts are otherwise and when they are carefully studied, it would be clear that we need not be discouraged in our efforts. It is not always such a fair game as it looks.

When all the exports of Japan are carefully examined, they can be classified under two main headings :

(1) Those industries for which Japan has a plentiful supply of raw materials and (2) those raw materials for which Japan depends upon foreign countries.

Under the first heading the following industries can be included :

Raw silk and silk articles, pottery, porcelain, glass, cement, fish oil, artificial silk, etc.

Under the second heading may be classed :

Cotton textiles, Woollen articles, Iron and Steel manufactures, mineral oils, etc.

In those industries where Japan has her own supply of raw materials, she is in a position of vantage and with her educated, trained, cheap and efficient labour, her cost of production is certainly low. It should be remembered that in addition to cheap and educated labour, Japan has a network of railways, tramways, and canals which facilitate cheap production and distribution of goods. She has one of the most efficient organizations in the world for producing and distributing very cheap electricity which has fostered her so-called cottage industries. Thanks to the heavy protective tariff, the home market (having only one price standard) is reserved for Japanese goods only. There are organized associations which control and regulate the production and distribution of finished goods both in the home market and foreign markets. The price in the home market is so adjusted that it leaves a safe margin for foreign export at competitive prices. In the home market, there is only one kind of articles (and

that is Japanese) and these are sold at a price, fixed by the associations controlling the trade of that article. In a country like India where owing to free trade, all sorts of articles are being sold, a distinction is made between cheap and costly goods. In many cases, there is a surplus production which has got to be sold out at any cost and at any rate. These and other factors are responsible for the sale of Japanese goods at cheap prices in the foreign markets. Some of them are sold at prices much cheaper than the cost of production in the country itself. Under separate headings, the important methods and potent causes adopted will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

Of all the important causes, the most important place is to be given to exchange dumping, that is to say, the depreciation of the Japanese Yen. As soon as England went off the gold standard, Japan received like other countries a serious shock for her export market. The purchasing power of the Yen went up in terms of the Sterling but the selling capacity of the Japanese goods fell because the Yen remaining the same, the price in Sterling or its equivalent in other markets naturally went up. In Japan the trade during the years 1931 and 1932 was very much upset. Japan could not sell cheap although she could buy cheap. Japan had no other alternative but to depreciate her own currency and this she has done with great skill. The Japanese Yen which in English currency was ranging between 2s and 2s 2d (or half the American gold dollar) during the European war and after, was successfully depreciated to the value of 1s 2d at which level it has been kept steady for the last several years. The Japanese Government has taken every conceivable precaution to maintain this rate in spite of the "China incident"; the export of gold has been stopped since 1938 and not more than 100 Yen are allowed to be taken out of the country except with the permission of the Government.

The result of this step can now be examined and understood. An article worth ten Yen, for example, was sold in England for one pound Sterling before England went off the gold standard. The same article, after England went off the gold standard began to cost in England one pound five shillings, the corresponding Japanese price, i.e., ten Yen remaining the same. This meant, of course, a set back to the sale of Japanese goods in the English market. Now let us see what happens when the Japanese Yen has gone down to 1s 2d. The same article worth 10 Yen can now be sold

in England for 11s. 8d. the corresponding Japanese price being the same. The change in price of the same article has been from 20s. down to 11s. 8d. The result is obvious. The English market is flooded with cheap Japanese goods, the prices in Japan remaining the same.

As a next alternative, let us examine the price situation in India. The Yen during the year 1917-18 was equivalent to Rs.1.10as. in Indian money, therefore, an article worth 10 Yen in Japan used to cost in India, in Indian money nearly Rs.16.4as. The same article now with the Japanese Yen equivalent to about 12as. 6p. (1s. 2d) will cost Rs.7.13as., the predepreciation price being Rs.16.4as., i.e., less than half the old price. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the Indian rupee has no independent existence and is wedded indissolubly to the pound Sterling. The result of this to the Indian trade and the Indian manufacturer is simply disastrous. A Japanese soap cake, for example, which was worth As. 4 is at once sold for As. 2 only by the Japanese, whereas the Indian soap manufacturer cannot possibly reduce his price from 4as. to 2as.

To the Indian manufacturer, therefore, the Japanese competition is nothing short of a miracle and it is no wonder that he is lost in bewilderment. He loses his morale and feels that he is incompetent. He has to stop his work for no fault of his. He is made to suffer for no inefficiency on his part. The consequence is that in the manufacture of all those articles for which Japan has her own raw materials, she can and she has simply flooded the foreign markets with cheap articles, which have a crushing and demoralising effect on the foreign manufacturers, whereas the Japanese manufacturer is working all happily and normally backed up by a manipulated exchange.

The economist would argue, however, that the depreciation of the currency in a country automatically means an increase in internal wages, labour, and cost of living in that country. This argument is true fully in the case of only those countries that have to import their foodstuffs from outside and have got to pay for them in foreign exchange. This is what happened in the case of Germany after the Great War right upto the year 1924 when the Renten Mark was introduced which changed the financial aspect of the country. In the case of Japan, however, things are very different. Rice, fish, vegetables, coal, etc., the main requisites, are all Japanese products, i.e., it has not to import any of her daily

The late Mr. Lalooobhai Shamaldas on pages 66 to 69 of his well-known book *My Impressions of Japan* refers to the example of cement and makes us believe that Japan is producing very cheap cement and therefore beats India in the Indian market. Obviously, this author has not examined the figures properly. Cement has been selling in Japan for the last many years at the steady price of Y. 20 to Y. 21 per ton, i.e., in Indian money about Rs 16 per ton. In the Bombay and Calcutta markets, this same Japan cement is being sold for Rs. 33 to Rs. 34 per ton. Of this, the Government of India charges Rs. 18 4as. per ton as the import duty that means, out of Rs 34 at least Rs 19 are given away as Customs duty and landing charges, etc. This leaves a balance of Rs 15 per ton. The freight on the Japanese cement per ton from Kobe to Bombay or Calcutta is Y. 8, i.e., Rs 6 6as (Y.=as. 12/6) therefore only Rs. 8 10as are left out of Rs 34. The middleman's profit etc is not included. It is expected, therefore, that only Rs. 6 are available for being sent to Japan as the price per ton. The argument is, therefore, clear. The price of cement which is Rs. 16 per ton in Japan is only Rs 6 per ton in India. The following quotation from the Japan Year Book of 1934 will be read with interest :

"Cement was also exported to Hawaii, China and the Dutch East Indies but the export met a setback by restrictive measures on Japanese products adopted by these countries for the reason that they were dumped in these countries. The Japan Cement Export Society was established for export control."

In certain industries, where Japan has to buy her raw materials from outside, e.g., cotton, wool, rubber, etc., the prices inside and outside are adjusted in such a manner that a part of the profits made in the country is used to sell similar articles in the foreign markets at very competitive prices. The argument is simple. First of all, the import duty on the imported textile goods being prohibitive, foreign goods cannot be imported in the country. Secondly, in certain items, the Japanese tastes are peculiar and foreign markets cannot produce articles to suit the Japanese taste. Take, for example, the Japanese *Kimono*, *Obi* and *Tabi*, the typical dress worn by the Japanese men and women. The Japanese *Kimono* worn by the Japanese women is sometimes more costly than some of the ornaments worn by the women in India. These *Kimonos* and *Obis* are made by the Japanese for the Japanese only and are very expensive. It has been the experience of this writer that in Japan, no necktie can be

had for anything less than 50 sen, i.e., about 8d or 6as 6p. and the same necktie can be had in the Indian market for about 3as. to 4as. after paying the middleman's profit, freight, and the import duty of at least 30 per cent. Similarly, a suit of clothes made of the Japanese silk costs in Japan three times as much as a similar suit made of the same Japanese silk in India at a place like Benares. As is well-known, the so-called "Benares silk industry" uses Japanese yarn as its raw material. In the matter of woollen goods, also, the prices in Japan are much higher than the prices outside. It should also be noted in this connection that the foreign exporters doing business in Japan are not allowed to buy their goods in Japan and sell them in the country. They can only do so provided they sell through the Japanese Trade Association which means at the prices fixed by the Japanese Trade Guilds. It is true that there is what is called, the consumption tax of 9 to 10 per cent on the cotton and silk goods sold in the country—a tax levied by the state for purposes of income. But this small consumption tax of 10 per cent cannot enhance the prices to twice or thrice the price at which it is sold in foreign markets. The following quotations from Japanese sources in support of this argument are extremely valuable.

"Cotton mills in Japan being rich in financial resources, can buy raw cotton advantageously at any time. For instance what would a mill do that buys raw cotton today at 20 yen per 100 kin, if the market falls to 18 yen per 100 kin tomorrow? If the mill does not take any step, the discrepancy of two yen will have to be borne. So the mill buys more at 18 yen, 16 yen, 15 yen, 13 yen and so on, buying more as the market falls. The mill pursues the same policy of buying as the market advances from 18 to 25 yen, and so on. When all the purchases are averaged, it is always found that the raw cotton stocked in advance for a year and a half is at a favourable level of price."

"Their financial strength enables the Japanese mills to pursue the same sound policy in selling yarn. If the yarn sold today at 35 yen per bale goes up by 5 yen tomorrow, how is the loss made up? The mill will keep selling yarn at 45 yen, 50 yen and so on. The average selling price for the year will prove advantageous as in the case of buying raw cotton. Japanese cotton mills are often highly spoken of for their ability to buy and sell advantageously. They may indeed deserve the commendation, but as a matter of fact there



niddleman's profit, freight and import duties. In Japan the same pair of shoes costs at least Rs. 7.

In the case of sheet glass, also, one case of sheet glass costing Y. 8.20 (Rs.6.8as.) in Japan has been sold in the Bombay and Calcutta markets for a minimum price of Rs.4.8as. after paying freight, landing charges, profit and an import duty of 25 per cent, the average price being Rs. 6 to Rs 7 per case.

"A strong point of Japanese glass export is that Japanese Manufacturers and Traders are able to reduce their export prices by 30 per cent higher than usual. Exporters are wisely leaving room for competition with foreign products, even though tariff rates are raised by foreign countries." (Japan Year Book 1934)

In the case of hydrogenated fish oil or fatty acids obtained from that, whereas the Japanese price is Y 16-18 per Cwt in Japan, the same fatty acids are sold in India—in Bombay, for Rs 10 per Cwt. after paying for the freight and an import duty of 25 per cent.

An extraordinarily interesting feature of Japanese trade is that Japan is at one and the same time producing, importing and exporting articles, all being done simultaneously. Take for example, four typical industries namely caustic soda, soda ash, ammonium sulphate and motor cars.

TABLE SHOWING PRODUCTION, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF CAUSTIC SODA

(IN METRIC TONS)

Year	Production	Imports	Exports
1913	4,257	12,004	—
1918	8,997	21,545	397
1921	9,512	1,291	806
1931	13,535	41,595	18
1933	131,709	112,477	1,5116
1936	263,327	111,587	123,911
1937	*340,000	127,429	1,5511

TABLE SHOWING THE PRODUCTION, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF SODA ASH.

Year	Production	Imports	Exports
1914	1,722	32,700	nil
1921	9,628	118,800	nil
1932	132,897	47,434	8,369
1937		46,139	12,291

NOTE—The export of Soda Ash has commenced only recently

TABLE SHOWING PRODUCTION, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF AMMONIUM SULPHATE  
(IN METRIC TONS)

Year	Production	Imports	Exports
1925	147,000	296,025	4,202
1927	176,475	250,014	774
1930	265,825	302,905	14,924
1931	393,237	221,148	11,608
1933	471,348	108,449	50,061
1934	491,350	160,401	1,526
1936	1,271,000	314,000	17,700
1937 Jan. to July			7,200

NOTE.—In 1937 trade is greatly affected due to the "China incidents"

From the above tables, it will be seen clearly that the production of Caustic Soda, Soda Ash and Ammonium Sulphate is going up year after year but at the same time, the demand for these in the home market is also going up so fast that the home production is not sufficient to meet the home demand. As a consequence, imports have got to be made. One can understand the necessity of importing these articles to make up the deficit in the home production. But to import and to export simultaneously and to compete with the same foreign producer from whom the purchases are made, is an extraordinary achievement. In the Indian market, for example, the Japanese are competing with the Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, in the sale of Soda Ash and Caustic Soda etc. and it is from this same company that the Japanese are buying their surplus needs. It is equally amazing that the Japanese when they purchase from these foreign companies reserve to themselves the right of selling the same products in any market and at any price they choose.

In the manufacture of motor cars, again, foreign concerns are allowed to assemble parts in Japan and the Japanese themselves are producing only a few of their cars, buses, and small baby cars. The home production is not enough to meet the home market and yet a few "Datsun" cars are being exported to foreign markets only as "feelers" for future advertisement.

This has very nearly come to pass in her production of Ammonium Sulphate. It is reported that before the close of the year 1938, Japan has been able to produce, in the country, all the Ammonium Sulphate she needs. During the year, 1939, not only will the import be stopped but she will have enough to export for which by a premeditated policy, she has already created new markets by her sales organization.

The price of caustic soda per Cwt. in Japan in 1937, was Y. 9 to Y. 10, per Cwt. The freight to India is about Y. 1.00 per Cwt. on this the import duty in India is 30 per cent and still the Japanese soda was the cheapest in India, selling at about Rs. 9 or so per Cwt.

It is supposed by many outside Japan that the Japanese Government systematically subsidises many of her articles to be sold cheap in the foreign markets. This statement as will be seen from the preceding arguments is too broad to be true. It is quite true, subsidies have been given in the past and are being given today for certain new industries in their initial and experimental stages. In many cases, as for example, textile industry, woollen industry, leather industry, shipbuilding industry, etc., the state has not only given subsidies but the state has actually financed and started model factories which after successful working have been handed over to private enterprise. Once a successful unit of working has been established by the state, private enterprise has come forward and industries have expanded without further help. In the last few years motor cars, photographic industries and synthetic oil, etc. have been receiving special state aid. The Department of Commerce and Industry has been giving for several years annually a subsidy of Y. 130,000 to standardized cars at the rate of 10 per cent of their market price. The licenses according to the Automobile Industry Law passed by the 69th session of the Imperial Diet are granted the following privileges:

(a) Exemption from business profit tax, income-tax and local taxes during a certain period (b) the right to raise loans above the amount fixed by the commercial code and (c) exemption from the import tax on certain motor car accessories and other machines.

The photographic industry is being subsidised in the following manner. Dry plate manufacture, printing paper for photographic use, film manufacture and lens manufacture have all been built up by systematic subsidies. One is surprised to find cheap articles, such as cameras and cheap microscopes made in Japan of fairly workable quality. For ordinary purposes of school and college use, the Japanese are

using their own cameras and their own microscopes. It is only highly specialized apparatus for scientific researches that has got to be imported.

In the manufacture of synthetic petrol from coal, the state is giving subsidies since the year 1920 to the Fuel Research Institute of the Department of Commerce and Industry. Annually a grant of Y. 300,000 is being given to different companies.

The Japanese shipping companies play a very important role in the cheap export of Japanese manufactured goods as also in the cheap import of raw materials like cotton, wool, rubber and salt, etc. required by Japan. The shipping companies already under state control are receiving heavy subsidies from the year 1899 when the first shipbuilding laws were passed. All the trade routes of the world are practically under state control and the movements of the ships are adjusted to suit the trade conditions. This is a very great step. For example, trade with Somaliland is so adjusted that the ships carrying finished Japanese products to these countries have to bring back salt to Japan at a nominal rate of Y. 12 per ton. The cost of salt per ton for industrial purposes, in Japan (although it is imported from a distance of nearly 7,000 miles) is surprisingly low, i.e., only Rs 12 per ton. Similarly, in the export of finished goods, the rates per ton, for 5,000 miles by sea are less than even 300 miles by rail in a country like India. No wonder, therefore, the Japanese articles can be sold cheap particularly in sea port towns.

One of the important reasons why Japan produces cheap articles is that in the production of certain articles, there is specialization. In India, people believe that Japan is a country of cottage industries. In a sense, it is true and in a sense it is wrong. It is true in this sense that in the cottage scale production in Japan, the number of workers in a small unit ranges from 5 to 10, but all these are literate workers with a technical knowledge of their line and are supplied with cheap gas and cheap electricity even in remote villages. In addition to this, there is every facility in the transport and distribution of raw materials and finished products. Further it should be remembered, that in every one of these small cottage units, only one specialized operation is carried out. In India we are under a very wrong impression that all the operations are done by the same workers. Take, for example, an industry like the manufacture of bicycles, at Sakai, a village about 20 miles from Osaka. The whole village

consists of small unassuming buildings made of wood with only the groundfloor and every one of the houses has very cheap electric power available at 1 to 2 pice per unit and also cheap coal gas. About 5 to 10 people are working in each house for any number of hours they choose because the factory law is not applicable to them. In each one of these units, only one operation is carried out. In other words there is what may be called rational specialization. The investment is small and the production is very efficient. One export dealer buys all these ready-made parts and keeps a stock of these in his godown and assembles these parts for export according to the instructions he receives and the quota he is allowed by the Cycle Export Association. It should be noted in this connection that for every article of export there is an association and this dictates the selling price of these articles in the country. The Japanese public has to buy Japanese articles at the prices fixed by the trade control associations. Therefore, this subdivision and specialization help the production of cheap articles for export. The same thing can be said of industries like lead pencils, fountain pens, celluloid toys, etc.

The Japanese are very thorough in their trade tactics. They have studied every method of capturing foreign markets. They are not only clever in copying but they are also clever in rationanizing. The conquest of the world market is their aim and to do so, they know, rationalizing is necessary. In the textile industry, for example, they have made immense improvements on the English models which they once purchased. They have produced the "Toyada loom" which is ten times more efficient than the old English loom. In the line of construction of boilers and engines, both for factories and railways they have produced very efficient types which they build and assemble in a comparatively short period. Whenever necessary, they scrap old machines and replace them by recent ones. They buy a few typical and efficient foreign machines and copy them and build them to suit their own conditions. The cost of machinery in Japan in certain industries is 30 per cent of what it is in other countries that have to depend upon imported machinery. This is a factor which reflects great credit on the Japanese people. In the building of aeroplanes also they are not wanting in efficiency. This element of rationaliza-

tion has been undoubtedly contributing to the success and development of Japanese industries.

It is clear from the various arguments given above that the first problem before the Japanese Government is to create as much productive work as possible to feed the growing population of the country. Every year, the population of Japan is increasing by one million. The pressure on the land is great and the fertility of the soil is taxed to its maximum. Raw materials must be imported to be converted into finished goods for the purpose of export, if the population is not to be made to starve. World competition is increasing and is becoming keener and keener day by day. The existing factories must not stop working nor should the production be curtailed for this would mean throwing out employed labour. This in turn would mean the problem of unemployment. The Japanese Government does not believe in the system of giving *doles* to unemployed labour. Instead of giving out *doles* in cash, the Japanese Government takes to the other alternative namely selling out the total production or the surplus production in the best manner possible, no matter, what the cost price is. Japanese ships touch almost all the important sea ports of the world and the Japanese trading agencies are equally widespread and powerful. These agencies adjust themselves to the current prices in the respective world markets. The sum total of all the world sales including the sales in the home country leave a safe margin of profit. Therefore, it follows that the prices at which the Japanese articles are sold in the different world markets need not be necessarily related to the cost price. Economists, therefore, should be on their guard in not confusing or mixing up the two terms the Japanese competition and the Japanese efficiency. The Japanese Government with its heavy tariff wall systematically built from 1899 onwards to protect her industries should not resent other countries doing the same, that is, levying suitable protective tariffs in the interests of their own infant industries. Unfortunately, Japanese politicians forget this and have construed this natural instinct of other nations as being enmity towards Japan. The Chinese boycott of Japanese goods for the last few years is one of the main causes of the recent war.

## LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BOMBAY

By CHANDRAKALA HATE, M.A.

ILLITERACY has long been a curse of the Indian nation. At present one-third of the world's illiterates reside in this country. Out of 35 crores, only 2.5 crores of people can read and write. That means the percentage of literates is only 8. Just compare this figure with that of other nations. In England, it is 91%, in U.S.A. 91.6%, U.S.S.R. 98%, Germany 99% and Japan 99.7%. No wonder these nations are the foremost in the world, while our country with such a huge population is lagging far behind!

Because of illiteracy resulting in ignorance, majority of the people have no idea of their legitimate rights. On the contrary, disunity and communal strife are rampant in this country to the detriment of the nation's welfare. Therefore, it is quite essential to educate the people, for which literacy is the first step, if India is to come forward.

People have long been demanding free and compulsory primary education. But under the convenient excuse of want of funds, the Government never paid any attention to this demand. If this was the case with the primary education of children, it was but natural that adult education did not receive any attention from the Government. Now the Democratic Governments are reviewing the whole problem of education in all its stages. Among others adult education has also received due consideration. U. P. and Bihar Governments recently started the literacy campaign and Bombay is going to witness an experiment on a large scale for Bombay City and Suburbs.

The Bombay Government has appointed an Adult Education Board, which in its turn has appointed a Committee for Bombay City and Suburbs. In co-operation with this Committee, Bombay Social Service League has decided to carry on a Literacy Campaign during May next and a Committee called the Bombay Literacy Campaign Committee has been appointed under the Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Kher.

In the City of Bombay amongst the persons over the age of 5, only 314 men and 173 women per thousand are literate. Such is the ignorance of the second city in the Empire! For liquidating this illiteracy, the Committee has decided to organise 500 literacy centres for the City and Suburbs to be followed by classes which will work for further six months. 2,000 volunteers will be necessary to work as teachers. For this

purpose, College and Matric students as well as teachers were approached.

In the labour area the proportion of illiterates is much greater. So efforts will be concentrated over there. The time of the classes will be from 8 to 10 p.m. which is likely to be changed to suit the convenience of the people. For women generally the classes will be held in the afternoon.

This experiment will last for one month and if found successful, with due changes it will be continued for six months more. At the end of this period a person who can read a newspaper and write a letter and has learnt a little arithmetical calculation for practical purposes, will be certified as literate.

Literacy work is bound to appeal to all sections of the community. And therefore, all parties are represented on the Committee. The Bombay Government has made it compulsory for all its menial staff to become literate before December, 1939.

It is expected that in the beginning Rs. 15,000 will be required. And all the expenses will come to about Rs. 2 lakhs. The Government have granted Rs. 3,000. The generous public is appealed for the rest of the funds.

Public meetings are organised to enlist the sympathy and the co-operation of the public. Besides all available means like posters, handbills, Radio, etc. will be utilized for propaganda work.

It is hoped that the movement will be a success, as the Government and the public are co-operating and there are enthusiastic workers in the field. The main difficulty will be with the people who are to take advantage from the Campaign. These illiterates come from labouring classes, who have no energy left after the day's hard work to come and concentrate on study. Much will depend upon the workers on the spot.

After liquidating illiteracy gradually, it will be necessary to open free libraries and reading rooms for the new literates; and public lectures to increase their general knowledge should be organised. These new literates should be kept in touch with one another. The task of literacy is difficult but still more difficult is the work of educating the masses in the real sense of the word.



Shanghai porters



Nanking Road, Shanghai



The beautiful city of Pe-ping

of administration will impress this truth on our minds. A subject people should try to resist the social conquest before they can hope to avert or remedy the evil consequences of the political conquest.

Political conquest proclaims to the whole world with beat of drum the fact that the winning race is more efficient than the race which has been defeated. Battles are generally examinations of nature's great university. The issue of international contests is decided not by isolated engagements but by the relative social efficiency of the rival nations. The English beat the French in the titanic struggle for empire in the 18th century, not because they possessed better ammunition or accidentally won a battle or two, but because their policy exhibited a persistent vigour and a constancy of purpose which were unknown to the French administrators. Victory in war, therefore, indicates something more than mere military pre-eminence; it is the sign and seal of racial superiority.

The conquered race is also conscious of it. What is known to the world cannot be hidden from it. It feels its heart sink; it gives up everything for lost. It loses hope, courage, self-confidence. It ceases to consider itself the equal of the ruling caste. It learns to think that there is a natural inequality of capacity between the two races. Thus, in course of time, it kills its own soul, for how can it repudiate the message of Fate thundered forth by History written in blood—how can it shut its eyes to the great truth that stares it in the face? "Thou hast fought and hast failed. Thou hast put forth thy greatest strength and hast been overcome."

"Thou hast tried to do thy best and that best has not availed thee." This feeling begets despair, for how can that nation expect to do better in the future? If it could not provide for the maintenance of national honour and institutions in the days of its freedom when it was master in its house, how can it hope to acquit itself more creditably in the dark days of foreign rule when it is bound in the fetters of laws, police, detectives, cantonments, prisons and convict establishments? This thought works its moral ruin.

The truth of the superiority of the conquering race is thus instinctively recognised by the subject people. They need no prophets to expound it to them. Their surroundings teach it to them. The reality of the present bids them believe it, whatever the voice of Pride and Hope, bringing a message from the ancient history of the race, may whisper in their ears.

Seeing is believing, and imagination cannot exert a greater influence on the heart and mind of the nation than its daily experience in the present.

The great problem, then, which the leaders and thinkers of a fallen race have to solve is this: How to fight this battle against nature and fact? How to keep alive national pride and self-respect in the midst of circumstances and environments which tend to impair and undermine the virtues? How to keep up the little moral vitality which the nation possesses and to develop it to the full height which it is capable of attaining? The patient is sick unto death: there is continuous moral bleeding, which is infinitely more dangerous than any loss of wealth; how to stanch the wound and prevent this incessant Moral Bleeding, this decay of the Manhood of the Race? A nation that has lost its gold and diamonds may recover them, but a nation that has parted with its pride and self-respect, cannot regain its material prosperity, for it has lost its Character, its Soul, its Life. And the dead do not enjoy the fruits of the earth and its bounty.

The social conquest is the process which increases this Moral Drain by giving the rulers opportunities of acquiring and asserting social superiority in every-day life over the conquered people. If they exercise merely political dominion, assess taxes and collect them, enact laws and execute them, they can be conquerors and legislators, tax-gatherers and constables, but they can never be masters of their subjects. Something more than military occupation and political sovereignty is required in order to render their position impregnable, and make them the real and undisputed rulers of the people. Dominion is acquired by the sword, but it is generally preserved and perpetuated by other means. As time goes by, the sword is superseded by more efficient weapons, which are not so terrible to behold, but which are more fatal to the national life of the subject race than the keenest Toledo blade. Force can defeat, and conquer; it cannot crush. It can bind, it cannot make one bend. Political conquest binds the subject race: it does not make it bend. How to achieve the latter result is the great problem which confronts the conquering race.

Let us take an example. It is believed that the Pariahs of Southern India are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants who were conquered by the Aryans. It is also known that the number of Aryans who colonised Southern India was very small compared with that of the aborigines. The Aryans were more-

vigorous, and more united among themselves and possessed better weapons. They went and defeated the forces of the dark chiefs who could not plan and organise and who sometimes joined the enemies of their race through short-sighted selfishness. The Brahmins settled in the land. So far everything is plain. A nation has been conquered in battle by another nation which is numerically weaker but morally and physically stronger than it. But then how has it come to pass that the Pariah of the Deccan prostrates himself before the Brahmin in the street and voluntarily stands aside as the latter approaches him? There is now no law requiring the Pariah to demean himself in this way. He cannot be punished by British courts of law if he refuses to compromise his self-respect by this saluting a representative of the race which conquered his nation. The Brahmin is not armed with weapons: he is generally a weak scholar, whom the Pariah could easily beat in a hand-to-hand encounter. And yet we behold the curious spectacle of hundreds of Pariahs, possessing fine physical stamina, bowing to a single Brahmin in the street even in the twentieth century when there is no law requiring them to do so. The Pariahs could combine and even thrash the Brahmin, who has no means of punishing them for their insolence. They can at least refuse to acknowledge his social superiority, now that they need fear no consequences. But, in spite of these favourable circumstances, these Pariahs bow to one who is himself really, though not in name, a Shudra. How does this happen? Here is a difficult psychological problem for us to solve. Sir Henry Cotton relates a story which throws floods of light on this question. He says:

"I remember well the impression created in my own mind on my first arrival in India, when, on walking out in the evening with a Brahmin subordinate, the Hindus whom we might meet would salute me with the respectful gesture they will accord to official rank, while they would prostrate themselves and rub their forehead in the dust before my companion. To him they rendered a genuine obeisance; to me they showed a sign of artificial respect only. The sense of official relationship was entirely swallowed up by the stronger feeling of social subordination" (*New India*, pages 141-142, 1st edition).

Sir Henry must have felt that the Brahmin and not he, was the real ruler of the people: he was merely a constable while the Brahmin swayed their hearts and minds. The position of the latter was secure: he could not be dethroned easily. Sir Henry must have envied the Brahmin who was only an ill-paid employee of the British Government.

Thus we have only to ask and answer the question. How did the astute Brahmins of old secure for themselves a permanent position of

predominance in the South? We must understand the Brahmin's policy in those ancient times, if we desire to fathom the significance of British policy in India in the twentieth century. History repeats itself, and our own wisdom of five thousand years ago is today employed against us by another race.

I have already said that the social conquest is not accomplished by means of force. Nay, the use of force takes away from its significance altogether. A little pressure may be applied, but the process must chiefly be completed through skill and patience, self-restraint and perseverance. The conqueror who has won victory on the field of battle must unbend and in a way stoop to conquer socially. The social conquest is thus an enterprise radically different in its nature from the political subjugation. It is more difficult; it cannot be achieved in the course of a winter campaign: it is almost imperceptible to the victims of the operation. It is an opiate which is administered to the subject race: it is a slow poison which does not immediately destroy but which undermines the vitality of the nation.

The requisites for the success of the Social Conquest are:

(1) The control of almost all the social activities of the subject race by the rulers especially of such as are essential for social welfare and therefore confer special prestige on those who guide them.

(2) A common platform on which the rulers and the ruled may meet on terms of inequality.

(3) The existence of a class of persons among the subject peoples who should come forward to meet the rulers on this platform.

These three things having been once secured, the ruling race is fairly on the way to success in its enterprise. The Brahmins of old were great masters in the art of bending others to their will. They could indeed make strangers bend even when they did not first bind them. Let us see how they set about the business.

They first controlled all the activities of the subject population. They offered knowledge to all: they made themselves *gurus*. A teacher is a necessary institution in all civilised communities. They alone knew the art of healing: no other class could learn it, so they became Vaidyas also: whenever a man fell ill, he thought of the Brahmin: he praised his beneficence. Then they became priests, the ministers of religion, the trustees of the sacred lore. No marriage could be celebrated, no corpse could be burned, without the presence of the Brahmin, who alone knew the sacred *mantras*. They alone studied astronomy: no one could even find out what day of the month it was without asking the Brahmin. Further, they monopolised

the teaching of such subsidiary branches of knowledge as poetry and rhetoric which do not minister to man's daily needs. Thus all social activities were brought under control: look where you would, you were sure to see a Brahman. You could not ignore him: you could not escape him. In all relations of life, he held the upper hand: he was here, there and everywhere. Knowledge is power, and none realised the truth of this saying better than Brahmins. They thus appropriated to themselves the functions of priest, teacher, physician, poet and philosopher. These are the only active forces in society: the majority of men are only passive recipients of influences emanating from the active and energetic portion of the community. The brain guides the movements of the body. The Brahmins became the brain of the new community which they founded: the body was represented by the vast hordes of aboriginal tribes, the least competent of which are the Pariahs of today. The others ranged themselves in the social system under the Brahman at various distances from him. The chiefs he placed next to himself and so forth.

Then the Brahman needed no force to rule the people. He himself had become the greatest force of all in that society—the intellect and the conscience of it. He received spontaneous homage from the children and grand-children of those who had forgotten how he had come into the land and conquered their ancestors. The memory of the conflict died out. The fact of the Brahman's all-pervading activity and benevolence was patent to all. The social leaders whom he had replaced were forgotten, his claim to leadership could not but be recognised by their descendants. He was so wise, so benevolent, so worthy of worship, let him rule. The sense of racial self-respect naturally grew weak and finally perished as time went by. Brahmanisation was in progress: the Brahman gave freely of his knowledge: he instructed his subjects in the doctrines of his religion. He had deprived them of national independence, but then he offered them something more valuable in return, the gift of eternal life. So the children of his enemies became his pupils, his converts, and his patients: the conqueror successfully established himself as Patron and Leader. Then the social conquest was completed. Then Hindu dominion was finally consolidated.

It is clear that the existence of the two other requirements of success must have helped the Brahman in his work. He recited *Lathas*: the "Native" audience listened to him. He rewarded those that came. The refractory

spirits who stayed away out of national self-respect were not honoured by the rulers. He opened a dispensary: the "Natives" flocked to it. Those that did not come from a feeling of national pride became "marked men." And so on. The common platform on which the two races could meet on terms of inequality was provided by the Brahman: it was really the field of battle for the social conquest. Rather, it was a snare, for there was no contest. He who walked into it was captured, for inequality of status was an essential condition of the intercourse carried on on that platform. The growth of a class who did not consider it derogatory to the national honour to stand on that platform was the effect of the Brahman's teaching coupled with the natural decay of manly qualities in the subject race.

Let us apply the wisdom of our forefathers to the solution of our difficulties today. They employed it for aggression, for they were strong: let us use it for self-defence, for we are weak.

How does the social conquest of the Hindus by the British people proceed? Are the three factors of success present in this case?

(a) *The control of all activities*—Schools and Colleges for general knowledge, Medical Colleges, Law Colleges, Hospitals, Post Offices, Pipes for water, etc., etc.

(b) *A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality*—Legislative Councils, Schools and Colleges, Durbars, Courts, Municipalities, District Boards, Occasional Public Meetings, etc., etc.

(c) *A class of men ready to avail themselves of social intercourse, on terms of inequality*—The landed gentry, the "English-educated" classes, etc., etc.

So the framework is complete. Let us examine how the machine works.

1. The British people have applied themselves to the task of controlling and monopolising the guidance of all activities and movements in Hindu society.

*Education*—They have established Schools and Colleges at which our boys learn the arts and sciences under them. The national system of education which prevailed at the time of their arrival in the country has been almost destroyed. It did not suit their purpose. It was under the control of the Brahmins. It attached the greatest importance to national literature and history. It kept up the idea of national individuality. It gave the position of *guru* to a different class of persons. The British wanted that place of honour for themselves. Two Kings cannot rule even in the



Educational World. So the Brahman went and is going: the Briton is stepping into his place.

*Medicine.*—The teacher is there: the physician follows him. The *Ayurveda* has been undermined by a system of Medical College on the foreign pattern, in which the English are necessarily the teachers and masters. The Report of the Committee of Public Instruction, dated December, 1831, noted with satisfaction, that European medicine was driving out the *Ayurveda*.

There is a civil surgeon in every district. He poses as the superior sort of *vaidya*. And some of us take him at his own valuation. The Indian assistant surgeons are his pupils. If they cannot find a way out of some difficulty, they must run to him. He keeps the dispensaries going. He is the great Healer of the Sick in that part of the country. Others who heal do so in his name, for they have learned the art at his feet. Meanwhile, the Hindu *vaidya* sinks into obscurity. He is a mere piece of antiquity. The respect and influence which he used to command is slowly transferred to his great rival. Another point in the game is scored by the foreigner. Another position of honour and power is resigned by the Brahman and occupied by the Briton.

*Religion*—The domain of religion is as yet free from foreign influence. It is our last refuge. The British people have nearly captured all the bastions of the social citadel. Religion and some things connected with it have not been touched with rude fingers. A sapping and mining process has, however, been commenced. It is twofold.

(a) The Destruction of the Hindu Religious system from the outside.

The Government grants equal toleration to all religious bodies. The Hindus are at present a non-proselytising nation. Under these circumstances, the Hindu religion must suffer. We do not convert followers of other creeds into our religious system: but Government allows Christians to baptise our children. We cannot have a fair fight under these conditions. Further, the educational system established by the British Government serves to weaken the foundations of Hinduism. This result was foreseen and even anticipated by the founders of the British Educational system in India. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first English Governor of Bombay, wrote in 1823:

"In the mean time, the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them,

and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education."

I could quote the opinions of many other high officials to prove that the Government did not consult the interests of Hindu religion in establishing its schools and colleges.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's evidence before the House of Lords in 1853 contained the following candid confession:

"What we are doing is not to enter into an unseemly and irritating conflict with the upholders of this ancient system (Hinduism) but to give an entirely new key to the natives, opening to them a very superior knowledge. The first effect of this introduction to a new system is to destroy entirely the influence of the ancient system upon their minds. In most instances they are never even initiated in it. It is a great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way we would have them go, all of our money then will be well laid out; we shall have no prejudices to contend with; we shall have supple minds to deal with, and we shall raise up a class of influential intelligent youth who will in the course of a few years become the active propagators of our system, with little or no assistance from us."

(b) The control of the Hindu Religious system from within.

Recently, a number of Englishmen and Englishwomen have come forward as apostles of Hinduism, pure and undefiled. They presume to instruct us in our own holy shastras. They profess great love for our religion. Some of them may be receiving support from Government, for ought we know, for they can obtain access to our princes and hold conversation with them for hours together in private. A solitary English lady, coming, nobody knows whence, could not become the adviser and confidante of great Hindu princes, if she were an object of suspicion to Government. Further, the Government is ready to do everything needful for the Central Hindu college. Thus we read that the Local Government enforced the Land Acquisition Act in order to buy up the dirty huts round the college premises though there were doubts whether the college was a public body within the meaning of the Act. I wonder if Government can confer similar favours on the Gurukula at Hardwar or the University at Naddea. We also learn that when the foundation stone of the Kashmir Hindu College was laid, both Mrs Besant and the Resident delivered excellent speeches. The college is under the control of the English "Friends of Hinduism." We notice another feature of the movement represented by the Central Hindu College: all the positions of trust, responsibility and social leadership are occupied

by Englishmen and Englishwomen. This may be an accident, but it is certainly remarkable. Mrs. Besant is President of the Board of Trustees, a body composed of distinguished Hindu gentlemen and renowned pandits. The Executive Committee for 1906 was thus constituted:

President—Mrs. Besant  
Vice-President—Mr. Richardson  
Secretary and Treasurer—Mr. Arundale.

There is no Hindu occupying an important office on the Executive Committee of an institution which is emphatically the Central Hindu College. Then there is a small *Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha*, an ordinary students' association, but even in that body we cannot miss the controlling foreign agency, for Mrs. Besant is patron and Mr. Arundale is Hon. Treasurer. Finally, we note that the Principal of the G. H. C. Girls' School is Miss Arundale, the Vice-Principal is Miss Palmer, the Hon. Secretary is Miss Wilson, (Report for 1905-6)

An amusing piece of information is supplied by the Report on page 17:

"A new departure in the way of debating societies was introduced by Mr. Arundale—a Local Parliament. The forms of the House of Commons are observed. Politics are barred."

A "Parliament" from which politics are barred, must be an interesting institution altogether.

So there you are—an Englishwoman is President of a body composed of the elite of Hinduism, influential landowners and learned priests of Benares. And they voluntarily pay her homage. The spontaneity of the homage on the part of the ruled race denotes the success of the social conquest. That is the phenomenon of the social conquest—Englishmen and Englishwomen honoured almost as priests by some of us! Mark the sad spectacle, ponder over its deep significance. It is the death-knell of the Hindu race. The innermost defences have been battered. Nay, there is a lower deep beneath the lowest deep. I saw Hindu girls learning from German and English mistresses at a certain girls' school which has been established through Mrs. Besant's influence. That is the final state of the social conquest. The zenana has been penetrated by the representatives of the ruling race in the guise of teachers and religious instructors. The voices of those dear little girls as they repeated their lessons at the feet of the German mistress fell on my ears like the wail of the dead. It appeared to me as if History were carrying the corpse of our Nation to the eternal burning-

ground of oblivion and these girls were muttering the sad slow *Ram Ram* of funeral import.

There is a dearth of sound thinkers amongst the Hindus. Let us learn wisdom from the confessions of our religious enemies, even if we are unable to think for ourselves. Mr. J. N. Farquhar, a Christian Propagandist who is of course an enemy of the Hindu religion, says in his article in the *Contemporary Review*:

"The leader and organizer of the central organisation is not a Brahman, is not even a Hindu, but is a foreigner and a woman. How incredible, the religion of caste led by a foreigner! A woman, the champion of Brahmanism! But this fact is not merely curious: it is pregnant with meaning. It is a visible embodiment of the truth that the enemy are in the citadel."

The attempt of Mrs. Besant and other Europeans to control and guide Hindu religious life represents the last phase of the Social Conquest which was inaugurated with the establishment of schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries.

Of course, the English "Friends of Hinduism" may be unconscious of the significance of what they are doing. They may be sincere and noble philanthropists. The idea that they are not obnoxious to Government is here advanced only as a hypothesis. But the fact remains all the same that the little success they have achieved, represents the completion of the social conquest of Hindus by Europeans. That is its effect, whatever the motives of the workers may be. Thus Englishmen, who are government officials, are trying to oust the Brahman from the positions of *adhyapak* (teacher) and *vaidya* (physician). Englishmen, who are not in the service of the Government, are occupying his place as religious leaders, *gurus* and *rishis*. When the Briton is teacher, physician and priest, either as a bishop of Indian converts to Christianity or as a real or sham champion of Hinduism, the social conquest will be complete. Then the excessive military expenditure, of which the Congress complains, will be reduced.

## II A COMMON PLATFORM FOR SOCIAL INTERCOURSE ON TERMS OF INEQUALITY

The feelings of national pride and self-respect having been undermined through the absence of a national state and the influence of British schools and colleges, the second requisite for the social conquest is also provided by the British people themselves.

The policy of associating the Indians in the administration puts the sons of our social and intellectual leaders under the leadership of the

English officer, who is their superior. When a Zemindar's son, who only pays taxes and obeys the laws in acknowledgment of the Political Conquest, goes further and applies for a post which is at the disposal of the local Magistrate or the provincial Lieutenant Governor, he voluntarily assists in the social conquest of his race. There is no law which requires him to degrade himself and his nation in the eyes of the world by offering himself as a "servant" of the Government. It is a matter of common knowledge that the district officer cannot treat a jagirdar's son who is his subaltern with the respect and consideration which he showed to his father who held an independent status.

Legislative Councils are also such platforms. A member of the English nation is necessarily the President. And among those who are gathered together under his social leadership are Marhatta Brahmans and Sikh princes, the leaders of Hindu society. Thus the Viceroy can stand forth before all India as the social leader of the social leaders of the Hindu nation.

Have we ever reflected why the Government admits us of its own accord to the Legislative Councils while Englishmen refuse admission into their clubs even to Indian Judges and Civilians? Government established Legislative Councils in 1861 on its own initiative and expanded them in 1892 with great advantage to itself. Now the Council is a social body: a club is also a social institution. Of course one cannot drink or smoke or crack jokes at the Council table. Then where lies the difference? Why should the Viceroy himself nominate Indian leaders to the Council while educated Indians cannot be admitted to English clubs under any circumstances whatever? The English rulers of India know full well that friendly intercourse with the Hindus will add to the stability of their dominion. Why should they refuse to promote such intercourse in their clubs as a means of consolidating their beloved Empire?

The secret is that clubs lead to social intercourse on terms of equality, whereas the Englishman wants friendly intercourse with Hindus on a footing of inequality. He does not like to be addressed with undue familiarity and would be the last person to tolerate a hail-fellow-well-met style of greeting on the part of an Indian. The Legislative Councils, Municipalities, *Durbars* and class-rooms of colleges in British India provide him with a platform on which he can assert his social superiority, his assumed Brahmanhood, over our rich and cultured men. The dismal sight of high-born

Kshatriyas and Brahmans meeting together under the presidency of a European civilian whose father may be a baker, a shepherd, a butcher, a cobbler, a shopkeeper or a parson in England, brings tears to my eyes. When our children witness the spectacle, they naturally conclude that the white man must be a sort of *rishi*, since he is seated above the Brahman. He must be the Brahman of 'Brahmans', as Shelley is the poet's poet. How can our children learn the elementary virtues of national self-respect and dignity when they see their elders needlessly debasing themselves before ordinary Englishmen belonging to the middle class in England?

The princes, who are "educated" at Chief's colleges, should of course salute the Principal of the institution at which they read. So it has at last come to this, that scions of ancient royal houses should acknowledge the superior social position of an ordinary English graduate from Cambridge and Oxford. There is no law to that effect, but the surroundings created for our young men by the Government lead to that result. It is the peculiar feature of the social conquest that the element of coercion is largely absent from it. It is not altogether excluded, but it is not very much in evidence. Indeed the conquest would lose its significance if compulsion were employed to any large extent.

Sometimes we provide the British people with the opportunity of assuming the position of the Brahman over us. Some of us hold conferences under the presidency of European officials. Nay, even the august assembly which is supposed to represent the combined wisdom and patriotism of all India, is so devoid of national self-respect that it has now and then invited Europeans, who do not know Sanskrit, who despise our shastras and eat beef, to preside over its deliberations! An assembly of Hindu "patriots" in British India under the leadership of an Englishman, a member of the conquering race! Could we imagine a meeting of Hindu patriots under the presidency of Shahab-ud-din Ghorî in the year 1200 A.D. or a "National Congress" of Hindus held in the year 1660 under Shaiista Khan? The utter wreck of national self-respect which has followed the establishment of the British schools and colleges in India is illustrated by the following sentences which occur in a speech delivered by Babu Bepin C. Pal in 1904 at a meeting of the Congress presided over by Sir Henry Cotton:

"I am not ashamed, Ladies and Gentlemen, though I am ashamed in other connections to go down on bended knees to any authority—I am not ashamed, despite my



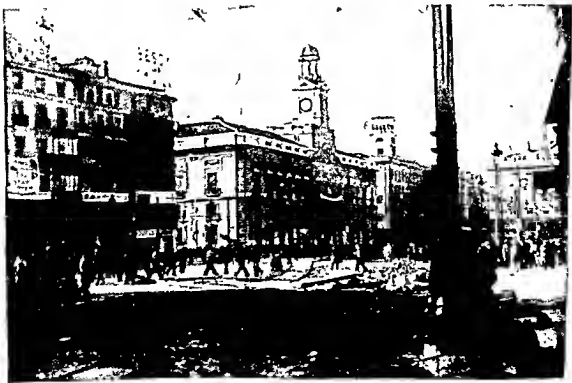
Dar es-Salaam



German Samoa



Vindhuk, the capital city of German South Africa



Devastated Madrid

that Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi have each in turn through their own religious inspiration awakened a love for the Motherland such as no purely political leader has ever been able to evoke."

To the Congress itself six parts (comprising nineteen chapters) out of the total of nine parts have been devoted.

**PALESTINE THE REALITY:** By J. M. N. Jeffries Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. Price 25s. net. Royal 8vo, cloth. Pp. xxiv+128.

The book contains a long introduction, 40 chapters, and a copious index.

It is claimed for this substantial volume that it presents the whole Arab case—the fullest and most authoritative account of the Palestine question ever written. It is stated that in many vital documents are made public for the first time and an entirely new light is shed on the Arab claims, so that "it is not too much to say that, if its evidence and arguments are accepted, this book alters everything in respect of Palestine."

Such a big claim cannot be lightly set aside, nor can it be admitted without serious study not only of this book but also of what the Jews may have to urge in reply to the evidence and arguments herein set forth. We recommend its detailed and serious study to all who have the leisure and inclination for such a task.

D.

**ADMINISTRATION OF EXPORT AND IMPORT EMBARGOES, 1935-1936:** By Elton Atwater, Geneva Research Centre, 14, Avenue de France, Geneva, Switzerland 64 pages. Price £0.40 or 175 Swiss francs.

The Geneva Research Centre in July, 1938, published a study of sanctions in which the problem was viewed from Geneva. The emphasis was upon the activities of the League of Nations in the formulation and direction of sanctions.

The present study takes action at Geneva as its point of departure and examines the methods by which sanctions were actually carried out. The emphasis in this study is upon the activities of a number of League members, including Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian States.

In a world in which many countries have an effective fear of war, in a world which is at the same time nationalistic and which must, in spite of talk of self-sufficiency, engage in international trade, the use of economic measures, such as embargoes and boycotts, is likely to be of increasing importance. This may well be true whether the economic weapon is used by the League or by States acting quite independently of the League. The student of international relations must, therefore, be keenly interested in every objective study of the subject and it is such a study which the author presents in the latest of the series of *Geneva Studies*. The book is fully documented.

X

**DRAVIDIAN AND ARYAN:** By P. Chidambaram Pillai, Nagercoil, 1936.

This book is a typical product of the steadily growing Dravidian propaganda against Aryan culture. After a virulent attack on those who regard the Aryan culture as the source of Indian civilisation, the author proceeds to establish, among others, the following points:

1. The Aryan conquest of India is a fairy tale; it has absolutely no foundation in fact (p. 39).
2. Even taking it that there was a conquest of India at any one period of time by the Aryans, in course of time they became the military class in the countries which they conquered, or, as is more probable, they became mercenaries

under the more civilized Dravidians and later developed into the Kshatriyas (p. 45).

3. The Brahmans of India were not Aryans but Dravidians. They learned Sanskrit, the language of the conqueror, for very much the same reason as we learn English. While the Dravidians were thus Aryanised in language, the Aryans were Dravidised in culture (p. 46).

4. The caste system is a purely Dravidian institution. The Aryans had nothing to do with it except modifying the old Dravidian class distinctions in the North and not even that in South India (p. 55).

5. Modern Hinduism is purely Dravidian. It could not by any stretch of imagination be Aryan at all (p. 66).

We need not refer to other less revolutionary theories. The above sufficiently indicates how ruthlessly the author has set himself to "explode the myths" of Indian history. He has supreme contempt for the Aryan immigrants in India, and likens them to the modern hill-tribes!

The book is written in a journalistic style and not in a scholarly manner, and its object is to establish a preconceived idea rather than find out the truth. Extensive quotations from Dr. Gilbert Slater's well known work "The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture," and profuse references to Marshall's description of Indus Valley Civilisation form almost the sole evidence on which such momentous conclusions are based. For the author naively accepts, without adducing any definite evidence, that the people who developed the Indus Valley Civilisation were Dravidians and progenitors of the present races in South India. No useful purpose will be served by a detailed criticism of the book, as it is inspired by sentiments rather than based on any positive facts. The author should remember that assertion, however strongly worded, is not evidence, and a high culture of the primitive Dravidians does not necessarily prove that the Aryans were savages.

R. C. MAUMUND

**APES, MEN AND MORONS:** By Prof. E. A. Hooton. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1938. Price 10s. 6d.

This is a compilation of a number of popular lectures by Prof. Hooton, who is now the Chairman of the Division of Anthropology of the Harvard University, concerning the history and future prospects of Man or what the author in despondence calls "the bright past and dim prospect of a tottering biped."

In the first part of the work Prof. Hooton discusses the problem of the evolution of Man from the lower forms and shows that the forces that have operated in the past are still shaping the course of human development. In the second part the relation of Man to his environment, both physical and social, is considered with special reference to that of the New World. In the third and the last section the degenerative tendencies in modern civilisation are shown and the steps necessary to correct them are suggested.

Prof. Hooton's book is written in a non-technical language and is meant for the general public so that it can realise that the evils of the present-day world are essentially biological and the greatest obstacle to a proper therapeutics is Man's refusal to treat himself as a biological being. Prof. Hooton has the sobriety of a real scientist and does not attempt to hide the difficulties of the adoption of an out and out eugenic programme. His zeal for race betterment is well balanced by his realisation of the insufficiency of our knowledge on many vital points connected with the inheritance of Man's physical and mental characters. Yet he feels that the higher rate of reproduction of the inferior, the weak and the depraved in modern society at the expense of the physically and mentally fitter and more desirable persons would destroy the

human civilisation unless adequate steps are taken to check it immediately. And the measures he advocates are those suggested by biology as he does not believe that this malignant growth in human society can be cured by "patent sociological nostrums."

Prof. Hooton is not a crusading eugenicist but has discussed in a careful scientific manner the prospects of Man in future and the dangerous trends that are present in the modern society which unless checked in time, will prevent him from attaining that full stature which his past history fully entitles him to strive for

B. S. GUHA

THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE, A HISTORICAL SKETCH: By A. J. Arberry. Pp 109+three plates India Office, London Price 2s. 6d

This book in spite of its small size is extremely interesting to read and packed with full of information. As the Marquess of Zetland points out in his Foreword, "the general public is scarcely aware of the existence . . . of (this) celebrated library containing a large collection of eastern literature (mostly in MS.) and books relating to eastern, especially Indian affairs." In this little volume a romantic story is told—the story how, from humble beginnings . . . this collection has grown to its present impressive dimensions; how it has gathered to itself such precious possessions as the Tipoo Sultan manuscripts and the Sir Philip Francis Papers." To this we may add other collections whether of Persian and Sanskrit MSS, or unprinted English documents and records, such as those of Warren Hastings, Orme, the Gaekwar (1827), Burnell, Aufrecht, Buhler, W. Irvine and other famous scholars and administrators. The list of its librarians (with short biographical sketches) shows what a succession of eminent men have served it. The catalogues issued by this Library are among the best in the scholarly world.

NADIR SHAH, A CRITICAL STUDY BASED MAINLY UPON CONTEMPORARY SOURCES: By L. Lockhart Pp. 344+six, 8 maps and 11 plates (Luzac). 21s.

At last an authoritative and fully critical life of the great Asiatic conqueror has appeared. The author, Dr Lockhart, is exceptionally fitted for his task. As Sir E. D. Ross says about him in the Foreword: "At Cambridge, after taking Honours in History, he studied Persian and Arabic and secured a first class in both parts of the Oriental languages Tripos. At a later period . . . employed in Iran (as an officer of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.) he took the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with that country, its people and its language . . . When he was transferred to London, he set about the examination of the sources in Persian and in European languages for the history of Nadir Shah . . . Since then, he has been able to make full use of a Life of Nadir which existed in a unique copy in Leningrad." This last Persian work, named *Kitab-e Nadiri* or *Nadir Nama*, was written by Muhammad Kazim, the Wazir of Khwarizm (Khiva) and the only MS of it was hitherto known by name only; but Dr. Lockhart has for the first time made full use of this extremely valuable contemporary account. "The Soviet authorities, at the request of Sir E. D. Ross, having caused a photostat of this precious MS to be made for the School of Oriental Studies (London)" where Dr. Lockhart was entered as a research student. Thus the book under review marks an immense advance in our accurate knowledge of Nadir Shah and of the Asiatic world of his time and is likely to remain as "the standard authority" on this important subject, as judged by Dr. Ross.

The narrative is clear and flowing and the division into chapters has been so devised as to minimise the risk

of the reader being distracted by the immense range and variety of Nadir's activities. The author has a keen eye on the social and economic conditions, and has fully used the records of the English E. I. Co., which had factories in Persia. Of special interest to us is the Invasion of Persia (1739), to which four chapters are devoted (pp. 122-162). This well-produced and scholarly volume ought to be in every college and public library of India.

B. N. BANERJI

SOUTHERN INDIA.—ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By Gilbert Slater. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London Price 15s. net

Dr. Gilbert Slater was Professor of Indian Economics in the Madras University from 1915 to 1921 and Acting Publicity Officer to the Government of Madras during 1921-22 and he has written his impressions of the presidency in a fairly bulky volume of nearly 400 closely printed pages. Dr. Slater was a keen and shrewd observer and he gives a large amount of information carefully worked out not only about the South but occasionally about other parts of the country as well. But he is thoroughly imbued with the Anglo-Indian outlook and spirit and his object is purely Imperialistic. He is out to justify British rule, to sing the praises of the British bureaucracy in India, to demonstrate British superiority and trustworthiness and to show the defects of Indian character and society and the need for the continuance of British control and guidance. He pleads with Mr. Gwynn against Indian impatience to throw off the British yoke and to take independent charge of the "The Motor Car": "Greater speed would be dangerous . . . At least let me stop long enough to teach you how to drive it and keep it in order."

Dr. Slater does not believe that British Parliamentaryism or the British system of justice is suited to India. "When political reforms did come, I held that it should be guided as far as possible by Indian rather than by British ideals of good Government and democracy. These, it seemed to me, were those embodied in the principle of the open Durbar . . . I could not imagine that Indians would be satisfied with what we call 'representative Government,' in which we find our destinies controlled sometimes by powerful individuals at whose identity we can merely guess, at others by 'responsible ministers,' whose purposes and motives are a mystery to us; and we are denied the right to protest, on the ground that we, by virtue of our parliamentary votes, have given our approval to those rulers." As a matter of fact, Dr. Slater regarded the pre-1919 system of Government in India as more democratic than that prevailing in England! He wrote: "It seemed to me that the system of Government, as a system, in Madras, at least as I knew it, was really more democratic than in England . . . As it was, I found Lord Pentland's administration much more responsive to the popular will than any central administration I had known at home." His hope for the future, even after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, lay in reverting to "Disraeli's brilliant idea" "It is to put reality into the King's title of Emperor, and to treat that office as in no way inferior or subordinate to his office as King. This would mean abolishing the office of Secretary of State for India, and making the Viceroy directly responsible to His Majesty alone, and not to the British Cabinet, the British Prime Minister, or to the British House of Commons."

This is what a few years' stay in Anglo-India does to an Englishman! It is no wonder that with such views Dr. Slater should have disliked Montford Reforms. As a matter of fact, he hated their principal author, Mr. Montagu, whom he was surprised and shocked to see occupying the office of the Secretary of State for India. When he came

relation" with politics and ethics. It does not measure economic worth of individuals or nations by the amount of money income they earn, of 'savings' they accumulate, or of property they amass or control. The current method of measuring economic worth or economic success in terms of money, the measuring rod of the Price Economics of Individual Capitalism, has certainly encouraged "Over-saving," which, as the author has shown elsewhere, causes cyclical depression on the one hand and the spread of "imperialism" on the other.

This book will prove more than a biography of mere intellectual interest to most of its readers. It will help them to understand the author's previous writings, especially his *Humanist Economics* and *Human Valuation*, much more clearly and the modern craze of imperialism much more intelligently. It will enable them to see more vividly why political democracies, based upon an equality of voting power, must always remain a "sham," unless they are coupled with genuine economic democracies, based upon an equality of economic opportunities. The Indian readers will particularly appreciate the author's new system of valuation, which resembles to a considerable extent the traditional system of Hindu valuation. We have never valued man's aims or activities by the standard of the market-measure, but by the 'supreme standard of the ideals of humanity. It will also prove extremely valuable to those who, although conscious of the faults of Individual Capitalism, are not prepared to go the entire length of Socialism, as they find in the latter a check to the free growth of their individuality or humanity. The author shows how and where we can draw a boundary line between the two.

P. C. GHOSH

**LANGUAGES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS: By A. C. Woolner, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. D.Litt. (Punjab), C.I.E., Oxford University Press, 1938. Pages 167 Price 10s. 6d.**

This book by the late Vice-Chancellor of, and Professor of Sanskrit at, the Punjab University attempts a synthesis of the important but widely varied roles played by languages in the history of human society. "What," asks Dr. Woolner, "are the factors that determine their rise and fall? Is the world so much poorer or so much richer for every tongue that dies? Has any language any inherent capacity to expand? When does a language gain the right to survive? How far is a single language essential to a strong nation, to a dominant religion, or to a stable civilization?" These questions have been very often asked in the past and are being asked today again with renewed emphasis and increased significance since language has come to assume a very important role in the play of modern nationalisms. The author confesses at the outset that he does not aim at completeness while he tries to answer the above questions but brings out certain interesting and less known facts regarding the vicissitudes of the history of languages emphasising those parts thereof that have important bearing on the present-day problems. Yet Dr. Woolner has compressed such a wealth of information regarding the dead and living, holy and non holy, languages within the compass of barely two hundred pages that the reader is at once struck by his encyclopædic scholarship and mature judgment.

Dr. Woolner exposes the many common fallacies regarding the multiplicity of languages, the divinity of languages, and the claim of different geographical units to merge politically because they speak the same language. The author proves conclusively that race and language do not coincide. Some of the philologists and ethnologists have exaggerated the relations that are supposed to exist between race and language, when we do not exactly know what is a race. Sinhalese, the language of South Ceylon,

is related to Icelandic. The two languages belong to the same family. Have the Ceylonese and the Icelanders descended from the same forefathers, although in appearance each type differs from the other as both from the Japanese? Again, Jews and Afghans resemble each other very much in physical characteristics, but Hebrew is a Semitic language and Afghans speak Pashtu which is Aryan. Although a common language adds to political unity and administrative convenience, it is not an essential requisite for national integrity or State sovereignty. Switzerland and Belgium are examples in point. Danish and Norwegian are almost identical. But the Danes and the Norwegians do not regard that fact as any reason for merging the two nations into one. English is the language of the United States of America. That will be no reason for the United States to annex the British Empire.

Political conditions in general and colonization in particular have determined, more than any other single factor, the rise and fall of languages. Race and religion have played their part, as have trade and commerce, but the acceptance and rejection of languages on a mass scale has depended very largely on the conditions of political authority behind them. The author of this monograph supports the modern view that those ethnical groups are the most evolved which are the most mixed racially and culturally. Dr. Woolner seems to be in favour of bilingualism for those communities whose dialects lack the inherent capacity to expand and respond to the march of world thought. The chapters on Ancient Italy and the Expansion of Latin are as much interesting to read as rich in information.

Dr. Woolner reduces the problem of languages ultimately to an ethical question, and concludes: "The whole course of human history has been in the direction of forming greater societies, the greater often overlapping the lesser, so that the individual tends to belong to more than one society at a time. While linguistic difference is an obstacle to mutual understanding, the mere fact of speaking and writing the same language (or very nearly the same) does not necessitate homogeneous mentality or a common political State."

MONINORA MOULIK

**GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS. By Sriman Akshaya Kumar Dev, Vijaya Krishna Bros., Booksellers and Publishers, 31, Vicharananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rupee One**

An account of the Buddha's life and teachings, severely brushing aside the myths, fables and miracles that have gathered round the enlightened one. The writer, we learn from the preface, had been studying Buddhism for twenty-five years, and the devotion that this seasoned study implies permeates the apparently bare account, and it is easy to read between the lines. But there is a large body of detailed information in the book and this will impart to it a full-blooded character. The style is simple, the treatment lucid, and the reader is sure to be delighted with the perusal—the only drawback being the many misprints and the lack of all art in the get-up. A very brief account of the Buddha scriptures and the Buddhist religious practices by way of an appendix is an additional recommendation.

P. R. SEN

**THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE: By Anwar Iqbal Qureshi Published by New Book Co., Bombay, 1938**

Dr. Qureshi's book professes to be "a study of the methods of state intervention in economic life in the leading countries of the world." That is clearly an ambitious project. But the production itself is of a rather



Even regarding the cause of the disunion, diverse views are apparently held.

A Negro speaker thinks (p. 59) that the barrier of race is the real barrier to a world unity; while others think that it is the barrier of colour (p. 119). And the believers in Esperanto think that it is the barrier of language that divides the world (p. 65). A gentleman from Holland, however, thinks that "the Churches in their various forms have always been hindrances in the path leading to the brotherhood of mankind" (p. 63). It is apparent, therefore, that we have more barriers than one to overcome.

And how to overcome these barriers? Well, Mr. Peter Freeman, ex-M.P., thinks that a vegetarian diet is a potent factor in the attainment of World Peace (p. 126).

The book before us brings together these diverse views with a quiet belief that a world fellowship is thus being achieved. The idea is fascinating. But is its realization possible so long as every religion advertises itself as the best and as the sole panacea for all the evils of the world? If a League of Nations failed because every nation wanted the best fruits out of it, will not a League of Religions also have a similar burial, unless of course there is an unexpected change in the attitude of each religion to each other? If a World-State has not been evolved, can a World religion come into being? Yet, we do not deny that the endeavour is worth making. But its success must depend on the preparedness of every religion to give up much that is ancient but useless and meaningless and offensive to others.

The book has been supervised by an Indian, Mr. Kedar Nath Das Gupta who is the General Secretary of the Fellowship. Yet on page 92, Sir J. C. Bose is referred to as 'Professor Sir Chundra Bose'. This is a mistake which no Bengali should have made.

All the same, it is an exceedingly interesting book and the ideal of a world fellowship advocated here is well worth our best efforts.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**MODERN COTTON SPINNING (BLOW ROOM SECTION) :** By Radhakrishna Birla. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay. Rupees Two only.

The book is intended to assist apprentices in learning blow room work in Cotton Mills. It is priced moderately and will be helpful to those who are undergoing training in Cotton Mills.

S. C. D

not mere offering of flowers and fruits, it is wholesale spiritualization of life. It does not draw a line of demarcation between life and religion, between the secular and the sacred. If accompanied by denial of self and spirit of dedication, life becomes religion; work, worship and every thought, a prayer. Gita therefore suggests a very acceptable solution of the problems of life. It is a worthy guide-book in our daily life. Those who are in need of light and guidance in the path of life should consult it.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

## SANSKRIT

**SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. VOLUMES I AND II**

Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras. Double crown, sixteen pages, 1-ru+1-6+1-289+1-92. Price Rs. 58.

We have here, in two handy volumes, a beautiful popular edition of the text of what is called the Southern Recension of the *Bhagavatapurana*. The distinctive features of the recension, if any, are, however, nowhere noticeable or pointed out. The edition is stated to have been based on a number of manuscripts, but these have not been described, so that no estimate can be made of their value. Variants have occasionally been noted here and there, but unfortunately the sources of these variants have not been indicated. Its claim therefore to be 'a critical and scientific edition' cannot be justified. Its utility, however, as a popular edition can in no way be denied. Its usefulness to the general reader has been enhanced by the inclusion in the beginning of the work of the following matters: (1) The *Bhagavatamahatmya* from the *Padmapurana*, (2) A metrical synopsis of the contents of the different chapters of the work, as obtained by putting together (unfortunately without any acknowledgment) the introductory verses of the chapters found in the well-known commentary of Sridhara, (3) *Siddhantachandrika* or a modern dissertation in Sanskrit to prove the genuineness and authority of the Purana by relating the traditional controversy in the matter, (4) a genealogy of the Yadu clan, an elaborate account of which forms the background of the work which inculcates the doctrine of Bhakti or devotion. The printing and get-up, which is similar to that of the edition of the Southern Recension of the *Mahabharata* published by the same firm and already reviewed in these pages (January and May, 1932), leaves nothing to be desired. As a matter of fact, the clear printing will be highly welcome to people using the book for daily and ceremonial reading.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**DESH DARSHAN (LANKA):** Edited by Pundit Ramnathan Mishra, B.A. Vol. 1, No. 1. Published by Bhugal Office, Allahabad. 1939. Pp. 141. Each No. Rs. 6

It is refreshing that students of geography will find in these handy and beautifully produced books all they are required to know. The book under notice is not at all dull and uninteresting as an ordinary text book. One cannot too highly speak of this well printed book with nice illustrations, one in colour. We hope this enterprise of bringing out similar books on other countries will be patronized by educational authorities and libraries.

RAMES BASU

**BHARATIYA-TANTU-MILL-MOZDOOR (PART I):** By K. N. Ramanna, Shastri (K. V. P.). Published by the Socialist Literature Publishing Co., Agra. Price Rs. 8.

It is difficult to overpraise this little book. Written in a delightfully simple style it is sober and full of information.

**ANKHON DEKHA (ELEVEN SHORT STORIES):** By Mangata Mohan. Published by the Leftwing Publishing House, Lucknow. Price Rs. 9.

As stories these "living pictures of everyday reality" are not uniformly convincing. The fact that they are written with the same point of view and, except two, all are reported in the first person, tends to make reading rather monotonous. Nevertheless, the final impression is one of vigour, sensitiveness and freedom from sentimentality.

**BHAGYA-CHAKRA:** By Sudarshan. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Said Muttha, Lahore. Price Re. 1-4.

The Hindustani stage is so completely dead that many a technical flaw can be forgiven to a playwright. But this should not encourage him to disregard the stage altogether. *Bhagya-chakra* was a successful film, but it is a very bad play. The dialogue is anaemic, there is not a shadow of plot, theme, or characterisation. I would like to meet a producer who can undertake the following scene:

The scene changes: Time, Night. Place: a forest. Shankardas is seen abducting Daleep in his car. The car taken one or two turns on the road and disappears. Curtain.

BALRAJ SAINI

## GUJARATI

**TRAN ADADHUN BE AND OTHER STORIES:** By Uma Shankar J. Joshi, B.A. Printed at the Navrang Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Bound. Pages 244. Price Re. 1-8 (1938).

Sometime ago we had occasion to notice Mr. Umashankar Joshi's literary output as disclosed in his *Shravani Melo*. The present collection of fourteen short stories is equally entertaining. Though some of them being pitched on a more complicated tone than those in the former one, are likely to prove a little less popular. The title of the story that furnished the title of the book is a "catching" one. It means "three halves make two" this arithmetical fallacy is explained by the picture on the jacket of the book, viz., two side profiles of a boy and the profiles of two girls, whom both of them love and covet, but which state of things could only eventuate in "two" i.e., one girl only marrying him. The present state of the college life of boys and girls has coloured some stories, while the Marathi uplift movement and other allied problems furnish the themes of others. "Vasto" is a pleasant skit—and faithfully narrates incidents in the everyday life of country people, which after all is the writer's forte. In one story he has very ingeniously, though naturally remarked the doubts of a newly married wife as to the sweets of motherhood.

**NARMAD:** By Chandrasevan C. Mehta, B.A. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 101. Thick card-board. Price Re. 1.

**MUGI STREE:** By Chandrasevan C. Mehta, B.A. Printed at the Ila Printing, Bombay. Pp. 40. Price annas twelve (1938).

The first book is an attempt to present the life and the life work of the late Kavi Narmada-hankar, the doyen of Modern Gujarati Literature in the shape of a play. It is a successful attempt and very entertaining. It gives pleasure both at the reading desk and on the stage, the writer himself being one of *dramatis personae*, an unusual feature. The second book is a farce, and when it was acted, the audience screamed with laughter, the writer himself, again, being one of the most successful actors. It is based on Anatole France's work where a husband married to a dumb wife suffers from a number of laughable incidents. The introduction gives practical hints as to how to play the farce and also shows which way the genius of the author lies.

**SHARAT CHANDRA:** By Ramanik A. Mehta. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 304. Cloth bound. Price Rs 28 (1938).

Half a century ago the late Babu Debi Prasanna Roy Choudhuri had written this novel and it was translated into Gujarati then by the late Narayan Hemchandra, a well known translator of Bengali books. His style, however was unsmooth and ungrammatical, and hence his works did not become as popular as they should have been. All the same, they are unprocureable at present. Mr. Ramanik A. Mehta therefore undertook to bring out this particular story after revising and adding to Narayan Hemchandra's version and the result is a nice, informative book, giving some of the romantic features of the Indian Mutiny days.

**CHINGARI (a PROSE POEM):** By "Turab" Printed at the New Star Printing Press, Bombay. Pp 112 Thick Card Board. 1938. Price Re. 1.

A band of young Muslim writers have girded up their loins to give their best to the literature of their mother tongue (Gujarati) and Mr. Kasim Ali Rahim Nathani, whose nom-de-plume is "Turab" is one of them. He has undertaken an ambitious task, viz., to poetise in prose form several human sentiments, situations and emotions, which yield naturally to versification only. Self introspective, multi-coloured human life and many such others have been handled by him and looking to every circumstance, very well. *Chingari* means a live spark, and it really vivifies whatever it touches.

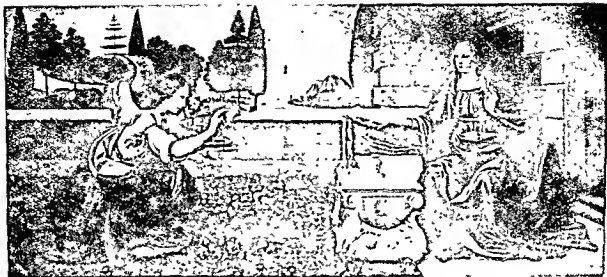
K. M. J.

**SPAIN. JACARANTINI PADELI JVALA:** By Ismail Meerani. Publishers Kolidas Summi, Tankha Thashe Bhado Karadana, Raykot, Kathiawar. Pages 230. Price Re 1-4

With a foreword by Dinker Mehta, this first publication of the intended-to-be fiery series, proposes to give an account of the Iberian Fascist-Communist trouble. The geographical, historical, economic and political background has been analysed in detail, though of course, in a purely socialist point of view in the first half of the book, and the rest deals with the horrors of this direct menace to democracy, two interesting chapters being on the oppressed agricultural class and the religious exploitation. It is a handy, informative and useful book on the international affairs and on the problem of the possibility of the future world war, in a colloquial style.

P. B. MACHWEE

ART EXHIBITIONS IN ITALY



The Annunciation of the Virgin By Leonardo da Vinci



Ornamental Vases By Giacomo Boschi



The Sower By Ercole Drei



Eighteenth century plates  
in Majolica

and those sailing in them." For all these multifarious inventions, he was considered a wizard by the ignorant, and a creature not of this earth by those who understood him little.

Leonardo was also the first to work out the possibility of dynamic flight on a scientific basis, for a long time he studied the flight of birds and eventually deduced that "mechanical flight was possible." He devoted much time to

multiplicity of the activities in which he was engaged.

The Milan exhibition constitutes a complete review of all these paintings and drawings together with the machinery, instruments, models and anything else that remains of Leonardo's magnificent work.

The Genoa exhibition is important for the new light it throws upon the development of majolic art in Liguria. The existence of majolic factories in Genoa has for a long time been a matter of dispute. But hundreds of vases and fragments which have been found in the dark pits of ancient wells or have come to light during the demolition of old Genoese buildings, belonging both to noble as well as to common people, and carefully collected in the Civic Museum or reverently housed in private collections, bear witness to the fact that the gentle art of pottery was honourably carried on in Genoa without interruption between the 14th and the middle of the 16th



Eighteenth century specimens of majolica from Savona

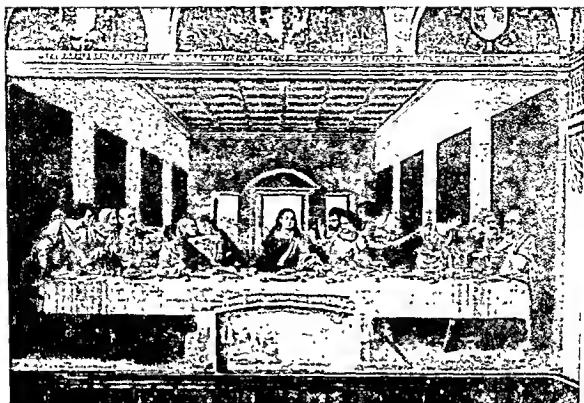
this idea and constructed some ingenious devices which have remained unique through the centuries. In connection with these experiments he studies the physical properties of the atmosphere. Perhaps, it was from his first researches on flight that he attained such heights in his astronomical ideas. He flatly denied Ptolemy's geocentric theories and instinctively experimented along the lines leading to Galileo and Newton's discoveries concerning dynamics.

Leonardo's masterpieces of painting are so well known and so much has been written upon them that one need not dwell upon them in any length. His artistic works are to be found in every corner of the world. France, where his inspired life came to an end, has four of his works in the magnificent Louvre galleries: *La Gioconda*, whose mysterious, luminous smile has always stirred mankind; *St. John*, which according to many represents absolute pictorial perfection; the *Virgins of the Rocks* and the *Madonna with St. Ann*. The *Last Supper*, which is unequalled among all the paintings of this subject, is in Milan, while Florence boasts the *Annunciation* of the Virgin, with many drawings, cartoons and plans for works which Leonardo would have loved to produce, but which he never was able to commence owing to the

centuries. These specimens, with their sober enamels and elegant shapes, possess a particular character of their own, although it is quite likely that the modest Genoese vase-maker of the 14th and 15th centuries may have been allured by the attractions of the Spanish-Moorish art which he followed in outline but which he corrected and adapted in the pictorial decoration.

This was in the first period of activity of Genoese pottery. But in the second period, i.e., towards the close of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, although production had an oriental tendency, Genoa expressed herself purely in a western, and to be more precise, in a Latin style, and its production was in demand even in Spain.

The influence of the majolic workers of Pesaro, Urbino and Lodi, who were driven as far as Genoa due to turbulent political events during the first half of the 16th century is to be seen in a large number of vases, tondos and tiles which often used to pass for majolica of Pesaro, Faenza and Urbino, but which were produced somewhere between the Bisagno and the Porta dei Vacca. We shall even know the names of the modest artisans who, in the service of the wealthy ship-owners and captains



The last supper By Leonardo da Vinci

of "Genoa, the Superb," could not entirely forget their origin or their family and artisan traditions

The majolica art of Savona developed towards the middle of the 16th century, at first timidly and falteringly, under the influence of Genoese workers. But here also we feel the presence of the master-hands from Lodi, Pesaro and Urbino. However, the period of hesitation was soon over. In 1401, a regular Majolic Workers' Guild was formed in Savona and in 1589, a sister guild came into existence at the neighbouring Albisola. During the 17th century majolica was a flourishing art in Savona and dynasties, in the proper sense of the word, of ceramists and majolic painters were founded, whose names have outlived the encroachments of time: Antonio, Bartolomeo, Guidobano, Grosso, Salomone, Pasetto, Folco, etc. These names recall to our mind the fruitful activity of the majolica workers of Savona, who, while rendering homage to the major exponents of the great Genoese art, created with their swift and sympathetic brush a style which is highly decorative. The decoration is characteristically blue of every degree and shade and may be

compared, owing to the nature of their pictorial decorations, to so many pages of a drawing-album.

The Rome exhibition is called the Quadrennial Exhibition of National Art. As its name implies, it is held every four years with the intention of reviewing periodically the best creations of young artists. It has therefore a special importance of its own, as it shows the actual state of Italian art and the trends and possibilities of its future development. The present one is the third Quadrennial Exhibition. It has been organized by a specially appointed "Ente Autonomo" (Independent Incorporated Body) and only those exhibits have been allowed which have passed the successive judgment of two juries, of which one has been appointed by the Administrative Council of the Exhibition and the other by the artists themselves. When the two judgments disagree, a judgment is passed by the two united juries and without any right of further appeal.

The first Quadrennial Exhibition was characterized by personal exhibits, the second by exhibits of alternately young and mature artists and the present exhibition exhibits, the

works of young artists who have now reached maturity, as well as those who have attained the honour of exhibiting through the selections made by the Artists' Syndicates, and by means of personal exhibitions. The special exhibits at the first Quadrennial were those of Antonio Mancini, which included all the different periods and tendencies of his untiring activity; those of Arnaldo Spadini, very rich and complete, and which were a real revelation of this characteristic painter; those of Medardo Rosso, the great impressionist sculptor; those

are also represented by one or more works and among them may be mentioned Carena, Dani, Delstala, Drei, Tosi, Severini, Ruggeri, Marini, Guidi, all very well-known painters and sculptors.

The exhibition also shows the care and sound judgment which, in Italy, are applied to the setting up of exhibitions, and that which is done at the Biennial Exhibition at Venice, at the Triennial Exhibition at Milan and at the Quadrennial Exhibition in Rome, cannot fail to be recognized as an example of a lively and congenial method of presenting a quantity of works of art and of documents.

It is not possible to make here a study of the very good works of the artists that have been represented in one or other of those exhibitions, nor is it possible here even to make a study of all the works of a single artist. I shall therefore conclude the present article by indicating the nature of work and talent of those artists who may be said to represent the contemporary Italian art.

The first name that occurs to our mind in this connection is undoubtedly that of Antonio Mancini, who is a born painter and who was already a master at the age of sixteen. He has now painted for nearly seventy years and his latest paintings show no decay of powers when compared with those of his early youth. Some of his masterpieces are the "Velo", the figure of a woman rendered with great simplicity, in the manner of the great Spanish masters of the seventeenth century; the "self-portrait" in which we see the figure of the artist as he is today, severe in his calm elegance. It shows wonderful management of the effect of light and shade and is a magnificent study of the values of the whites which pass through all their natural gradations. His "Under the Lemon Trees" deals with a landscape, the background of which is a dark green on which the figures of three women in red clothes have been arranged. The two colours which most disagree with each other are these and yet the artist has succeeded in harmonising the green background with the intense red of human figures in such a way that it is considered to be one of his most robust paintings, inundated all over with light. There is nothing conventional or false about Mancini and he is never content with his works. Whenever he is to undertake a new work, his usual expression is: Let us see if we can produce something less ugly than usual.

In the works of Aristide Sartorio, the first thing that strikes one is the decorative tem-



Specimens of eighteenth century majolica

of Adolfo Wildt, the austerity and originality of which made everyone feel more regret than ever for his immature death. There were also exhibits by young and mature artists like Sartorio and Carra, Pazzini and Sironi, Romanelli and Bartoli, Tosi and Funi, Carens and Fucini. The second Quadrennial included the exhibits of the sculptors Messina, Ruggeri and Marini and those of the painters Severini, Mafai, Broglio, Scipione, Prandello, Dazzi, Casserati, Donghi.

Among the personal exhibits of this year we note those of Amerigo Bartoli, Alberto Caligiani, Ugo Bernasconi, Mario Broglio, Giorgio Morandi and others. Many artists

perament of the artist. He is an extremely laborious painter, believing more in industry than in inspiration. He is also a very methodical worker, everyday without exception working from certain hours of the morning to certain other hours. He has thus been able to produce a very large number of works, often with immense facility and great hurry. But when Sartorio takes care of his work and makes it profound, he is charming. Such paintings are "Porto Traiano at Terracina", "Oxen at the Plough", "A Group of Horses at Foce Verde", "Mill at Terracina," all of them paintings with a very delicate chromatic harmony. His group of paintings expressive of his visions of childhood also shows fine chromatic effect and elegance of designs, but there is lack of profundity. Sartorio's strong point is, however, the painting of animals in which he has shown extraordinary skill.

Gamillo Innocenti, like Sartorio, is also an artist excelling in decorative qualities. He at first painted cinematographic scenes, and when he returned to pure art his natural tendency towards the decorative became more refined and definite. In his earlier period he delighted in painting religious and historical subjects, but gradually he turned his attention to the depiction of the true life of today. He is a good colourist and is fond of creating visions of popular customs in which he shows fine skill in the management of light and in harmonising boldest colours. This secret of maintaining an equilibrium of chiaroscuro he learnt from the art of Michelotti, Mancini, Tito and Besnard. But he grandally succeeded in liberating himself from the influence of others and chalked out a path of his own. A critic says that



Signorina Neri By Ruggero Quirino

fifteenth century masters of his own country. There is a vigour and an originality in his art which distinguishes him from other artists, and a classical calmness not commonly found today.





and what does their worship amount to?" "Simple vanity, and nothing else. They hanker after something, and pray to gods, through the images they build, for the benefit they seek. Their number is great; but is not the seeker after truth a rare creature, after all?" "But if all religion is one, why did Prahlad refuse to worship the god to whom his father rendered homage? And is it not the correct way to follow the majority in cases of doubt?" Thus did Chandidas advise him: "In difficult situations the Shastras will always give the best advice, but people are guided by impulses, they are generally not in a mood to listen to the voice of ancient wisdom. What you mention about Prahlad is not true; for he had taken the preliminary training necessary in a former birth; having previously acquired strength through Sakti-worship in this life he became a worshipper of Vishnu. I do not moreover agree about the majority rule; a single Brahmin, versed in the Vedas, is worth much more than a crowd ignorant of truth and wisdom."

#### THE MARRIAGE AND ITS SANCTION

While Chandidas was thus pointing out to Rupchand the way of life that was good for him, the villagers came to him led by Rudramali and received a most hearty welcome. Purandar was duly introduced to him and received his blessing. The poet compared his daughters to Lakshmi and Saraswati, and introduced Rupchand to his father-in-law and the villagers. He recounted his adventure in the forest where he had met the *tautric* Sadhu and the helpless girl about to be sacrificed before the image of Kali the goddess "My interference," said he, "was not at first liked by Rupchand who blustered and bulged, but finding me undaunted still, at last he perceived the truth and received it from me. Then the girl sought my protection and I, knowing her essentially pure nature, had them joined in essentially pure nature, had them joined in the ceremony. Kali and Siva witnessed the ceremony in their image Rudramali gave away the bride, while I officiated as the priest. Know the bride, while I officiated as the priest. Know me then for that humble Brahmin, Chandidas, who believes in truth being the essence of all religions." "But is the marriage valid?" queried Heramba. "Pranila knows nothing about her *gotra*, the names of her ancestors, the rites peculiar to her people. And to what caste does Rudramali belong? We knew nothing about it; and you, if my guess is correct, have never before worked as a priest. Though it is unpleasant for me to say all this, I

cannot forget for a moment that the Brahmins are the pillars of society, and if there are any lapses among them from purity, they will forfeit all honour. If we accept this marriage as valid, it will be considered a precedent and the caste may have to face a disruption, I turn to you, sir, for advice and guidance." To this appeal Chandidas replied with a laugh: "Rudramali is a shrewd judge of men and things; as regards his caste, well, he is a Kayastha." "Then it can be nothing but a jest, if you pretend that a marriage between Brahmins in which a Kayastha gives away the bride is at all valid." "Not so," rejoined Chandidas, "the true and only distinction for Brahmins comes from seeking the truth. Always remember this. if you have this distinction, if you are indeed a seeker after truth, then you are the best of men. If, however, you describe yourself as a Brahmin only by caste, I shall understand that you are much lower than a Brahmin." "This is strange indeed, a Kayastha may at most boast of being a Kayastha, but never a Brahmin by any means. If you accept him as a Brahmin, then my knowledge of the Shastras must suffer a rude shock." "But that is inevitable," retorted the same, "unless your knowledge is true, many years will pass as you make, break and revise your theories. There was no caste in the *Satya Yug* (the first of the four *Yugs* or cycles of time in which the world has been divided); in those days men lived frankly an animal life. It was then that by divine grace the intelligence dawned on them to till the earth; from that time they became known as the Aryans. They built thatched cottages, put on the bark of trees for their clothing, and formed many communes. In course of time they grew jealous of each other, and the question of status and privilege assumed an importance which it never had before. Those engaged in dairy work, tilling the soil and organising commerce, became known as *Vaisyas*; those who were strong through knowledge, intelligence and prowess, who rescued the oppressed and the weak from the tyrant, were called *Kshatriyas*, while those who were superior through their intimate knowledge of things spiritual styled themselves as Brahmins. Thus was caste-system established in the *Treta Yug* (the third cycle) and along with it mutual jealousies and recriminations grew. Even then the castes corresponded to life's vocations, and in the next cycle things were pretty much the same, only with slight modifications. In the modern age, however, the caste was fixed up according to

ment induced the village Brahmins once at least to ignore the usual practice, to penetrate through the veil of caste to the human aspect of things, and to accept Pramila and Rupchand as a really married couple, and to this attitude munificence and hospitality of Purandar contributed in no small measure. The difficulties of the situation were smoothed over, and they were all happy.

### THE POETS MEET

Two strangers are deeply absorbed in thought in the courtyard of a ruined temple in the forest. Hungry, and footsore, and weary, one of them asks the other: "What is to be done, Rupnarayan, in these dire straits into which we have fallen? We feel thirsty, but there is no water anywhere near us; hungry, but even the trees that we see bear no fruits, wild animals are prowling about, our very life is in danger." Rupnarayan would pin his faith upon God, but his companion was rather sceptically inclined: who could say that God ever hothered about human beings! The initiative must always come from the individual; you must rouse yourself, and do what you can under the circumstances. "But what scope is there for initiative just now?" Exclaimed Rup. "The only way open to us is to cry upon God for help." The two friends were not, however, allowed for long to indulge in philosophical talk of this nature. They saw a tiger at a distance, and the sight sent a tremor through them. All at once an arrow shot out from somewhere and hit the animal who set up a loud roar and dropped dead. A boy, apparently of some hunter family, came up with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, and seeing the lifeless body of the tiger lying prostrate, he was convulsed with laughter. "Who are you?" they asked him. "Take me for your saviour," lightly replied the boy. "Had I not come forward and killed the tiger, he would have made a nice meal out of you." Vidyapati (for the other gentleman was the great poet of Mithila) said, "We are on our way to Pandua, and we shall readily admit you to be our saviour if you will provide us with fruits and drinking water, and set us on the road to Pandua which we have missed." "Well, that is easily done. There are fruits enough for both of us in my bag, a sweet spring is close by. Satisfy your hunger, and then I will take you there, and show you the way to Pandua, but I may tell you it will not be necessary for you to go there, you will get what you seek on the way." "What will you take for the fruits?"

"You must take a fair price." "I will take nothing," replied the boy. "You are hungry and must have the fruits. But what about the water? Have you any jug?" "Yes, we have one, but it is rather a costly thing." "What of that? I shall not run away with it, I assure you. What do I care for such things? I entertain many people with fruits every day, and never accept anything in return. My wants are easily satisfied; I have plenty to eat, and I put on whatever I get. Why should I take your jug, however costly it might be?" "What a contrast to our city boys!" they involuntarily exclaimed. "That is the reason why I never go to the cities, but stay in the forest, and bring here whomever I love. But time is pressing, I must not stand here idly gossiping with you, I must hurry down to the spring, and bring you water, for you are thirsty." Vidyapati gave him the jug, but could not repress the doubt, would it be proper for a Brahmin to take water from a hunter's boy, unclean as a caste? The boy could read his thought, and as he went away for the water, he remarked with a smile, "A man who is ill need not observe any restriction." How could he do it? When water was supplied to them, they asked him his name and were told it was Madan. There was a mark on his breast; he explained it as having been caused by an arrow shot by Chandidas of Chhatrina. The two friends were divided in their opinion about him; one of them thought he was simply an ordinary boy, while his friend would hold him to be a divine personality. They playfully wrangled about it and rallied each other. Vidyapati would carry it off with a jest. What harm if he had employed 'the divine boy,' Madan, to carry his luggage? Nanda's wooden shoes were carried by Krishna; Bali had employed him as his durwan or gate-keeper; the cowboys of Braja jumped on his shoulder; they had never been blamed on that account that he knew of. To take him as a human being, or to impute human qualities to him, would thus be to reduce him to an absurd and ridiculous position. The retort came easy: Why then call Krishna a divine being, who had spent his boyhood as a cowboy, his youth in love-making, and then in setting people by the ears—intriguing, etc? True, rejoined Vidyapati; Krishna, equally endowed with all human faculties, was simply the best of men, and that was all. God no doubt was one; but there were many who received their inspiration from Him.

Discoursing in this fashion, they marched on, the doubts of one friend dispelled by the

talks of the other, their luggage being carried by that mysterious boy, Madan, whose offer of free service filled the two friends with a strange feeling.

It was the Maghi Purnima, the full-moon night of the month of Magh, a holy day for all Hindus when a dip in the Ganges is held to be conducive to spiritual progress. Chandidas was not used to such customary observances; but he held it to be a virtue to conform to the usual practice when living in society. So he had come for his dip, accompanied by his party and his admirers. When he reached the Ganges' shore, tremendous ovations met him. The people shouted holy names and greeted him wildly. He then saw on the other side the sacred river three men about to cross it. They crossed the river and Madan came to him, introduced himself as Madan (Chandidas knew him to be Madanmohan, his old acquaintance whom he had hit with an arrow), and also introduced Vidyapati and Rupnarayan come to visit him. With these words he disappeared, and Rami completed the introduction simply by announcing her own name.

Vidyapati was in an ecstasy to meet Chandidas. Had he not embraced him in imagination many times when his exquisite poems would be sung in Mithila, which the two friends enjoyed so much? They would listen to the music and visualise the images which the poems had created. "But why does he write no more and pipe no more? Why no more melodies? And one feels curious to know who has taught him this exquisite art, and how could he get such a wonderful teacher?"

Chandidas embraced him and said he could claim no credit for his songs and poems. "We are all creatures of circumstances. Do

you not see that the same cuckoo as sings in the garden of Paradise in eternal companionship with spring, sings again on the cremation ground, enveloped by plants and creepers? Is any credit due to the bird? I have sung and composed when the spirit ordered; it is the spirit that commanded that matters. Poetry cannot flourish merely through the beauty of the sentiment, but through the melody of words. A man may be a thinker, but unless his words have the beauty of form, certainly he cannot excel as a poet. The two qualities meet in you; your words have beauty of form, and that you are not barren of sentiments appears from your having undertaken a long journey just to satisfy your fancy for an humble person like me."

Silenced by Chandidas, the poet from Mithila turned to Rami and discussed with her the question of her low origin. Rami advised him to rise above the regular prejudice and consider calmly why a saint like Chandidas would think of her so highly and allow her to be in his company. The relation was certainly by no means a carnal one; but there was a finer bond linking the two, which the world could not see. Vidyapati remained silent for a while, and then said, "I understand, mother, who and what you are. I thought of putting up a protest with my friend here against his living near you. I did not understand why he, who had renounced the world, should run after a woman. But your words have at last made me understand and appreciate the character of Chandidas and the part played by you in its development." Saying this, he was so much overwhelmed with emotion that he sat down, and people around him, swayed by the same feeling, bowed to him and Chandidas.

(To be continued.)

# INDIAN VERSUS ENGLISH NUMERALS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

By J. C. RAY

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[In South Orissa, the portion which was formerly in Madras, English figures are used in almost all schools. In North Orissa Indian numerals are used in all Primary and Middle schools and have also been compulsory for the the Matriculation examination of 1942 and thereafter. I was asked to express my opinion on the adoption and choice of one kind of numerals in all schools.]

By the word, 'numeral' I understand the figure or the group of figures denoting a number. Every Indian vernacular has its own letters of the alphabet and numerals. There is therefore no necessity of borrowing the English forms.

The people of every province have been using their own set of numerals and will continue to do so till they are prohibited by their Government. The Primary Schools cannot banish the vernacular numerals. Such being the case, they cannot ignore them and teach the pupils a set of foreign numerals which will be of no practical use. Take the case of Bengal. About three decades ago a European Director of Public Instruction thought fit to introduce the use of English numerals in the Text-books of Primary Schools. The authors of books on Arithmetic and the teachers of the Schools were obliged to obey the order. The children learnt the English numerals in addition to the Bengali. But no one in Bengal, not even the most Anglicized, ever thinks of using the English numerals in their Bengali writings. It is no doubt an advantage to know many languages and many scripts. But if the choice is limited to one, it must undoubtedly be the vernacular. A decade ago the Education Department of Bengal therefore wisely abolished the rule of writing English numerals in Primary Schools.

In a vernacular the figure of a numeral may not be satisfactory. It may be so small that it can not be quickly recognized or it is apt to be mistaken for another. In such a case it is certainly desirable to change the figure and remove the defect. Take Cipher. In ancient times it was indicated by a dot. It is still in use after signs for fractions of one-fourth and one-sixteenth if there be nought further. The dot is apt to be overlooked when written separately. It is therefore written as a small circle. It represents the empty sky bounded by the circular horizon. Some prefer to make it as large as the numerals and the Printers sometimes use the English elliptical

forms. These are, however, modifications of size and not of the original figure. In Oriya the figures of one and two are the same but differ in slant. I think the Nagri two may be easily introduced. Similarly the Bengali figure of three is devoid of distinctive features. Only two centuries ago it was exactly like the Nagri figure. In my opinion the Nagri form should be used.

The civilized world is indebted to our Aryan forefathers for the decimal system of notation invented at least six millenaries ago and the device of the place values of numerals which so far as our present knowledge goes is undoubtedly more than two millenaries old. The concept is the same everywhere, though not identical in details. We in India read the unit numeral first, the people in Europe read it last. Thus while we read 35 as five and thirty, they read as thirty and five. Here we have two types of mind fit for investigation by psychologists. The main difference rests on the forms. The Nazis of Germany are proud of their Aryan ancestry, and use our ancient Swastika as their emblem, but will, I am sure, spurn the idea of kinship with the modern Indo-Aryans. The English numerals may pass off as Indian in the company of Nagri, Guzerati and Bengali characters, but will certainly look outlandish in the midst of Dravidian characters. I cannot say whether there are any which resemble the English in figure and not in value. In Bengali, the figure of four is exactly the same as the English figure of eight, and the Bengali seven closely resembles the English nine. These are constant sources of confusion with the Bengali boys of the Secondary Schools.

I am aware the Government of Madras and Bombay as of Bengal insisted on the use of the English numerals in the Primary Schools. In Bengal, it was confined to the school rooms, but in Madras and Bombay the case is different. The liking has gone so far there that scholars see nothing incongruous in writing the English numerals in Sanskrit books. A few years ago

I was astonished to find them in a book on Astronomy written in Sanskrit, printed in Nagri and published in Bombay. The author is a teacher in a High English School. He has also used the letters of the English alphabet in diagrams. I thought the Printers had no stock of the requisite types in Nagri. But I found out my mistake last year. A distinguished scholar of Mysore has brought out a commentary of his own in Sanskrit on a famous astronomical treatise dated 1400 B.C. and regraded as a supplement to the Vedas. The book is printed in Nagri interspersed with the English numerals. It is a difficult reading to me. For I voluntarily read them in the English way, and the structure of the sentences is lost in wilderness. I wonder whether the figures have to be given the Sanskrit names by the reader. At any rate hybridisation does violence to our sense of propriety and harmony. In Bengal and Orissa it is unthinkable, and, I dare say, in Northern India also. Blind imitation has resulted in wrong translations of English expressions. It is difficult to justify such an expression as *Jyā ka* for the English expression Size of A or Sin A. For the expression *Jyā ka* means the value Ka of *Jyā* or the *Jyā* which is Ka. It should be written *Ka Jyā*.

The question of numerals is intimately connected with the signs of a quarter and its quarter in the form of vertical and oblique lines. They are of universal use just like the numerals, and large business transactions are daily carried on with their help without inconvenience and error. Indeed the method of writing these fractions is as quick and neat as the numerals. They are like the *Ardha-anusvara* of our alphabet which may be joined to any vowel. A rupee and a quarter, a mile and a quarter, an hour and a quarter, etc., is denoted by the same figure and sign. These signs cannot be used after the English numerals and we lose a valuable legacy. These signs do not exclude the use of fractional numbers, nor the English mode of naming the unit along with the figure.

In our current coins, currency notes, postage

and revenue stamps, house numbers, etc., English figures are used. It is certainly desirable that the pupils of Primary Schools should be able to read them. The object is, however, easily gained by teaching them and their English names as a separate lesson. For a similar reason the pupils of Secondary Schools desirous of learning Chemistry have to be familiar with the letters of the English alphabet out of which the symbols of elements are formed. For this, however, it is not necessary for the pupils to learn the English language and to use it in their vernacular writings.

The different provinces of India have different languages and different scripts. The introduction of the English numerals in all the languages would be of no help in understanding the languages. About a quarter of a century ago there was established in Calcutta a Society in the name of *Eka-lipi-Vistāra-Pariśad* for the introduction of one script, the Nagri, for all languages. There were influential and enthusiastic gentlemen to guide the Society. They published a monthly in which articles written in different languages including Tamil were printed in Nagri. The initial difficulty of reading them was removed, but the barrier of the language remained, and the Society ceased to exist after a few years. Yet Nagri is the most suitable character for the Indian vernaculars and the current forms of the letters of the Sanskrit languages are more or less derived from it. Our brethren of the South will soon recognize the importance of the national writing symbols. Already Nagri is being printed in Linotype machines, and with a slight modification the compound consonants can be easily split up and the components written separately as with the Roman characters. The latter are defective and cannot be used without a set of diacritical marks and conventional phonetic values which are bound to create confusion with their English sounds when one learns the English language. But why should we abandon our neat and elegant national characters?

#### ERRATA

*The Modern Review* for April, 1939 :

- P. 474 : The name of the artist of the sculpture-piece "Study" is Mr. Rajagopal and not Miss A. Alagacoe.  
 Plate facing p. 475 : The title of the illustration on the left side is "Dream of Youth" (mis-printed "Dream of Young").



India's influence on Western thought is a part of the larger fact of her intercourse with the West. In the course of his article in *The Aryan Path*, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji observes :

Persia soon intervened between India and the West.

The Eastern conquests of Cyrus, the Achaemenian Emperor (558-530 B.C.) included the district called Gandaritis=Gandhara (Herodotus, I, 153 and 177) while Cyrus himself is stated to have died from wounds received in a battle with "the Indians" (Ctesias, Frag 37, ed. Gilmore). According to Xenophon (Cyropaedia, I, 1, ed. Gilmore), Cyrus "brought under his sway Bactrians and Indians" (4), Cyrus "extended his authority to the Erythraean Sea"—the Indian Ocean. The inscriptions of Darius (522-486 B.C.) at Persepolis (518-515 B.C.) and Naksh-e Rostam (515 B.C.) mention *Hh(n)du* or Punjab as part of his dominion. According to Herodotus in Darius's empire and of India was the twentieth satrapy in Darius's empire and contributed a third of its total revenue, estimated at 360 talents of gold dust=over a million pounds sterling. This gold was derived partly from the washings of the

Indus beds, markedly auriferous in those days (V. Ball in *Indian Antiquary*, August, 1881) and partly from what Herodotus calls "the gold digging ants" supposed to be the Tibetan mastiffs digging up gold (cf. *Pampitha* gold mentioned in the *Mahabharata*). Herodotus (IV, 44) also tells of a naval expedition despatched by Darius in 517 B.C. under Scylax to explore the Indus after he had established his hold on the Indus Valley. Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) took advantage of his Indian provinces to secure an Indian contingent to fight his battles in Greece. It comprised "Gandharans" as well as "Indians." These Indian troops, the first to fight on European soil, marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae and rendered such a good account of themselves that after the retreat of Xerxes they were detained by the Persian commander Mardonius (Abbott's *History of Greece*, Vol. II) for his Persian campaign. In 330 B.C. Darius III indented upon India for soldiers to fight for him at Arbela against Alexander, some of them fought under the Satrap of Bactria; others, "the mountainous Indians," were led by the Satrap of Arachosia. Thus the Persian Empire greatly facilitated Indian contact with the West.

It is a matter of great urgency for men and women to solve the problems of their population, and to regain, in this age of machinery, the lost sense of human values. B G Kher, Premier of Bombay, writes in the *Current Affairs* :

There are few countries in the world where questions of population threaten to be so acute as in India. The rapid increase of numbers which has taken place, in recent years, has provoked anxious thought in all responsible circles. The last census recorded a total population of 353 millions, showing an annual increase of 3.5 millions. On the basis of this rise, the country's population appears now to be about 377 millions. If the same rate continues, we shall soon have a population of 400 millions.

There is heavy pressure on land and there is no relative improvement in the proportion of industrial employment. In 1911, when the total population was 315 millions, industrial workers did not exceed 5.5 per cent but in 1931 when the population had risen by 38 millions, the percentage of workers shrank 4.3. On the other hand, the dependence of people on agriculture has shown a steady increase. While the percentage supported by agriculture was 71 in 1911, it advanced to 73 in 1931.

A further analysis of existing circumstances shows a still more dismal future.

The area under cultivation has not increased in proportion to the growth of population. Food production is insufficient. Taking rice among cereals, which forms the staple food of two thirds of the population, the increase during a period of 25 years (1910-1935) is only

6 per cent while wheat has shown a steady decline. The shortage of food has resulted in under-nourishment. If we accept the conclusions of Sir John Meewah as correct, only 39 per cent of the population could afford adequate nourishment, 41 per cent were poorly nourished, and 20 per cent were badly nourished.

This state of things has contributed to high infant mortality, which was 233.6 per thousand, while maternity mortality was 24.5 per thousand, which is six times more than that of England and Wales.

A noteworthy feature of the population was that average life has declined from 30 in 1881 to 23 in 1931. The death rate in India is 26.8 per thousand as compared with 11.7 per 1,000 in England and Wales. Diseases due to deficient or insufficient nourishment such as night blindness, rickets and tuberculosis are prevalent to a large extent.

A general improvement of the condition of the people can no doubt be largely effected by more intensive cultivation of the soil, and by a scientific exploitation of the natural wealth of the country. It should not, however, be imagined, that the wealth available is so vast as to be able to feed the growing millions. If we take into consideration the area of the country and its dense population, its trying climate, and its uneven rainfall with recurring periods of scarcity, it is difficult to generalise about our national wealth. Less than 30 per cent of the land surface is suitable for cultivation, and only in a few favoured tracts can the natural rainfall be depended upon. There is labour in abundance, but from malnutrition, malaria and other causes, it is very inefficient, and is moreover unorganised and untrained. It cannot be challenged that unless our population becomes healthy, strong and virile, we are never likely to do any good to ourselves or to make any headway towards our ideal of Self Government which is the most urgent and common problem facing us all.

### The Quintessence of Marathi Literature

In giving a critical idea of the main tendencies in Marathi literature and an account of its achievements, B. R. Deshpande makes the following observations indicative of its modern trend in the *Triveni*:

A decade and a half before the beginning of the twentieth century a unique renaissance to the realm of Marathi literature came about. Literary writers increased in number, and the love of reading spread with the advent of literacy. Poetry, novel, short story, drama and the literary essay flourished. Men of letters, with broad and reforming tendencies, arose. The literature of biography, study, literary criticism, humour, science, travel, and other information became popular. Prose predominated everywhere. The printing press and periodicals helped immensely to spread literature. The theatre became a popular pastime. Lectures, political or purely intellectual, were heard with enthusiasm.

The writer speaks about modern Marathi poetry:

Poetry sprouted with modernity and with a subtle, charming novelty in Keshavavut, acclaimed now as the Father of modern Marathi poetry. His contemporary, Rev. Tilak, created a taste and liking for new ways in poetry. The growth of Marathi poetry owes much to the deep and contemplative art of the poets, Gupta (Bec) and Tambe. Life and love are main concerns of the major poets. The poems of Ram Ganesh Gadkari ("Govindaraja") and Thombre ("Balakavi"), both

short-lived but brilliant poets, have a delicacy of emotion and pathos which are unique. Tiwari and Savarkar are the poets of patriotism. Behere, Tekade, Kanetkar ("Gurash") Patwardhan ("Madhav Julian") and Yashwant are enthusiastic and productive poets. P. K. Atre is a brilliant parodist. The poets in Berar are artists of a high type. Their poetry has a mystic fervour. A. R. Deshpande ("And") is exquisite in composition, and philosophers on the relation between love and life. N. C. Deshpande, G. H. Deshpande, Waman N. Deshpande and V. S. Vakul have given quite concrete proof of their abilities. Y. M. Pathak, B. S. Pandit and V. B. Kofte are good poets. Mr. and Mrs. P. Y. Deshpande are vehement and sentimental respectively. The best amongst all these yet show the strain of a certain lethargy which is but natural in the unappreciative atmosphere in which they have to live. Kanetkar, W. B. Pathak and Borkar are read with relish by the young.

This is what he says about the drama and the novel:

The novel owes its origin and growth to a hard-working man of letters—Hari Narayan Apte. It was in the beginning, as was the short story also, a form of literature for imparting chaste delight and instruction to the readers. The modern novelists who are widely read are Phadke and Khandekar, they appeal more to college students and to the leisured middle class. Phadke depicts with relish the sensual-emotional side of life while Khandekar depicts the unhappy-sentimental side of it. B. V. Varerkar is really a correct painter of the subtleties of Maharashtrian home life. V. M. Joshi is a thought-provoking writer. P. Y. Deshpande is an intelligent and powerful novelist. Na. H. Apte is a sound moralist. Many younger writers of promise are entering this field and gaining admirable success.

Drama and humour are closely associated, and our best dramatists are also humorists—Kellar, Khadikar, Kolharkar and Gadkari. No figure as brilliant and as loved by an audience as Gadkari has yet arisen. Atre recently attained success mainly on account of his humour, but his hyperbolic pathos and excess of stage-appeal come in the way of long-lasting literary fame. The advent of the talkies has given the death blow to travelling dramatic companies.

Among the types of creative literature the Marathi short story holds a unique position.

The Marathi short story originated as entertaining reading matter, published in magazines and periodicals. It suddenly became the most popular form both with readers and with writers, and this is no doubt due to the suitability and convenience of this medium for expressing the various phases of the life of the people. Khandekar is an industrious and zealous writer, but Y. G. Joshi is a better interpreter of Maharashtrian life. Varerkar and Bokar are powerful stylists. Dnyanesh Krishna, the Limaye, P. S. Kolhatkar, Anubekar, Khandolkar, Phadke, Barve, J. Sardesai and L. Sardesai, Raghuvir, Sahasrabudhe, Daundekar, Walkar, Oka and innumerable others are good story writers. Amongst women the person writing under the pen name of "Vishavaree Shirurkar" has inaugurated a new style of frank realism. Kamalesh Tilak, "Krunabhai" K. Prabhavalkar and K. Deshpande have also attained remarkable success.

### Keshub Chunder Sen's Gift as an Orator

There was a time when Keshub Chunder Sen's name was known not only throughout

India but also in England which he visited in 1870. His personality was both fascinating and impressive, and he was an orator by divine right. Writes Nagendranath Gupta in *The Hindustan Review* :

I have heard many orators—India is said to be the land of orators—, Indian and English and American, but I unhesitatingly rank Keshub Chunder Sen as greater than all. I have seen him swaying large audiences as no other orator within my memory has ever done. He was not a political firebrand; he did not appeal to the emotions only. His own faith penetrated his utterance. His subjects were sometimes daring, as for instance, his Town Hall address on himself in the lecture entitled, "Am I an inspired Prophet?" While he spoke his eyes were streaming with tears. He denied that he was an inspired prophet but maintained that he was a singular man. It has been said of Swami Vivekananda that he was an orator by divine right. So was Keshub. It was a very different kind of oratory from what we were accustomed to hear in the earlier days of the Congress. There was no lack of sound and fury and passionate gesticulation in the Congress. But after the orations were over there was scarcely any impress left on the mind. Keshub seldom made a gesture. Usually, he was passionless but religion is not a subject which can be treated without emotion and there were occasions when he rose to lofty heights of emotion, when his own eyes and the eyes of his hearers overflowed with tears. I have never heard a voice so wonderful as his. It was full with the fullness of a river flowing broad and stately. There was never any conscious strain, never anything like shouting. There were no microphones then and no loud speakers, but his voice, effortless, sonorous, musically cadenced, never failed to reach the thousands who assembled to hear him. Tennyson has called Milton "God gifted organ voice of England." That organ voice of the blind bard peals through the lofty, stately lines of *Paradise Lost*—lines which are so easily retained in the memory, and no prose can equal the rhythm of his incomparable verse. But Keshub's voice also was a God gifted organ, an instrument on which the whole gamut of emotion and appeal could be played with ease.

### Ideals of Swami Vivekananda

In an article in the *Prabudha Bharata* Sir Maurice Gwyer discusses the ideals of Swami Vivekananda. He conceives the contribution of the founder of the Ramkrishna Mission to the development of religious ideas in this country to be this, that he saw the spiritual life not in forms of the individual alone but in those of a whole people :

The founder, believing that self-realization ought to be man's supreme achievement, taught with all the fervour at his command that first of all man must secure the freedom of his own soul. In these days when the world is leech with an organised effort to bind the human race with fetters of iron, and things of the spirit are derided and denied, the last hope would indeed be gone if man abandoned the struggle for that freedom. No price can be too high to pay for it. It demands sacrifice and renunciation. And it is for this, and not for their ease or comfort, or any of their material possessions, that the democracies will have to fight, if fight one day they must, against the dangers that threaten them.

I think that the two qualities on the need of which

the founder of this Mission insisted most of all were sincerity and simplicity. And by sincerity I suppose he meant that quality which rejects what is false, because it is never content with anything less than truth. It is perhaps the result at first of a conscious effort, but later on it becomes a habit of mind and a part of a man's intellectual equipment, so that it is possible almost by instinct to distinguish the true from the false. In a world drenched with propaganda, when falsehood is deliberately made to masquerade as truth and people are fed with lies in the interests of a policy or an ideology, sincerity is not perhaps one of the virtues now in fashion; but I am old fashioned enough to believe, though sometimes I find it difficult, that truth will in the end prevail. And so too with simplicity, which is another aspect of truth, since it implies the discarding of catch-words and shams, and of all the irrelevant things with which we have complicated and confused our lives.

Sincerity and simplicity are the qualities of a saint, but saints are not always practical men. And what I admire in Vivekananda also is his strong sense of reality and proportion. He reports his own Master as saying : "First form character, first learn spirituality, and the results will come of themselves." This is the same conclusion as that of the great Greek philosopher, that good acts are those acts which the good man does. Action issues from character; and it is not so much what a man does as what a man is.

### Nationality And Internationality in Art

In the case of the expression in any of the arts, three claims are made on him; the claim of his own inner necessity; the claim of his environment, and the claim of the world. In the course of his article in the *Theosophist* J. H. Cousins observes :

Our subject, therefore, fully entitled, is : The problem of individuality, nationality and internationality in art. A consideration of these three terms will carry us towards an understanding if not a solution of the problem involved in them.

In my own thoughts on these and related matters, I have long preserved a clear distinction between the terms personality and individuality. I observed in myself and others a fluctuation of feeling and a movement of thought around my own central persistence as an ego. To my friends I presented different masks at different times and in different circumstances through which I sounded some phase of my total self, that operated behind the mask and was not divided by it. To use an Indian musical figure of speech, whatever changes my *swaras* (notes) underwent, my *sruti* (key) was unswayed. The word "personality" came into English through the French from the Latin, as indicating the person or mask through which the hidden actor expressed some transient aspect of a total life. In the creation of an illusion of character in the imagination of the auditor, the mask was only an auxiliary expedient, and ultimately dropped out of western stage technique. The actor was the creator out of the fullness of his own life. That fullness of life was not exhausted in the presentation of one character. On another occasion he would present another character, and be the same actor. But the second character did not depend on the first character; it depended on the actor who, whatever the number and kind of his created personalities, himself remained an individual, that is, one who is indivisible.

We have in these derivations of two words a verbal parallel of what I take to be the basic principle of true



creative art; namely, that it expresses the indivisible life of the artist, moving into expression with one or two phases in predominance and the others in subordinate collaboration with them. There is an obvious relationship between certain artists and their times and its interests. That relationship is usually regarded as that of parental time spirit and artistic offspring. Sometimes the offspring expresses his age, like certain novelists of today. Sometimes he is, like Shelley, its accuser. But whatever be the inspiration or provocation from his era that influences the expression in the arts, and provides him with the intellectual and emotional incidentals of his craft, that which outlives his era is not of his era but comes out of the full-orbed response of the artist to the fullness of eternal life, though expressed in the terminology of a period and its preoccupations and enthusiasms. There is no life in nature outside some wholeness of its organization. Lappings from the tree of life may continue to bear the semblance of life for a while, like so many cults, and arts and fads of technique and curiosities of mentality in the arts, but the tree of life lives only as a tree, and not in essays on arboriculture.

Where artists have lived beyond their time, they have done so because of the expression of the immortalities, and not because of any intellectual formulations or emotional stresses outside themselves. These may have their own longevities, but they are only accessories to creation. The paintings in the Sistine chapel are not famed for their theology, but for the creative art of Michael Angelo. Raphael's Madonna and Child is not treasured as dateable portraiture, but for its beautiful portrayal of the artist's imagination of ideal motherhood and ideal childhood. The frescoes of Ajanta are not admired for their want of theology, but for the share of the unknown painters' individual immortality that they transmitted to their works. The secret of art is in the artist, said a wise man of China long ago.

### India and China

The following is an extract from the speech delivered by C. T. Feng, Consul-General of the Republic of China, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Chinese Temple at Sarnath and published in *The Maha-Bodhi*.

China and India have, throughout history, maintained very cordial relations and have, among the nations of the world, a unique tradition of continuous friendship in common effort to promote peace and civilization.

There was a wonderful time about five hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era, when our sages taught their people how to live. The Buddha lived in India and at the same time in China Confucius was living and teaching. We Chinese first became acquainted with the doctrines of the Buddha during the reign of the first Emperor. About the year 216 B.C., an Indian priest Shih Li Fang, accompanied by others, arrived in the capital of China with their philosophical teachings. However, Buddhism was not officially introduced into the Chinese Empire till the first century and when Indian Buddhist monks were favourably received by the Emperor Ming Ti of Han dynasty. In later years Fa Hsien, the earnest-minded monk who determined to seek for himself the correct copies of the literature containing doctrines of salvation, set himself to brave the dangers of unknown regions in search of truth and eventually accomplished one of the most astonishing journeys ever undertaken by man.

The pilgrimages of both Indians and Chinese are not only interesting historical events but they have also laid

the foundation of cultural relations between our two countries ever since. The greatness of Buddhism speaks for itself. However, one point which I would like to emphasize is that the supreme glory of Lord Buddha which we profoundly admire is his boundless charity. The Lord Buddha does not think of his own personal salvation; he seeks, above all, to save others. Further, the essence of his teaching teaches us how to escape from all sin, to get virtue and to purify the heart. Confucianism has strongly reinforced this ethical note and has also taught such virtues as loyalty, filial piety, sincerity, kindness and not doing to another what one does not like to have done to oneself.

### European Interpreters of the Rigveda

Dr Mandar Patel observes in the *Indian World*.

In the beginning of the Sanskrit philology in West, that is, so early as 1805, Colebrooke declared about the Vedas that they were too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole and what they contained, would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less, that of the translator. But this pessimistic note did not hamper the progress of the Vedic researches in the West. For, even before the publication of the now famous Oxford edition of the Rigveda (with Sayana Bhasya) by Max Müller (1819), Langlois attempted a complete French translation (1843-51). And with the appearance of Max Müller's edition, H. Wilson began his English translation of the Rigveda strictly following the commentary of Sayana, which would furnish, in his opinion, "the safest guide through the intricacies and obscurities of the text." This school of interpreters in the West was sometimes called the "Traditional School" and they themselves, "Conservative Sanekritists."

It soon became evident to some scholars that sole dependence of Sayana would not solve the knotty problem of explaining the Rigveda. Rudolf Von Roth, therefore, initiated a critical method of interpreting the Rigveda from itself that is, from internal evidence achieved by the ownate comparison of all passages parallel in form and matter, while also welcoming assistance furnished by the context, grammar, and etymology. Firmly, deciding not to pay any regard to the native commentators of the Vedas, Roth fully carried out his decision in preparing the great *Petersburg Wörterbuch*. In his Foreword to this *Petrach Lexicon* (p. 5) he shows his prejudice against Sayana which soon gained ground and was cherished by almost all the European Vedic scholars of that period. They followed only linguistic methods, that is to say, they believed that through the mastery of grammatical forms, through concepts resulting from etymological analyses, and through the keys of common analogies, they could discover the deep sense and meaning of Vedic poetry.

The followers of this method of interpretation of the Veda were called "the Linguistic school," and as a result of the labours of this school there soon appeared some works on the Vedas, the two most important and representative among them being the German translation and dictionary of the Rigveda by H. Grassmann (Leipzig 1876-77).

There were however some notable exceptions of scholars who were disinclined to follow Roth in his crusade against the Indian commentators. Feeling that the results of the native tradition as represented in Yaska and Sayana should be combined with the data afforded by linguistic researches of the Western Scholars, A. Ludwicz prepared another German translation of the entire Rigveda with exhaustive explanatory notes (Prague 1876-

88). This attempt which was decidedly better and bolder than that of Grassmann, lacks, however, in both clearness and compactness of exposition.

The French Savant, A. Bergaigne held that the whole of the Rigveda was to be explained allegorically and he tried to prove this in his invaluable studies, later embodied in *Religion Vedique* (Paris, 1878-83). One of his pupils, P. Regnaud, on the other hand, asserted that the whole of the Rigveda was composed to meet the ends of the sacrificial ritual.

The most important of all these Western attempts was, however, the publication of the now well known *Vedische Studien* (pts. I-III, 1839-1905) in the form of a series of essays by the two friends, Pischel and Geldner. Curiously enough, both of them and their initiation into the science of Vedic interpretation through Roth, to whose one-sided linguistic theories, the *Vedische Studien* held a direct challenge.

The Rigveda is an Indian—not merely Indo-Germanic as the predecessors had believed—monumental document, and must be accepted and explained as such; the religion, the thought and the language of the Vedas must be interpreted not only from themselves but also by the use of the later Brahmanic literature, the knowledge of which is indispensable for any student of the Vedas.

We must not fail to record here the noteworthy contributions of Oldenberg and L. von Schroeder as reflected respectively in *Religion des Veda* (Berlin 1894, 2nd Edition: 1917) and *Mysterium und Mimus in Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1908).

And last, but not the least important, come the excellent studies of that great Vedic, Professor A. A. Macdonell whose endeavour to further and popularise Vedic research is, and will always remain, an inspiration to the vedists of the world.

inspire our younger writers, but the problems of cultural adjustment occur within the mould of language and imagination which India's great poet has given us. Even those who in their adolescent prowess would offer verbal fight have to use literary weapons fashioned by Tagore himself; our literary identity, in all spheres of expression, continues to be Tagorean.

This persistence should not be held to mean an imitative continuity; it points to the obvious truth that the great artist supplies a principle of creative growth to a nation, variations on which reveal successive emergences of civilisation.

New principles are incorporated, but some main trends of inspiration may remain associated with a nation's supreme men. Shakespeare's influence operates even to-day, in the age of Shakespeare it did so in England with more obvious potency; but such influence liberates new expression instead of confining a nation's mind. Tagore's poetry in Bengal leads the way towards a diversity of creative experimentation, and Bengali language today is richer in fiction, drama, poetry, and many avenues of scientific and imaginative prose than any pre-Tagorean period could have visualized.

New writings draw from the great store of Bengal's poet, but Tagore himself is with us, and, his pen shows undimmed power of contemporaneity. The national awakening and the international challenge have brought India's answer in his new poems. He has also offered India's challenge to a tormented world. Appeal to sober beauty, to intellectual vigilance, and to something unique in India's humanity informs his works with particular significance for our Age.

## The Age Of Tagore

Dr. Amiya Chakravarti observes in *The Tribune Literary Supplement*

All over India our literatures are passing through a phase of re-statement. the genius of Indian civilization is striving for modernized expression. Tagore in Bengal stands for the whole country as a harmoniser of ideals. His poetry unequalled in its rootedness, proves its receptivity to horizons of light. Bengali literature, through Tagore, offers a path for the whole of Eastern civilization in keeping true to tradition while moving forward in a new assertion of power.

Bengali literature moves in an Age of Tagore. New urges, mainly inspired by Western ideas, continue to

## A Poem

The sea raves and rages,  
The lightning rends the clouds in the sunset sky,  
Below there roars the foaming fury of the water.  
What matters if we reach not the shore  
but fathom the depth?  
Away with this drooping dejection,  
the burden of bore-some hours!  
Ah, for the freedom of loneliness  
on the boom of the boundless sea  
and the mystery of the untold treasure  
lost in forlorn lands!

RABINDRANATH TAGORE  
in the *Prithu Bharati News*

(A-1)



dustrial and government. Shop councils were established in the factories. Trade unions were accepted as the agencies for collective bargaining to set wages, hours and other conditions of employment. Employee representatives were seated on the boards of directors of the large joint stock companies, an expression of the idea that labor is as essential as capital in modern enterprise. Finally, in the supreme economic advisory body of the republic, the Reich Economic Council, capital and labor were given the same number of members with equal voice in the discussion of both economic and social policy.

The trade unions more than doubled their membership as compared with pre-war figures, growing from 2.13 million in 1914 to 5.62 million in 1930. Strong in this army of voluntary adherents, their treasury well filled by the contributions they themselves levied, workers could bargain as equal partners with the employers' associations. Allied with different political parties, the workers had their own newspapers which buttressed the freedom of the printed words by their guarantee that the printing press was readily accessible to the employers' political and social viewpoints. The workers had their own weekly and monthly magazines, their own research bureaus of expert economists and statisticians. Other union activities, some of them carried on jointly with the co-operative associations, included labor banks, co-operative insurance institutions, building enterprises, bakeries, and quite a number of other factories for the mass production of goods to be sold through the co-operative stores.

In place of trade unions, National Socialism supplies the German Labour Front, which in plan and in activities, the writer points out, is the very negation of freedom.

It is a creation of the National Socialist Party, not of labor. Its function is the "guidance of man"—molding its millions of members to Nazi patterns by incessant propaganda. Its membership, even larger than that of the trade unions, was swiftly enrolled under pressure of the dictatorial party, which could answer every refusal to join up by the refusal of a job.

The Labour Front's most conspicuous achievement is the development of a variety of leisure time organizations.

The widely publicized program of "Strength Through Joy" includes sports, lectures, concerts, drama. There are the popular vacation trips for workers by train, bus and boat; and once in Germany the wage earner has never been able to afford the "family car" which so many American workers use for holiday travel. Thousands of Germans are thus for the first time becoming acquainted with the beauties of their own country and of foreign lands. Compared with the elaborate programs of "Strength Through Joy," the earlier efforts of the trade unions along the same lines seem like very simple beginnings. What the modern dictatorships thus achieve could be far more completely realized in the freedom of the democracies than under Fascist compulsion and domination. "Strength Through Joy" serves to show that mass opportunity for the creative use of leisure time can be provided at relatively low cost. The Labor Front spends an insignificant share of its revenues in this way.

In fact, National Socialism, the author observes, is not interested in either employer-employees as such; it is to expand

and glorify the state, and its sole creed is aggressive nationalism. With this object in view, National Socialism has drafted the whole nation; and for labour, the actual result can only be described as lifelong conscription.

At the close of 1932 there were six million German workers on the dole. This acute unemployment, which contributed so much to National Socialism's rise to power, has been wiped out. Since 1936, there has been an actual scarcity of man-power, accentuated by the fact that one million men are now serving in the army, and that hundreds of thousands more are enrolled in the equally compulsory labor service and in similar organizations. The workers are little better than slaves in the drive for rearmament. Strikes are forbidden. The workers are no longer free to move from town to town, plant to plant, even job to job. A man may change his situation only if the change fits into the aims of the regime. No employer is permitted to hire any employee without the explicit consent of the official labor exchange. According to a decree of February 1937, "the individual's ambition or desires are subservient to the state's interest."

The ingenious method used to control every movement of every wage earner is the work book. This book, which every worker must carry, is a labor passport, registering the whole vocational career of the bearer—his age, his skill, his training, his entire occupational experience. The passport makes possible what the law calls "putting the right man in the right place." The right place, of course, is the armament factories. The regime drags workers from consumers' goods industries, retransfers those who need it, and then where they are wanted. They must leave their familiar trades, their familiar environments, and often are compelled to go to communities where they cannot take their families with them.

The means of compulsion are simple: no job, no relief, no bread for the obstinate.

During the September 1938 crisis, tens of thousands of workers were requisitioned from industry, and without even time to say goodbye to their wives and children, they were loaded into special trains and sent to work on the fortifications along Germany's western frontier. But in "normal" times, too, as a writer in *Foreign Affairs* has reported, "armies of workers are transported from one part of the country to another like prisoners of war."

The Fascist regime deals similarly with German youth boys and girls, when they leave school, are marshalled into trades chosen to accord with the aims of the regime, rather than with individual tastes, abilities, and hopes for the future.

In the lower middle classes, tens of thousands of small shopkeepers and artisans have been compelled to liquidate their shops, give up their independence and go into the armament factories. If they are not enthusiastic about their changed status, the regime is not slow to use its power to counteract what it calls "the false mentality of citizens."

### Never Another World War?

So tragic are the developments of warfare, says George Bernard Shaw in *The Rotarian*, that once hostilities break out, Governments will sue for peace.

What would happen first in a world war? The airplanes of A, B, C, and D would bomb the cities of E, F, G, and H so effectively that the white flag would be hoisted at approximately the same time in the several capitals, and abject pleas for peace would cross each other in the air.

The tragic nastiness of this latest development of war fare is that the attack of the civilian populations is now absurdly easy, and defense—adequate defense—is impossible.

When ministers of defense express satisfaction at their schemes for protecting their urban citizens, they are talking through their top hats.

No, the danger to civilians of wholesale extinction persists. And the Governments of the civilized countries—that is, all those well equipped with the latest means of destruction—know it only too well. They dread the coming of war as they have never dreaded a general election.

Therefore there is not the least chance of a war happening in the near future. If there were, it would have happened during that fortnight last September when there was far more inflammatory talk and even feeling than ever there was from the Acadir incident to the bombarding of Liege.

Civil wars may happen. For when you bomb your own cities, you keep it in the family, and each side can appeal against the air atrocities of the other side to powers that are preparing atrocities on a much larger scale, and are proportionately shocked at this retail slaughter.

What happens in a civil war is plain enough. The country emerges from it utterly exhausted, and takes a generation to repair the damage. But it is repaired. With the help of the airplane, the damage will now be much greater, and will take a longer time to repair.

### The German Press: A Barren Desert of Conformity

These notes on the German Press today, reproduced here from *The China Weekly Review*, are from the pen of a refugee from Germany, now in Shanghai, who occupied a responsible position in the publication world of Germany.

In post war Germany, the Germany of the Weimar Republic with its 70 million population, only towns which had fewer than 3,000 inhabitants were without their own newspapers. Towns with 3,000 or more inhabitants had at least one newspaper, concerned not only with local matters but with national and international affairs. In cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants there would be several newspapers, one of which would be a non-partisan disseminator of objective information, while the others were usually organs of the political parties.

It was different in the big cities. Newspaper circulation here was determined, not by the strength of the political parties but by the quality of the material, variety of subjects handled, the number of supplements, etc. A case in point was the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Maintained on a high journalistic level, the Sunday edition of this paper circulated between 200,000 and 250,000 copies, this notwithstanding the fact that the Democratic Party, of which it was the mouthpiece, had little influence in Berlin or in Germany generally.

How has the German press fared under Nazi rule? First, leaders in journalism who would not voluntarily bring themselves under the Nazi yoke were rudely dismissed. Henceforth only those were employed who paid

due recognition to the Nazi press chamber. The party press was totally suppressed. Commercially owned publications like the *Messe* press, refusing to submit, were confiscated, while others, such as the *Ullstein* and *Sonnenmann* publications, of which the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was one, were forced to sell. Regimented by the Nazis, the German press has shrunk enormously.

Throughout Germany there is now a vast indifference toward the press—this in a country where previously the whole people looked forward with eagerness to their newspapers. The uniformity of the political views expressed, the tiresome monotony of conformity which characterize every newspaper, have caused a catastrophic disappearance of readers.

But the passionate desire for knowledge of what is happening is by no means dead. People are most anxious to know about events in the outside world, in addition to what is happening in Germany. French, English and German Swiss newspapers enjoy the greatest popularity. On some news-stands in Berlin more foreign papers were once sold than German. This has led to prohibitions and restrictions. The Swiss papers *Baseler National Zeitung* and the *Zürcher Zeitung*, both democratic and anti-Nazi, acquired a huge popularity after Hitler came to power. But today there is not a single newspaper, German or foreign, which is not either under control or ban.

Not suppression alone is responsible for the decline of the press in Germany. Editors are often semi-literate and no one wants to read their drivel. As for any intellectual independence among these gentry, it isn't even possible to speak of it. Formerly, Germany was famed for political and economic monthlies of high quality. These have totally disappeared.

### Wounded Soldiers' Own Newspaper in China

This account of the Chinese Soldiers' newspaper is reproduced from *China at War*.

China's wounded soldiers are publishing their own newspaper. It is an eight-page weekly, well edited and printed. It contains succinct comments on current topics, expressive poems and songs written by the wounded soldiers themselves, short stories on actual battlefield experiences, bright summaries of events at various fronts. Every now and then, it carries war maps.

Known as the *Light of Blood*, this unique publication made its first appearance in Changsha, provincial capital of Hunan. An enterprising officer, recovering from his wounds at the Ninth Convalescents' Home, had a brain wave. As a result, he took up a Chinese brush pen and wrote, all by himself, a well-newspaper, replete with readable news and interesting cartoons.

It was a case of immediate success. The first sheet pinned on the ho-mat bulletin board met with such a warm reception that the hospital superintendent thought a riot was brewing when he saw scores of his charges crowding before the board waiting for their turn to peruse the paper, which was made all the more attractive by a generous sprinkling of red ink symbolizing blood.

Before long, wounded soldiers in other hospitals in the same city heard about this weekly. They clamoured for copies. Thus, to cope with an increasing demand, the editor who at that time still walked with the aid of his crutches, shifted his sphere of editorial activities from his ward to a nearby job printer's shop. Today the *Light of Blood* is read by thousands of China's convalescent men and soldiers who have shed their precious blood on the national altar.

# NEED FOR PLANNED EDUCATION FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

By K. S. R. ACHARYA

Principal, The Madras City College, Calcutta

EVERYDAY, everyone of us comes across highly educated young men who are either unemployed or occupational misfits. Many of them were once promising youths—the pride of their family and the hope of the country. Today, these men are individually a tragedy and collectively the greatest national loss.

Where does the remedy lie? That is the problem of problems today. Below is given an extract on this vital question from the speech delivered on the 14th March, 1939, by Mr. S. E. Ranganathan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, an authority on this subject. It contains a suggestion for putting an end to this serious national disaster and turning the great man-power to the best use.

"It is unfortunate that in this country there was no machinery for providing suitable psychological guidance to students as to future careers. That was being done to a very large extent in America and to a limited extent in England and was working satisfactorily. Still young men ought to think for themselves about these things and be able as far as possible to assess their own abilities. If they were not particularly brilliant in their school course, that was a thing of which they need not be ashamed, because it was not everyone that had a particular kind of mental ability. They should really learn to feel that they would find opportunities for using what ever talent they had in the direction in which it lay. They must not think that because they had to go to the school of Technology after their High School course, they were selecting a type of education inferior to that of a University."

The purpose of this article is to examine the idea behind the suggestion so as to make it possible for translating it into action to some Educational Institutions and Public Educational Bodies like Universities in India.

What will you think of a man who builds a house without any design and goes on altering it at the suggestion of every passer-by? A parent should have an aim in the matter of his son's education.

If once the direction of the life-work is determined, it is possible to take a course of study which will directly lead one into that life-work in minimum time and at minimum cost. Such a prudent step will save one many precious years, wastage and disappointment. A student who aims at becoming a Barrister need not waste precious time and money to get the M.A. degree in Chemistry of a recognised Indian University. Enough if he passes in India the Cambridge Senior Examination, before he leaves the shores of India.

But, who will be then the Consulting Architect on whose advice the parent and the son

can depend? Here comes the place for the *Bureau of Occupational Planning and Vocation*. It is easy to start such a Bureau on a small scale in every Educational Institution.

The work of this Bureau will fall under the following heads:—

1. Information Department.
2. Psychological Department.

The work of the Information Department will be to collect valuable information on the following points:—

1. Avenues open to young men and women in the various departments of the Government and other public bodies.
2. The newer openings that have come into existence as a result of the phenomenal strides made by Modern Science and the prospects in each of them held out to young men.

3. The abilities and qualities demanded by each of them in the employee-memory span, associative habits, imaginative ingenuity, power of reasoning and other functions singly and in combination with reference to the special needs of the various occupations, etc.

4. Courses of studies which will enable any one to enter his chosen line at a minimum cost and in minimum time.

The work of the Psychology Department will be to make the data furnished by the Information Department useful to the public.

1. It should assess the abilities of mind and body and qualities of temperament and character of the student.

2. It should measure his degree of intelligence—innate, general and intellectual efficiency.

3. It should discover the specific aptitudes in him—whether he has in him the making of an Architect or a Surgeon, a Mechanical Engineer or an Engine Driver. His work in school, his recreational pursuits, and his own personal likes and dislikes are helpful in this discovery. For an example, one who has been fond of mechanical toys and later has also shown an interest in the mechanism of his own cycle and that of his father's motor car, will presumably find congenial occupation as a Mechanical Engineer.

4. It should study the candidate's circumstances and guide him to the line best suited to him.

5. Lastly, it should be able to guide him to courses of studies which will enable the student to enter his work at minimum cost and in minimum time.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD

It may be asked "Can this Bureau guarantee to post the right one in the right place?"

No one can claim that Vocation. Guidance is infallible and that human peg can be fitted into Occupational holes with any accuracy. But the fact remains that the judgment of the Vocational Psychologist is far more valuable than the judgment of candidates in quest of work or the judgment of lay advisers.

The position of the Bureau engaged in Vocational guidance may thus be compared with

that of the Solicitor who gives an opinion as to the probable outcome of the legal action or with that of the stockbroker who estimates the probable return from a particular investment. These experts do not claim that their predictions would invariably be justified by future events, yet their services to the community are recognised as being so valuable that no wise person, confronted with problems on which they are competent to advise, would dream of seeking the solution without their assistance. The Bureau is likewise an expert which deals with probabilities not certainties.

#### BENEFITS OF THE METHOD

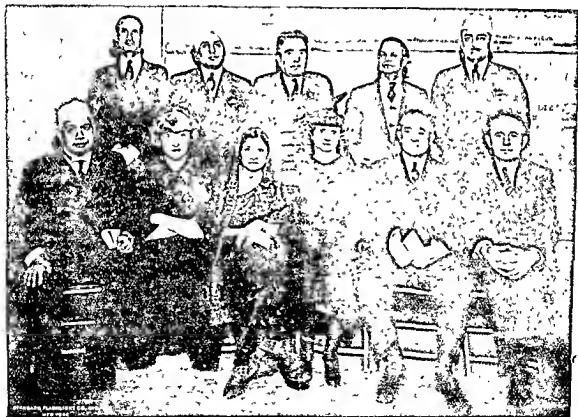
This does not mean that the advice is of little value. Those young men who follow the advice become presumably successful much more frequently than those who depart from it.

The youth of poor achievements but of good abilities is given encouragement and new confidence. The puzzled youth is helped to adopt a definite aim in life with subsequent benefits to his whole attitude and outlook of life. The youth, who has chosen his life-work unwisely and found his work unsuitable, can be helped to avoid a second error.

The help rendered becomes particularly valuable, as the Bureau does not stop with merely guiding the candidate in the choice of his life-work but goes further and guides him in the choice of proper courses of studies which will enable him to get into the line so chosen in minimum time and at minimum cost.\*

\* The contributor will be glad to answer queries from earnest enquirers and also to get suggestions from those working in this line.

A Memorial Service under the auspices of World Fellowship of Faiths in honour of Dr. Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. in New York on Sunday, March 12, 1939



This picture shows speakers of many faiths who gave tribute to the Indian patriot, Dr. Har Dayal, International Secretary of World Fellowship of Faiths. Sitting left to right: Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta (Hindu) who presided, Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, Srimati Indumati Marathi, Mrs. Agda Erikson Dayal, The Rev. John Haynes Holmes (Christian), Rev. Dr. Charles Francis Potter (Humanist). Standing left to right: Mirza Jafar Khan (Moslem), Dr. Anup Singh (Sikh), Mirza Ahmed Sohrab (Baha'i), Mr. Nandan of Ceylon, India (Buddhist), Mr. Rustom Wadia (Zoroastrian).

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS MALINA DASTIDAR, B.A., of Chittagong College has won the Bankimchandra Gold Medal on the results of the last B.A. Examination (1938) of the Calcutta University for having secured the highest marks in Bengali among the candidates in the subject. Miss Dastidar is the daughter of Sj. Bankim Chandra Dastidar and a grand-daughter of the late Rai Durgadas Dastidar Bahadur, a leading lawyer of Chittagong. Her mother, the late Mrs. Nirupama Devi, was one of the foremost Congress leaders of her time during the non-co-operation days in Chittagong.



Miss Malina Dastidar

## SCIENTISTS AMONG INDIAN WOMEN

By R. D.

WITH proper facilities for research Indian women will not lag behind their sisters of the other parts of the globe. How far this statement is true will be evident from the following.

In the last session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in the first week of January last the following papers were read in the different sections.

In the Chemistry Section these papers were read:

(1) Studies in binary mixtures.—By S. K. K. Jaitkar and Miss Nagamani Shama Rao, Bangalore.

(2) Absorption from binary mixtures.—By S. K. K. Jaitkar and Miss Nagamani Shama Rao, Bangalore.

(3) Studies in the Friedel-Crafts reaction. Part V. The action of acid chlorides and anhydrides on orcinol and resorcinol derivatives.—By R. D. Desai and Miss V. M. Vakil, Bombay.

(4) Cis-trans conversion of compounds occurring in essential oils by means of Selenium dioxide.—By B. S. Rao and Miss Mary Mathen, Bangalore.

In the Botany Section these papers were read:

(1) Studies in the diseases of *Mangifera indica* Linn. III. On the "die back" diseases of mango tree.—By S. N. Das Gupta and Miss A. T. Zachariah, Lucknow.

(2) The development of the gametophytes in *Eumaria indica* Pugsley.—By Miss S. Rai, Lahore.

(3) Development of the female gametophyte in *Capparis aphylla* Roth.—By Miss S. Rai, Lahore.

In the Section of Zoology the undermentioned papers were read:

(1) On a collection of elasmobranch embryos obtained from the Madras coast.—By R. Gopala Aiyar and Miss G. Mahadevan, Madras.

(2) On the development of the vertebral column of *Lepidosteus ossesus*.—By H. K. Mookerjee and Mrs S. Das, Calcutta.

In the Section of Psychology this paper was read:

(1) A study of anger in children.—By Srimati B. Nagarathna, Mysore.

If more scholarships and fellowships are given to Indian women, we are confident they will come forward and do first-rate researches in every branch of science and thereby enhance the prestige of our nation.

## ASSESSMENT OF RENT IN CHOTA NAGPUR

By JATISH CHANDRA GUPTA B.L.

Rent of land should bear a proportion to the produce of the land. To be fair to both landlords and tenants extreme cases of lean year and of bumper year should not be taken into consideration and the rent which will be permanent for a number of years after each settlement operation should be fixed in such a way that it may not bring hardship on the tenants in payment of the rent nor be so low as to mean undue loss to the landlord. Assessment of rent to the extent of 1/6th to 1/10th of produce, considering other factors, is generally considered to be quite fair. In some of the Congress Provinces attempts are being made to placate the tenantry, i.e., the electors, at the cost of the landlord. At times their decision is so much against the interest of the landlord that one cannot help holding that the authorities of the Government are totally lost to sense of justice and bent upon redeeming their election pledges at any cost. We may cite as example to explain the attitude of the present legislature and present ministry in effecting the recent legislation for reduction of existing rent in Chota Nagpur.

Pargana Dhalbhum is a zemindary on the border of Bengal and in the Province of Bihar, the Sub-Divisional headquarter of which is located in Jamshedpur. Dhalbhum was in Bengal, being a portion of the district of Midnapore, till 1833, when it was transferred to the district of Manbhum. It was on the ground of administrative facilities transferred to the district of Singhbhum in 1846.

Dhalbhum was a part and parcel of the territory that was formerly known as "Jangal Mahal" and was the most inaccessible part of it. It was due to the effort of the Rajas of Dhalbhum that villages were formed out of jungle areas and cultivation was encouraged. In the Settlement Final Report of 1907-11 of the Pargana, at pages 50, it is written—

"The development of Dhalbhum villages is comparatively a recent event and most of it undoubtedly took place subsequent to the period at which the remainder had established his supremacy within the pargana."

It was Raja Chittreswar Dhabal Deb who in the year 1860 tried for the first time to introduce a uniform rate of assessment in Dhalbhum according to classification of the

land and uniform measurement in bighas. His ideas were practically carried into effect in 1867 when the estate came under the management of the Court of Wards. Under this system the lands were divided into six main classes and assessed to as follows:

Awal Bahal	..	Re.	1/-
Doem Bahal	..		-/12/-
Awal Kanali	..		-/14/-
Awal Baid	..		-/10/-
Doem Baid	..		-/8/-
Soem Baid	..		-/6/-

Besides the above, Bastu rent (homestead) was fixed at Re. 1/- per bigha besides some other minor classifications (Vide page 18, para 54 of the Settlement Final Report of 1907-11).

In the Survey and Settlement of 1907-11 these rates were, without any objection from anybody, accepted as the established rate of the pargana and were also accepted as such by the Settlement Department. The Settlement Department assessed the rent as follows after getting rid of the class of land known as Soem Baid which practically merged into Awal Baid and Doem Baid.

Awal Bahal	..	Re	1/-
Doem Bahal	..		-/12/-
Kanali	..		-/14/-
Awal Baid	..		-/8/-
Doem Baid	..		-/6/-
Bastu	..	Re	1/-

Thus it will appear that even after a lapse of 50 years no change of the existing Pargana rates was made and the same rates were maintained. In the Settlement Report of 1907-11, when this Pargana was less known to the outside public and the industrial towns of Jamshedpur and Tatanagar had not come into existence and prosperous industrial establishments at Mouhbandar (Ghatsila), Chakulia, and Dhalbhumgarh, had not sprung up, the Settlement Department observed as follows—

"In contrast to the condition in Ranchi the average cultivator's economic condition in Dhalbhum is sound. He has a considerable margin to fall back upon in period of stress and the incidence of the existing rent charges is not heavy."



Owing to the great demands in the markets of Jamshedpur, Tatanagar, Moubhandar, Ghatula, Chakulia, (all within Pargana Dhalbhum) and in consequence of the convenience of export of all sorts of agricultural produce to the above markets and those of Khargpur and Calcutta, the cultivators in Dhalbhum are by far in a more advantageous position than the agriculturists in the other parts of the Chota Nagpur Division, such as Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau.

In the Settlement Report of 1907-11, it is mentioned that the comparatively sound economic position of the Dhalbhum cultivators is due to two causes :

(1) The soil is more fertile than the adjoining districts of Ranchi and Palamau or Hazaribagh and (2) the proportion of rice lands included in the tenancy is more than double the area of uplands, whereas in Ranchi the reverse is the case, and the rainfall is plentiful. But incidence of rent in Dhalbhum approximately is 1/30th part of the produce of the land, while it is 1/16th in Manbhum, 1/18th in Ranchi, 1/8th in Hazaribagh and 1/5th in Palamau.

There has been a very recent revisional Survey and Settlement operation in Dhalbhum which was commenced in the year 1934 and was completed in 1938. The Survey and Settlement Report of this operation is not yet out.

The total cost for this Revisional Settlement, incurred, according to the decision of the Government, will be met by the Dhalbhum Estate, tenure-holders and tenants. Dhalbhum Estate alone will have to pay Rs 1,19,366-13-0.

Besides the above heavy expenditure, the estate, the tenure-holders and the tenants, as usual, had to bear their own expenses, which were by no means small, for the supervision of the operation and for taking necessary steps during the pendency of the settlement proceedings.

In Survey Settlement operation of 1907-11, the expenditure was to the extent of Rs. 3,33,485 out of which Government contributed about Rs. 83,371-4 and the rest was realised from landlords and tenants.

During the Revisional Settlement of 1934-38, the Government ignored the legitimate objection of the landlord in introducing a queer and altogether new system of assessment, known as "Village Unit System," in place of assessment in accordance with the well-established pargana rates. The idea of the authorities in introducing this new system in Dhalbhum was probably to bring Dhalbhum in line with

the other districts of Chota Nagpur. There cannot be any other reason for doing away with the old system of assessment according to pargana rate.

During the recent Revisional Settlement operation, old classifications have been changed into Dhāni I, Dhāni II, Dhāni III, Gorā I, Gorā II, Gorā III.

The "Village Unit System," in short, was arrived at by reducing all the rent-bearing lands of the village in terms of unit of the lowest of Gorā III land and dividing the entire amount of rent by the total number of units of land in the village. In the crop-cutting experiment carried out by the Settlement Department it was found that the produce of different classes of lands in Dhalbhum bear the following ratio :

Dhāni I	Dhāni II	Dhāni III	Gorā I	Gorā II	Gorā III
20	16	10	10	3	1

Dhalbhum is an undulating hilly country. Rain water absorbed by the uplands in the rainy season gradually percolate down to the fields considerably at a lower level and thus Nature plays a great part in gradual conversion of an inferior class of land into a superior class. Rent remained the same although classification of lands underwent a good deal of change in the meantime. The more the improvement in the classification in a village, greater will be the number of units of land in the village according to village unit system. The rent remaining the same, the total amount of rent divided by the increased number of unit of lands would give a smaller value to the unit of land. Twenty times this unit rate will give the rate of rent of Dhāni I class of land in that village; 16 times will give the rent of Dhāni II; and 10 times will give the rate of rent of Dhāni III of the village and so on. Let us take a hypothetical case of a group of three quite adjacent villages with exactly equal quantity of land under each class in each of these three villages assessed to the same amount of rent, during the settlement operation of 1907-11. Classifications of land having changed differently in different villages in the meantime, rate of rent for a particular class of land, under the new village unit system, will vary greatly from village to village, although the productivity of a particular class of land in all the villages remains exactly the same.

Let us consider a hypothetical case: Suppose A, B and C to be a group of adjacent villages with exactly the same quantity of land under each classification of land recorded in the Settlement operations of 1907-11. The rent recorded in the settlement for each village was necessarily the same. According to differ-

rent circumstances and capacity, the lands have improved differently in different villages. Now, if all the lands be reduced to the terms of the lowest class Gorā III, the total number of units of land will be different in different villages and the same rent divided by different number of units of land will give different value to the unit of land in different villages.

**Village A :—**Where there has been no change in classification :

Dhāni I—25 Bighas	61	Re 1/-	= Rs 25
Dhāni II "	62	12/-	= 18/12/-
Dhāni III "	63	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā I "	64	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā II "	65	4/-	= 6/4/-
Gorā III "	66	1/-	= 1/9/-

150 Bighas

Rs 76/9/-

Here, Unit Rate, under Village Unit System will be Rs.  $(76-9-0 \div 25 \times 20 + 25 \times 16 + 25 \times 10 + 25 \times 10 + 25 \times 3 + 25)$  or  $9\frac{1}{4}$  pies. The rate for first class land will, therefore, approximately be  $(9\frac{1}{4} \times 20)$  pies or Re 1/- per bigha, for second class land -12/- per bigha, for third class land -8/- per bigha and so on.

**Village B :—**Where there has been change in the classification of land since Settlement operations of 1907-11 :

Quantity according to present classification			
Dhāni I—25 Bighas	35 B.	@ Re 1/-	= Rs 25/-
Dhāni II "	40 "	12/-	= 18/12/-
Dhāni III "	30 "	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā I "	20 "	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā II "	15 "	4/-	= 6/4/-
Gorā III "	10 "	1/-	= 1/9/-

150 Bighas 150 Bighas

Rs. 76/9/-

In this village, Unit Rate, under Village Unit System will approximately be Rs.  $(76-9-0 \div 35 \times 20 + 40 \times 16 + 30 \times 10 + 20 \times 10 + 15 \times 3 + 10)$  or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  p., i.e., about -12/6 p per Bigha of Dhāni I lands, -10/- per Bigha of Dhāni II lands; -6/- per Bigha of Dhāni III lands and so on.

**Village C :—**Where there has been some other change in the classification of land since the Settlement operations of 1907-11 :

Quantity according to present classification			
Dhāni I—25 Bighas	50 B.	@ Re 1/-	= Rs 25/-
Dhāni II "	45 "	12/-	= 18/12/-
Dhāni III "	25 "	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā I "	15 "	8/-	= 12/8/-
Gorā II "	10 "	4/-	= 6/4/-
Gorā III "	5 "	1/-	= 1/9/-

150 Bighas 150 Bighas

Rs. 76/9/-

In this village, the Unit Rate will approximately be  $(Rs. 76-9-0 \div 40 \times 20 + 40 \times 16 + 35 \times 10 + 20 \times 10 + 10 \times 3 + 5)$  or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  p., i.e., about -11/2 pies per

Bigha of Dhāni I lands, -9/1½ pie per Bigha of Dhāni II lands, -5/9 pies per Bigha of Dhāni III lands and so on.

Now, the distance between these villages may be merely an imaginary line of demarcation and all the lands may enjoy the same amount of natural facility for improvement. Can there be any justification, whatsoever, for the great difference of rate of rent as shown above and can there be a more inequitable system of assessment than the "Village Unit System" ?

Since the Settlement operation of 1907-11 considerable quantity of waste and land under forest was brought under cultivation and these lands have been assessed to rent in the Revisional Settlement in accordance with the village unit rate worked out in the way mentioned above. Although there were good grounds for allowing general and flat enhancement on account of rise in price of staple food crops, the Board of Revenue thought it wise to cancel the enhancement of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent granted by the Commissioner.

On the top of all these difficulties for the landlords the rent reduction camps in compliance with the new legislation are in operation and are reducing rent without going in to the merit of individual cases. The entire operation has been reduced to a mechanical process. The basis of calculation and extent of accuracy in compilation of the price of "Foodstuff Table" published by the Government of Bihar are not known to us. We find the said price list of foodstuff includes the years from 1897 to 1937. But rents are being reduced with reference to the price level shown in the chart published for the year 1937 on the ground that the Government has not yet ascertained the price level for the year 1938. We know that there is a good deal of difference between the price level of foodstuff in Dhalbhum and the rest of the district of Singhbhum. We find the Government has given only one price level in the chart for the entire district of Singhbhum. How one can reconcile these anomalies ?

Whatever may be the views of the high command of the Congress, most of the persons who pass as Congressmen in rural areas construe Congress resolutions and mandates as it suits them best. In Dhalbhum the situation brought about by some of the workers is little short of a campaign of non-payment of rent. But the Congress or even Provincial Congress authorities as far as we know, do not approve of such action.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

By GOPAL HALDAR

### "PROTECTOR OF ISLAM"

"WATCH MUSSOLINI", was the warning when Hitler was gaining his victories last month. The turn of Mussolini came quickly—and a little unexpectedly. Not Tunisia, Jibuti or the Suez Canal shares, as was feared by all, but the small State of Albania on the Adriatic coast became the object of Fascist aggression all of a sudden in the second week of March. And the kingdom of the only Muslim ruler of Europe, King Zog, was won at the first stroke. Albania, though in Europe, lived outside what we call European or western civilization. In fact the people lived in the past, in the feudal order, and a tribal system with tribal jealousies and blood feuds obtained in this part of the European world. The population was mostly Mahomedan; the State had, however, no State religion; in the towns alone Islam as we know counted for something. In the tribal hinterland of Albania Catholicism and Mahomedanism were equally in force—and equally of little force so far as the tribal life, tribal feuds and friendships, were concerned. An order like this is out of place in the modern world. It is an anachronism in the modern times, though comparative geographical isolation and the political conditions of the neighbourhood may give such states a lease of independent life denied to many other more progressive communities. Albania owed its birth in the post-war world to such circumstances, and its existence to the world so long to the same, until Mussolini came to power in Rome. An economic and diplomatic arrangement was then made with Italy; Albania retained her separate existence, but it was clear that the Kingdom could not escape the Fascist hegemony. King Zog was not so foolish as to forget it or lose sight of the developments around him. Mussolini, it was supposed, would therefore leave him unharmful as Zog had placed himself under his virtual tutelage. Moreover, he claimed to be the "Protector of Islam"; the Bari radio the station never ceased repeating this to the Islamic peoples around. But Il Duce changed his mind, the Adriatic shores required more direct control. Albania was offered an Italian army to be stationed at her capital. It was to be an army of occupation. The Albanians

refused, and the Italians landed and bombarded and established themselves. The King of Italy was offered the Crown of Albania by the rival tribal faction of King Zog who with his Catholic Queen had already sought refuge in Greece. So ended the only Muslim State in Europe, and the Islamic world, even our Muslim League politicians, denounce Italy.

### ITALIAN "REASONS"

The extinction of Albania gives a further insight into the Italian power politics. The Mediterranean, it is well-known, is to be turned into an Italian lake. All Italy's military and political efforts are devoted to that end. But the recent aggressions of the Axis powers have at last forced France and Britain to protect their positions in the Mediterranean regions, particularly with a view to stop the Axis control there. Britain, it was known, was already in friendly parlance with Greece and Turkey, and while Rumania and Poland were just being drawn closer by a talk of defensive alliance, Yugoslavia was supposed to be casting her eyes in the same direction against the pressure from Germany on the one hand and Italy on the other. The Axis must move and move quickly before the slow-moving democracies can conclude their arrangements in the Balkans. The Adriatic coast became, therefore, the greater concern to Italy. Albania, of course, was virtually under her protectorate, it made Italy's position safe and strong for purposes of defence. But the demands of the times were greater and a mere defensive strength would not suffice any more for Italy. The ports and hinterlands of Albania must be under direct Italian control to enable Mussolini, firstly, to keep the control of the Eastern Mediterranean in Italian hands, and, secondly, to "bottle up" Yugoslavia by closing the Adriatic for her as well as for any ally that Yugoslavia might have in the west. The occupation of Albania thus must put Greece on her guard against rashly joining the neo-Axis alliance against Italian ambitions. A hostile control of the Greek harbours would be a source of future danger to Italy; so it must be sought to be averted. Nearer home, again, the occupation of Albania

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would force Yugoslavia into a neutrality, if not into a virtual joining of the Axis. Then, whether Yugoslavia joins them or not, she may await the same fate that overtook her partner in the Little Entente, Czecho-Slovakia, or escape that final catastrophe by placing the agricultural, industrial and mineral resources of the country at the disposal of Italy and Germany. A third object, of course, of Mussolini was to prove to the Italians at home that the Fuehrer had not completely cast him into shade, that Il Duce had had laurels gained for his Italians in this race for power. Abyssinia is a conquest that will take long to pay; its romance is worn off for the Italians under the burning sun of the African tropics, Spain is to be left behind at the beginning of this May; and Jibouti, Tunisia, etc., are still 'claims' that are to be substantiated by means which could not be risked at the moment. The little kingdom of King Zog offered the opportunity for Mussolini to regain the footlights of international stage and retain the hysteric applause of Italian worshippers. The Albanians were told to accept, like the Czechs and Slavs, a protectorate from Italy. They refused and Italy was robbed of a Hitlerian non-violent victory. Rumours were afloat that Italy was about to invade. An official statement contradicted it, negotiations were progressing satisfactorily. Then there was an admission that the talks were not so successful, and, in a couple of days, the Italian navy shelled, the aeroplanes bombed, and the army bombarded Albanian capital and towns. The explanation was various.—Italian nationals were oppressed in Albania; the population of one million proposed an attack on Yugoslavia; Albanians were inviting the Italians against Zog's misrule; the Balkan wanted peace to be assured to it through Mussolini, etc., etc. But reasons were unnecessary to be adduced; Italian motive was plain and nobody in the world now any more calls for reasons from aggressors. Power is the best argument and the best instrument in the international power politics of the day.

#### BALKAN POLITICS

The extinction of Albania, it is evident, actuated by power politics, was bound to have influence on the Balkan politics as it existed. Mussolini assured Greece that he was not moving beyond the Greco-Albanian borders. Metaxas, the Greek dictator, refused to be swayed by the assurance or the threat. A Greco-British understanding is reached probably on the same line as that arrived at with Poland and

Rumania. A similar alliance with Turkey is also about to be accomplished. Turkey is understood to have agreed to open the Dardanelles to British and French warships in the case of war. Thus, no doubt, means a partial, and probably temporary, defeat for Mussolini; it is to be seen how he manages the strategic advantages on the Adriatic to compensate for this failure or turn the Greek and Turkish tendencies again in his favour. For the present, his reply has been a strengthening of the Dodacanese and quicker movements on the Spanish coast and in the Libyan desert.

Yugoslavia, however, fulfilled Mussolini's hopes. The country saw wisdom and recognised the indefensible military position of the country against Germany from the north and Italy from all other sides. Its position was further complicated by the perpetual Croatian and Serbian dissensions inside. Yugoslavia had failed to solve the minority question even under its able Prime Minister M. Stoyadinovitch. The Czecho-slovakian State was a writing on the wall for her to read and profit by; and attempts are being made now by the Regent, Prince Paul, with the co-operation of the Croat leader Dr. Matchek and his Prime Minister M. Markovitch to settle this outstanding problem of Yugoslavia. The Italian and German menace is no doubt bringing about a unity; but even this unity in the world in which Yugoslavia is placed now cannot enable her to face the threat from the hereditary enemies, Italy and Germany. So, Yugoslavia is losing, much against her will perhaps, round the Axis powers—and away from Rumania of the Little Entente and others, the present Balkan Entente.

Rumania, with the economic hold of Germany, is still grasping for life as a politically Sovereign State, and, though belated, at last the so-called Peace Powers are seeking to gain her back from the clutches of Berlin. King Carol is active and steady, but by no means ready for a liberal deal with powers not so strong as the aggressors. Thus, the Bulgarian claims to Dobruja are not to be fulfilled and other Bulgarian patches within the Rumanian borders are not to be yielded, though the minorities may be granted better terms by Rumania.

Alone among the neighbours Bulgaria is, therefore, not prepared to enter the Balkan Entente, which was originally created against her. At the same time Bulgarian public opinion is against the Axis powers and is anti-German, and Bulgaria is unwilling to enter the anti-Commintern group.

Thus stand the Balkan States—and the

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#### BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

The annexation of Albania also meant a necessary change in European politics. It had come, as we saw, quickly as European powers appeared to be ranged at last into two groups, the Aggressive Groups, containing the Axis powers based on anti-Comintern pact; and a Peace Front, which waits in a nebulous stage to be negotiated into a reality. The crystallization of this Front depends practically on the two great powers, Britain and Russia, which are still by no means very near to each other. It is evident that Soviet Russia is the "untouchable" in the capitalist-imperialist politics of the world. Our 'democracies,' though the ridiculous contradiction underlying it escapes the notice generally, are colony-owning big 'imperialist democracies.' The guardians of this order depend for their standard of life and culture on the exploited, on the profits within the country and the super-profits flowing in from overseas. As Fascism protected the profit-owning system, they were more inclined towards the Fascist powers. As the Soviet was a burning inspiration to the masses within the country to rebel against the profit-owning system and to the subject races in

the colonies to end the super-profit-making imperialist sway, Great Britain would want no good of the Soviet. So, Chamberlain had been pro-Fascist in the name of pursuing a policy of peace and appeasement. But, the contradictions of the system at last put him in a more tight corner, not unforeseen before. The Fascists want "redistribution of the earth," which is already distributed among the old imperialists; weaker states cannot be easily had to stop their mouths any more. Italy has menaced the Empire-route and Germany claims the colonies. This would mean a dwindling of the imperial super-profits, of the overseas dividends, and a challenge to the very standard of life and civilization which the Empire assures to the British ruling class. Thus, Fascism, while the best friend of the system, proves also its worst enemy. And what is Britain to do? *The Times* and *The Observer* at last recognise the danger from the Axis-powers; Mr. Chamberlain on the 31st March came out with a declaration which announced a change in the British Foreign Policy and assured Poland of protection against unprovoked invasion. But the new policy would logically—and necessarily—mean an orientation in the British relations with Soviet Russia. There! Britain is again undecided, again Chamberlain holds back, talks go on. May be Roosevelt's

efforts will bear fruit; the Fascists cry hult or the U. S. A. declare herself in favour of the 'democracies'—and save Britain from a Soviet alliance. It is known, as it is that a Peace Front can only hope to be effective against the aggressive Axis if it is joined by the Soviet with its mighty military and moral assets; it is admitted that none but the Soviet today is resolutely against all military gains and in favour of peace; it is also not denied that under Stalin, as he reminded Ray-Howard, communism is not regarded as an article for export. What then prevents Britain from negotiating with the Soviet, and call for a Peace Conference, as suggested, and, from creating a real Peace Front? The reply is plain—the untouchable power is too dangerous for Britain to admit in her capitalist house.

#### SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

The Soviet is not ignorant of the attitude. It does not harbour any illusion. In the 18th Congress of the Communist Party, Stalin recently made a masterly analysis of the posi-

tion of these powers, 'the democracies.' They simply avoid war hoping the Axis powers and the Soviet will exhaust themselves in deadly engagements to leave the field clear to these old imperialist powers for negotiation and to enable them to make good business out of these wars in the final hour. These imperialists cannot enter any war because that would mean an internal revolution of the exploited masses in the country and in the colonies. So, the Soviet knows and sticks to its position, to its policy of peace and anti-war, and refuses to be dragged into this imperialist squabble for power, colonies, and redistribution of the earth. The Second Imperialist War has begun, and the Soviet would refuse to join it.

Can the War be stopped from attaining its natural culmination? Mr. Roosevelt has appealed to the dictators with an epoch-making proposal of non-aggression for twenty years. They are silent, for the moment making preparations complete. But the war is already on, we should know. The war has begun—it began in 1936, as Mr. Liddell Hart reminds us.



Major Patsi Fabian Chowdry, I.M.S., M.C.,  
with Mrs. Chowdry

Decorated with the Military Cross for conspicuous gallantry on the battlefield  
by H. M. King George VI at the Buckingham Palace on February 14, 1939.



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE KING OF CARDS  
By Nandalal Bose



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Gandhi-Bose Correspondence*

The correspondence by telegrams and letters which passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose on the questions of the formation of the Congress Working Committee, the immediate work before the Congress, a programme for carrying it out, and similar issues, was published in the dailies on the 14th May last. It consists of 34 telegrams and 13 letters. It started with a telegram from S. Bose on March 24 from Jamadoba, Jealgora, where he had been convalescing, and ended with Mahatmaji's telegram to him from Brindaban in Champaran district on May 5, authorizing him to release the correspondence to the press.

The questions which S. Bose wanted to settle by correspondence have all been directly or indirectly settled by the turn which events took during the last few days of April last. Therefore the release of the correspondence a fortnight later could not and did not have anything to do with shaping the course of those events. The questions to which the correspondence related having been settled for the time being, it is at present only or mainly of historical importance. Not that it will not indirectly influence the policies and programmes of different Congress parties,—it will undoubtedly do so. But it will not directly influence them. Hence the letters need not be discussed in detail to meet the needs of the man who is concerned with current politics.

We have said that it is at present only or

mainly of historical importance. It is also a fit subject for study from the point of view of political science. It is not less deserving of psychological study. Here a distinction must be drawn between the letters of the two correspondents. S. Bose expresses himself fully and unreservedly in his letters, and generally places all his facts and reasons before Gandhi. He argues ably on all his points. Hence his letters can be analysed and studied psychologically. Gandhi, on the other hand, is very frugal in the use of words and, speaking generally, does not give his reasons in these letters of his, but rather his dicta. His reasons are not always obvious. We will give an example. More than once S. Bose asked Mahatmaji to give him his vote of confidence till the next Congress in words like the following.

"If till the last you insist that a composite cabinet is unworkable and a homogeneous cabinet is the only alternative before us and if you want me to form a cabinet of my choice, I would earnestly request you to give me your vote of confidence till the next Congress."

As in his reply Gandhi did not say anything on this point, it would not be unfair to infer that he had no confidence in S. Bose. Similarly, S. Bose could not elicit any answers to several questions put to Mahatmaji. Hence, perhaps a political psycho-analyst might like to find out why Mahatmaji did not repose confidence in S. Bose or did not answer some of his questions, or why, again, in different contexts he suggested that S. Bose might or should resign.

It is perfectly true that on some occasions Mahatmaji entirely uncovers his mind and makes confessions. But on other occasions he keeps his mind completely clothed and covered, treating it differently from his body, which he clothes only to the extent that is necessary for a householder. *Mantra-gupti*, that is, keeping one's policy, programme, strategy, etc., a secret, is an indispensable qualification for statesmen and politicians. Therefore, one should not complain if any great political leader does not blurt out all that is in his mind. But the greater the leader, the greater is the curiosity of the people to know what he thinks and feels and why he spoke or wrote or acted in some particular manner but not in another. Ordinary men must hold their souls in patience if their curiosity be not satisfied. But political psychoanalysts may not feel so helpless. They may try to uncover and discover what political leaders keep completely covered.

What is remarkable in Gandhiji's letters is that, though he did not give S. J. Bose the vote of confidence which he earnestly asked for, there is not the least trace of bitterness or asperity or anger in what the great old leader wrote to the younger one. And what is equally remarkable in the latter's letters, is that there is not the least trace of disrespect, bumptiousness, or querulousness in them. Their personal attitude towards one another and their personal relations, so far as these can be gathered from the correspondence, are all that they should be.

### *Congress "Fundamentals"*

"Fundamental differences" and "fundamentals" occur more than once in the Gandhiji-Bose correspondence, but they are not definitely enumerated, mentioned, described or explained. It is not easy to infer what they are. But from the following extract from one of Gandhiji's letters it appears that the "fundamental" differences are political and industrial:

"Do you not see that we two honestly see the same thing differently and even draw opposite conclusions? How can we meet on the political platform: Let us agree to differ there and let us meet on the social, moral and municipal platform. I cannot add the economic, for we have discovered our differences on that platform also."

It is true national industrial planning was undertaken during S. J. Bose's first term of presidentship. But, while laying stress on large scale industries, he did not exclude cottage industries from its purview. On the other hand, there are some big industrial magnates among Gandhiji's followers, though his own emphasis is on cottage industries. So the difference on

the economic platform appears to us outsiders to be one of emphasis, not one of kind.

### *"Composite" or "Homogeneous" Working Committee*

In the Gandhiji-Bose correspondence S. J. Bose pleaded for a composite Congress Working Committee, whilst Gandhiji wanted a "homogeneous" committee. Subhas Babu was quite agreeable to working with Rightist members, and evidently felt that they and he would be able to pull together, as in fact they had done previously. Mahatmaji was for a "homogeneous" committee, as he thought there were fundamental differences between the two groups.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose were members of the last Working Committee. Perhaps they were not orthodox Rightists. Were they? In any case, for those who do not possess an inside knowledge of Congress homogeneity and heterogeneity, it would be difficult to lay down the extent of the adulteration of the Leftist or Rightist element which would or would not destroy homogeneity.

S. J. Bose's reasons for advocating a composite cabinet were neither idealistic nor fanciful but based on practical grounds and historical precedents. But if among leading Congressmen personal likes and dislikes were really or virtually, though not admittedly, decisive factors, Gandhiji was right in turning down the proposal for a composite cabinet.

### *Corruption and Violence Among Congressmen*

Not having any inside knowledge of Congress affairs and of the personalities of Congress members, we are unable to decide whether Gandhiji is right in holding that corruption and the tendency to violence have increased among them or whether S. J. Bose is right in thinking that Congress is not worse situated in these respects than before. But readers of the correspondence cannot fail to note that, whatever S. J. Bose's estimate of the situation, he was prepared to do all that lay in his power to root out corruption in Congress ranks and discourage the tendency to violence.

### *"Ultimatum" and Its "Sanction"*

When we commented on S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose's presidential address at Tripuri, we could not support the proposal or suggestion contained therein to the effect that the Indian

National Congress should send an ultimatum to the British Government that unless *Purna Swaraj* was conceded within a definite period named therein, Congress would take the steps necessary for winning it, and we gave our reasons for not supporting it. Our attitude towards the same proposal or suggestion, made by S. J. Bose in his letters to Gandhiji, remains unaltered. We cannot claim to know as much about the strength or weakness of the Congress in India as S. J. Bose does. But so far as Bengal is concerned, the province does not seem at present to back the Congress as much as before, though there is no other organization strong enough to oust it. In some other provinces, too, its hold on the people seems to have diminished to some extent, though it has not been displaced by any other organization. The tendency to violence may or may not have increased. But the tendency is sufficiently strong to disturb, if not to destroy, the non-violent atmosphere necessary for the success of a movement of civil disobedience. In *The Modern Review* for October, 1920, we gave our reasons for anticipating the failure of civil disobedience, which need not be repeated.

It is true that the Congress gave an ultimatum to the Government on some previous occasions. But we do not oppose the proposal on the ground of its novelty, but on the ground of its anticipated failure or apprehended futility. Herein we are at one with Mahatmaji, though we do not possess the fulness of knowledge of Congress matters and affairs which he does.

### *The Pant Resolution*

Before the publication of the Gandhi-Bose correspondence we learned from S. J. Satis Chandra Das Gupta's *Rāshtra-vāni* that Mahatma Gandhi had not been shown the draft of the Pant Resolution or made acquainted with its full purport before it was moved or passed at Tripuri. From the Gandhi-Bose correspondence we learn that Mahatmaji had been told at Rajkot that a resolution would be moved at Tripuri expressing full confidence in the members of the old Working Committee, whereupon he had told his informant that the resolution was good as far as it went. But his letter to S. J. Bose which supplies this information does not tell us definitely whether his informant communicated to him in full how far it really went. However, we learn from the letter that he saw the full text of the resolution at Allahabad many days after the recent session of the Congress at Tripuri. We are not aware that

after he had seen it, he took to task his followers who moved and supported it. Nor does he condemn them in the letter to S. J. Bose concerning it, forming part of the Gandhi-Bose correspondence.

Our view has all along been that the Pant resolution was, according to the Congress constitution, unconstitutional and *ultra-vires*. But as, far from being a Congress leader, we are not in the Congress at all, Congressmen are not expected to care a straw for our opinion. They are, however, bound to have some regard for common sense. If any committee, society, association, or meeting proposes to entrust anybody with some duty, it is usual to obtain the consent of that individual beforehand. The Pant resolution proposed to entrust Mahatmaji with a very important task. And yet, it appears, its sponsors did not obtain his consent to it or even acquaint him with it beforehand! They thus acted in a very irresponsible manner. But Mahatmaji does not condemn or even admonish them for such conduct! He merely says—and that after being pointedly questioned by S. J. Bose more than once :

"Pandit Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. (Why? Ed., M. R.). The more I study it, the more I dislike it. The framers meant well. But it does not answer the present difficulties."

So, far from condemning the sponsors of the resolution, he actually gives them credit for their good intentions! We are unwilling to believe that Mahatmaji considers it a good intention on anybody's part to seek to deprive a Congress president of his constitutional right to nominate the Working Committee. Perhaps Mahatmaji gave the framers of the Pant resolution credit for some other intention of which and of the goodness of which we are not aware.

The sponsors of the Pant resolution should have apologized to the public in general and to Mahatmaji in particular for throwing upon him the burden of a responsibility (which he has rightly refused to shoulder) without obtaining his previous permission. But they have not done so.

Mahatmaji was perfectly right in refusing to impose a Working Committee on S. J. Bose and in observing :

"Since you think that Pandit Pant's resolution was out of order and the clause relating to the Working Committee is clearly unconstitutional and *ultra vires*, your course is absolutely clear. Your choice of the Committee should be unfettered."

If Gandhiji had published this opinion of his before the A.-I. C. C. meeting in Calcutta,

instead of merely making it known to Sj. Bose, the whole aspect of things would have changed and much trouble and confusion could have been prevented. But for some unknown reasons—we are loth to believe it was consideration for the feelings of his close and orthodox followers—he refrained from doing so. It is a great pity that, for whatever reason, Mahatmaji should be guilty of neglect of duty.

He wrote in his letter that, *since Sj. Bose thought that the Pant resolution was ultra vires and unconstitutional, the latter's course was absolutely clear. But the question was and is: Did the Mahatma himself consider it ultra vires and unconstitutional? He is practically the author of the present Congress constitution. He is not less competent than anybody else to say what according to it is unconstitutional and ultra vires. It is greatly to be regretted that he has avoided answering the aforesaid and many other questions which he was in duty bound to answer.*

Sj. Bose brought it to the notice of Mahatmaji in one of his letters that

the air at Tripuri was thick with the rumour that the resolution had the Mahatma's support and approval. "Perhaps you are aware that at Tripuri it was given out by those who were canvassing in support of Pandit Pant's resolution that telephonic conversations had taken place with Rajkot and that that resolution had your full support. It was further given out in private conversations that nothing short of this resolution in its entirety would satisfy either you or your orthodox followers. Personally, I did not and do not believe in such reports, but they undoubtedly had their vote-catching value."

When Mahatmaji virtually advised him to nominate his own Working Committee, it could be said that he had acted according to Gandhiji's wishes if he had followed Mahatmaji's advice. But the Pant resolution laid down not only that the President should form the Committee according to Gandhiji's wishes, but also that its members should enjoy his confidence. But as Mahatmaji did not give Sj. Bose his "vote of confidence," it could not have been said that the members of a Committee nominated by Sj. Bose enjoyed Mahatmaji's confidence. For this reason, Sj. Bose says in effect, he did not act according to Mahatmaji's advice.

We did not want to comment in any detail on the Gandhi-Bose correspondence. But we have been led on, unawares as it were, to write more on it than we wanted to. We shall now refer only to what Mahatmaji wrote on Rajkot affairs in one of his letters to Sj. Bose and what he wrote subsequently in *Harijan* of May 20, and be done with it.

### *Gandhiji on Rajkot Affairs on Second April and Twentieth May*

Gandhiji wrote to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose on April 2nd last

Gandhiji refers to the author of the Award as "the Chief Justice," not as the jurist Sir Maurice Gwyer.

After an exhaustive discussion with my co-workers I have come to the conclusion at 6 o'clock this evening (17-5-39) that I should renounce the advantages accruing from the Award of the Chief Justice.

I recognize my error. At the end of my fast I had permitted myself to say that it had succeeded as no previous fast had done. I now see that it was tainted with Himsa. In taking the fast I sought immediate intervention of the Paramount Power so as to induce fulfilment of the promise made by the Thakore Sahib. This was not the way of Ahimsa or conversion. It was the way of Himsa or coercion. My fast to be pure should have been addressed only to the Thakore Sahib, and I should have been content to die if I could not have melted his heart or rather that of his adviser Durbar Shri Virawala. My eyes would not have been opened if I had not found unexpected difficulties in my way. Durbar Shri Virawala was no willing party to the Award. Naturally, he was in no obliging mood. He, therefore, took advantage of every opportunity to cause a delay. The Award, instead of making my way smooth, became a potent cause of angering the Muslims and Bhayats against me. Before the Award we had met as friends. Now I am accused of having committed a breach of promise voluntarily and without any consideration made by me. The matter was to go to the Chief Justice for decision as to whether I was guilty of the alleged breach of promise. The statements of the Muslim Council and the Gurasia Association are before me. Now that I have taken the decision to renounce the Award, there is no occasion for me to answer the two cases. So far as I am concerned the Muslims and Bhayats can have anything the Thakore Sahib may be pleased to give them. I must apologise to them for having put them to the trouble of preparing the cases.

I owe an apology to the Viceroy for the unnecessary strain I have put upon him in my weakness. I apologise to the Chief Justice for having been the cause of putting him to the labour which, had I known better, he need not have gone through. Above all, I apologise to the Thakore Sahib and Durbar Shri Virawala. So far as the latter is concerned, I must also own that, in common with my co-workers, I have harboured evil thoughts about him. I do not here pause to consider whether the charges made against him were true or not. This is not the place to discuss them. Suffice it to say that the way of Ahimsa was not and has not yet been applied to him.

And let it be said to my discredit that I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game, i.e., hanging the sword of the Award over his head and wooing him and expecting him of his own free will to advise the Thakore Sahib to grant liberal reforms.

We have no desire to comment *in extenso* on Mahatmaji's statement. The moral strength which has enabled him to make this confession is undoubtedly a measure of his saintliness. But the fact that our greatest political leader erred politically in such a way as to oblige him to apologise in an abject manner to men in power, both indigenous and foreign, and the fact that he was outmanoeuvred, cannot but be humiliating at least to some of those countrymen of his who love and honour him. Confidence in his wisdom cannot remain unimpaired and unshaken after this shock.

## Truthfulness of Englishmen and Indians

At the resumed hearing of the Bhowal Raj case appeal before Mr Justice Costello, Mr Justice Biswas and Mr. Justice Lodge, Mr. B. C. Chatterji, counsel for the plaintiff, said in the course of his argument:

"Yes, Col Calvert has given three different versions in three different documents. In his condolence letter he finds the Kumar well in the morning. In his affidavit of death he finds the Kumar bad in the morning. I will not have an Englishman talking in this way unless there is something wrong in him. How can the same man write the two documents. There is something very seriously wrong when you get an Englishman behaving in this way."

Mr. Justice Biswas: Any presumption in favour of an Englishman because he is an Englishman?

Mr. Chatterji: Because, if I may say so, an Englishman is a sort of 'top dog,' he having had the advantage of establishing an Empire throughout the World, and his characteristics are that he does not naturally tell a lie. This is my experience of the Englishman, in any case in England.

Mr. Justice Biswas: That is inferiority complex.

Mr. Chatterji: I dare say, it is, but I must state the fact in a court of law.

Mr. Justice Biswas: I hope all your countrymen do not suffer from that.

Mr. Chatterji: I have not said that because an Englishman is truthful, an Indian is a liar. There are three doctor friends of mine. One of them is Dr. Pran Krishna Acharya who is dead. You cannot get them to give a false certificate even if you pay a lakh of rupees down. My countrymen are truthful, so are Englishmen.

Mr. Justice Biswas: But you say one should start with a presumption in his favour and not with the other.

Mr. Chatterji: There are two English Judges who feel all the more when they find a countryman of theirs behaving in an un-Englishmanlike manner.

Mr. Justice Biswas: When you find an Indian of position behaving in that manner, does it not fill you with shame?

Mr. Chatterji: I am proud of my countrymen. My countrymen are truthful and so are the Englishmen. That is what I mean.

Mr. Justice Costello: It is quite enough for your purpose to show that it is reasonable to suppose that a man in the position of Civil Surgeon or for the matter of that, any medical man, would tell the truth. If he does not, there is grave cause of suspecting something wrong.

Mr. Chatterji: That would be correct argument, but I wanted to drive it home.

## Bengal Hindu Union to Fight Communal Decision

The Bengal Hindu Union has issued an appeal to Bengal Hindus, signed by its president, Sr Manmatha Nath Mukherji and prominent members like Messrs. Naradatta Kumar Basu, S. N. Banerjee, B. C. Chatterjee, N. C. Chatterjee, Sushil Chandra Ghosh, Indra Narayan Sen Gupta, Satish Chandra Mukherjee, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Dulal Chandra Mitra, Nepal Chandra Ray, Sudhir Kumar

Lahiri, Mohitosh Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Tarak Chandra Ray, Manindra Nath Mitra and Bhubesh Chandra Chakravarti. The appeal states in part :

The inevitable has happened. The Bengalee Hindu is now threatened with political and economic extinction. The communal decision has been in operation just over two years and the Bengalee Hindu is faced with a situation fraught with grave danger. His very culture and education is being assailed not only insidiously but openly.

Even in the matter of the communal decision and of the iniquitous Poona Pact which while accepting the MacDonald decision produced further cleavage amongst us, some of us have not been able to join together and range shoulder to shoulder for a united opposition.

The dangers of the communal decision were apprehended from its very formulation. The results are now patent. To take only one recent example, the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill shows up the situation in all its nakedness.

The folly of Provincial Autonomy so called and its dangers, before reconstitution of Provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis, have also been made patent.

We are therefore issuing this appeal to all Bengalee Hindus to sink their differences, if any, and join together in fighting the common menace. Internecine quarrels and differences, slogans and catch words, creeds and doctrines, may wait but the work of saving ourselves from extinction cannot.

We must rally ourselves under one banner, and unite together to, amongst other objects

- (1) Fight the communal decision with a view to its repeal or suitable modification.
- (2) Secure the readjustment of the boundaries of Bengal on a linguistic basis.
- (3) Protect Hindu interests and culture in the system of education

These will be the principal and immediate fields of work of the Bengal Hindu Union which we ask all Bengalee Hindus to join

### Rajkot An Eye-Opener

Mr. Kamalashanker Pandya, Secretary of the Gujarat Congress Socialist Party and Vice-President of the Central Indian States People's Conference, has issued the following statement to the press :

"When Gandhiji suspended the States' People's movement in Rajkot and Travancore, Cutch and Dhankhal, we had been hoping for his promised re-orientation of the States' policy, which would involve large masses of people for the struggle for the attainment of responsible government in Indian States.

"The suspension of the Rajkot struggle was full of misgivings, but the radical forces of the country kept silent with a view to allow Gandhiji full freedom to develop his theory and movement according to his own vision. Today we are witnessing our foremost leader adopting an attitude inconsistent with our national dignity and honour. The gains of the two Satyagrahas at Rajkot and Dhankhal have been surrendered in the name of Ahimsa. Gandhiji has today surrendered on all the fronts and is confined to constitutionalism devoid of revolutionary fervour. Compromise on all fronts and liquidation of the revolutionary tempo of the movement is the key note of Gandhiji's recent pronouncements.

"The demoralization consequent upon the suspension of the movement in the Indian States is complete and the reactionary forces have triumphed. Gandhiji's statement will give a handle to the princes to crush the movement in their States and the poor people of the Indian States stand today completely isolated.

"It is high time the States' People workers do not attach much importance to diplomats and devise ways and means of making their voice felt in the Congress. With that aim in view they must support the radical and socialist elements in the Congress and make a nationwide propaganda for the abandonment of the non-intervention policy of the Congress.

"Rajkot is an eye-opener to us and let us prepare ourselves knowing full well that any help coming from the orthodox Congress group will only be forthcoming in a grudging manner."

### "European" Party's Role in Politics

London, May 23.

Speaking at the Calcutta dinner in London tonight, Sir George Campbell described the European party in Bengal as being in the position of the old Irish party in the House of Commons. He declared that it had had a steady influence on the Ministers, who had a difficult task because at the time of their election they had made promises incapable of achievement.

In the other provinces there was still a great deal of doubt in regard to the eventual aims of the Congress. In many respects this seemed to be an attempt to destroy the revenues of the country and make the issue of stable Government impossible. It was too early yet to give opinion one way or the other, but he had no doubt that there was a tendency in that direction and in that direction danger lay.

Speaking of Federation, Sir George said that this should not be hurried. All parties were doubtful in this connexion, for the simple reason that they did not know under Federation who was going to be in power. It seemed to be the idea of the Congress to penetrate into Indian States with their propaganda so that when the time came for Federation they would have their own nominees in the States and so would achieve power in the centre.

The Europeans were bound to ask if the Congress had given the British a fair deal. It seemed that it had never been the declared policy of the Congress to give the British in India protection to which, they claimed, they were entitled. That being so, the British must be forgiven if they regarded the Congress policy with considerable amount of suspicion.—*Reuter*.

The old Irish party in the British House of Commons worked for self-rule for Ireland. Does the European party in the Bengal Legislature work for self-rule in Bengal? It tries to exert a "steady influence" on the Bengal Ministry only to see that British interests are not adversely affected by any activities of the Ministers. It does not try to prevent injury to the interests of the people in general and of Hindus in particular.

If the policy of the Congress ministries in Congress provinces results in reduction of revenue, Britishers in India will not be asked to bring money from Britain to meet deficits. The Congress ministers will make both ends meet by retrenchment and new or increased taxation. The "European" party's concern for provincial governments' solvency is suspicious. Perhaps the wine-selling and wine-bibbing Britisher does not like the prohibition policy of the Congress, and apprehends that the loss of revenue resulting from it may be made good by some taxation measures which will touch his pocket.

It is well known that the Government of India Act of 1935 was framed to stem the tide of Indian nationalism and destroy or at least reduce the power of the Congress. But as, to the dismay of the British Government, Congress has been in the ascendant in most provinces, Britishers are anxious to defend their last stronghold, the Federal Legislature, and remain masters there. If Congress wants to be influential in the States and if in that way, among others, it attempts to achieve power in the Centre, it is a perfectly legitimate and patriotic move. Alien outsiders have no business to complain of such an attempt on the part of the Congress.

Sir George Campbell says, "Europeans," meaning Britishers, are bound to ask if the Congress had given the British a fair deal. But there is a previous question. When did the Britishers give Congress a fair deal? It was only when their attempt to destroy the power of the Congress in the provinces failed that their Secretary of State, Governor-General and Governors condescended to parley with the Congress.

"Congress to give the British in India protection"!! Has it come to that? The "Masters" of India have taken sufficient protection for themselves in the Government or India Act of 1935. If more is wanted, why can't they get the Act further amended? Asking Congress to protect them sounds like what they call *nyakāmi* in Bengal.

When the Congress is really in power, it will certainly give equal protection to all Nationals of India, including those Englishmen and other foreigners who are naturalized and domiciled in this country. But Britishers who are birds of passage and consider themselves superior to and masters of Indians, cannot expect to be treated on a footing of equality with Indians and enjoy equal rights with them.

## *Mahatma Gandhi on Segregation Move in South Africa*

Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of a message to South Africa on the segregation legislation, says:

It has been a matter of grief to me that the Union Government have not respected their own agreements regarding their treatment of British Indians. There has been a policy of progressive stringency in their anti-Asiatic drive. One had hoped that what is known as Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 was the last word in this matter. It was also hoped that with virtual restriction of Indian Immigration there would be progressive amelioration in the condition of Domiciled Indians. But that hope was dashed to pieces. Much deterioration has taken place since. There have been Round Table and other Conferences and Agreements have been reached but never has any finality been felt by the Indians. Evidently the Union Government would not be happy till they have either driven away Indians whom they have given legislative protection or reduced their status to such an extent that self-respecting Indians would not care to remain in South Africa. I have, therefore, not discountenanced their reported decision to fight this latest menace of segregation through civil resistance, if necessary. There must be perfect cohesion and union among the Indians who are divided into groups. And their resistance will be vain if they are not resolute in self-suffering. Public opinion in India including that of Europeans will, I hope, back the Indians in their unequal fight and call upon India Government to exert its influence with the Union Government.

Lastly I appeal to the best mind of South Africa to see that simple justice is not denied to the Indian settlers who have done no wrong to the country of their adoption—A. P.

## *Praja Sabha Elections in Mayurbhanj*

The first general elections of the five Praja Sabhas have been concluded in Mayurbhanj. The results have been published in the State Gazette with a message from the Maharaja in the course of which he says in part:

"I have watched with interest the first elections under the Mayurbhanj Praja Sabha Order, 1933, which have just been concluded. Representative bodies like Praja Sabhas are altogether an innovation in Mayurbhanj. . . . I hope that the political education of my people, which has thus begun, will in the fullness of time enable all sections of them to take an intelligent interest in the administration of the State. . . . It is my desire that the next important step in the direction of administrative development shall be the establishment of a central legislature for Mayurbhanj; and to my people's representatives in the Praja Sabhas shall belong the privilege of selecting a reasonable proportion of members of the legislature. An important experiment is being launched today towards an adjustment, on modern constitutional lines, of the traditional mutual relations of my administration and my people; and in the new sphere of public activity that is being opened, there will be much need for caution and circumspection, much will have to be learnt by gradual experience and many pitfalls will have to be avoided, in order that the experiment may not prove a failure. I would ask my people to remember that peaceful progress can be hoped to be achieved on the new path they are

about to tread, actuated by a true spirit of service and honesty of purpose, proceed with patience and a sense of reality, and feel a genuine pride in being citizens of Mayurbhanj."

### *A Frenchman's Criticism of Indians*

A French gentleman has sent us the following extract (in translation from a French book\*), requesting us to reply to it:

"French India has remained, save and except in a few things, almost the same as it was a century back. Europeans have developed commerce, industry and brought more comfort there; they have not introduced their manners and customs. Hindus remain Hindus; they look at us, but, in general, they do not understand us; they await a better life in the midst of calm and resignation. Accustomed to bend the head, they tolerate us because they feel weak and are incapable of organizing themselves. They will never be organised so long as this admixture of religions, races and castes exist. Gandhi, the ascetic, whom I saw as a figure who exercises considerable influence over this vast population, a trainer of men, who economizes neither his words nor his time nor any trouble, will from time to time provoke sudden revolts. Neither he nor others will be able to organise a people composed of elements so different and aspirations so diverse. It will suffice for one, to be convinced, to peep through the little windows, represented by our dependencies, as to what is going on in Biggish India with an army of a little over 50 thousand heads, our neighbours and allies have been leading 350,000,000 inhabitants.

"India might change, but will change only on the day when the abolition of castes will be a real fact—the day when the people, belonging to lower castes, who form the majority, will impose their will and understand that, far or near the roof of the world, intelligence, goodness and work are the sole factors measuring the intrinsic value of an individual."

There is nothing original in the observations on India and Indians printed above. They are not entirely devoid of truth. Indians have been making progress towards greater unity and solidarity, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. We are not apologists or advocates of

caste or communal separatism. On the contrary, we do not observe caste distinctions ourselves and want the abolition of caste. The rigours of caste have been gradually relaxing. There are communal conflicts, no doubt; but endeavours for communal rapprochement continue to be made.

Some other peoples in foreign lands have been able to become one nation and organize and free themselves in spite of the existence of religious differences and of something very similar to caste and the caste spirit. India's is not at all a hopeless or an absolutely unique case.

### *Rabindranath Tagore's Earliest English Writings*

Professor V. Lesny writes in his excellent work, *Rabindranath Tagore: His Personality and Work*, (Allen & Unwin, London), which all who wish to understand and appreciate Tagore must read:

"As early as 1910 the first translation of a tale by Tagore was published in the *Calcutta Modern Review*; the publisher, Ramananda Chatterjee, an old friend of the poet's, wished some of Tagore's poems, too, to be translated into English, and discussed the matter with the poet. Tagore brought him two poems translated by Lokendranath Palit, these appeared in the same periodical in May and September 1911. But Ramananda Chatterjee would have liked the poems to have been translated into English by the poet himself, and asked him to do so. But Tagore, alluding to the fact that as a schoolboy English had cost him severe struggles, replied humorously by quoting two lines of a poem of his (Gan; cf. p. 197): "Under what pretext will you make her come back whom you dismissed with tears in her eyes?" Nevertheless he shortly afterwards brought translations of several poems, which were published in *The Modern Review*."

### *How "Gitanjali" Came to be Published*

The same book by Professor Lesny tells how *Gitanjali* came to be published. This is how he begins the account:

"In *Men and Memories* Sir William Rothenstein tells how *Gitanjali* came to be published in English. It was Rothenstein who induced the India Society in London to publish a selection of Tagore's poems in English. He had made the acquaintance of Tagore before this, during a visit to the poet's nephew, the painter Abanindranath Tagore, in India. At that time Tagore's appearance strongly attracted him, and it seemed to him that in this man, who was silently listening to talk about art, apparently absorbed in thought, physical and moral beauty were harmoniously wedded. At the time, however, no one told him that this was one of the greatest modern Indian authors. The tale which appeared in translation in *The Modern Review* in 1910 appealed to him greatly, and he enquired in Calcutta whether English translations of any other tales were obtainable."

\* The French name of the book and one of its parts, etc., may be translated as, *Nurture of Natives in the French Colonies* by G. Hardy, Ch. Ribet et G. Vigot Freres—Éditeurs. Paris. VII. French India, pp. 291. "Some reflections on French India and Nurture of Natives." By Dr. E. Quemener, Chief Medical Officer of the Colonial Troops.



And until they do so, a greater or lesser state of moral warfare exists continuously. Isolationism also have never been known to endure. Whatever the desire of some of us may be to keep the United States out of war if war comes—and I, for one, am in favour of trying if that comes to be the only hope that is left—it must be admitted that the basis of the hope is fragile. This way of organic union is the only constructive way, either immediately or eventually, for producing affirmative peace.

How would the Union produce peace?

Peace would be produced because, in the first place, no nation or combination of nations could possibly hope to overthrow such a union, once it was formed. Not only would its armed might be so formidable as to make aggression from the outside suicidal to the aggressor, but the union's control of the economic necessities of war would be practically complete. The evidence for this is presented fully and convincingly by Mr. Strein.

In the second place, however, no cause for war would exist—no cause which could mobilize the will of the people, even in totalitarian nations. For any nation which desired access to raw materials, or greater freedom in world markets, or a larger place in world industry could get all these things by fulfilling the conditions necessary for joining the commonwealth. It is not intended to form an exclusive union of democracies or to perpetuate empire; on the contrary, it is desired to form a union of peoples which would only reach its fulfilment when it became world wide and universal.

Who would be the first members of the democracies?

The first fifteen democracies (sometimes counted as ten, i.e., when the British Commonwealths are given inclusively as one) would be the American Union, the nations of the British Commonwealth, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, which would unite to form a common Government for their people "based on the principle that the state is made for man, not man for the state, and organized on the broad lines of the American Constitution. Such a union would have a common citizenship, defence force, customs, money and communications system. It would guarantee to each democracy the right to govern its home affairs in its own tongue according to its own customs. It would leave the door open to all other democracies that would guarantee their citizens the Union's minimum Bill of Rights."

We have not seen Mr. Strein's book, and hence do not know what position he would assign to India.

For answers to the innumerable questions of detail which inevitably arise in thinking about such a plan, reference should be made either to the literature available from the Committee of Correspondence for World Federal Union, 70 Pine Street, New York City, or to "Union Now." It will be discovered that there are very few questions to which answers have not been given in advance. It will also be discovered that dangers of almost every sort have been taken fully into consideration and protection against them provided.

"If Russia Ruled India"

In the course of his speech at the Empire Day Dinner in London on the 25th May last Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, said:

"I sometimes think that it will be an interesting and profitable speculation for those in India who inveigh against British Imperialism to consider how their lot under the imperialism of any of those, who in these days have raised aloft the standard of power politics, would likely compare with their present lot as citizens of the British Empire."

It is not strange, though it is significant, that British imperialists cannot even in their imaginings speculate what would have been the lot of Indians if they had been independent;—they must take it for granted that India must be a subject country and then proceed to ask Indians the deliberately or unintentionally insulting question what would have been their lot if they had been subject to this or that nation instead of to the Britishers. It is not and never was the ambition of Indians to be in perpetual bondage, either of Britain or of any other country. So they do not of their own accord speculate what would have been their lot if the yoke of some other strangers than of the British had been imposed upon their necks.

Whenever Britishers want us to choose speculatively between subjection to Britain and subjection to some other country, they name the most tyrannous non-British country or countries which they can think of at the time of speaking or writing. They have never asked us to consider what would have been our lot if the United States of America, for example, had ruled us. We must oblige them now by considering what would have been our lot under the standard-bearers of power politics, viz., Germany and Italy.

This sort of question was not being asked now in May, 1939, for the first time. More than three decades ago, such questions used to be asked, and that even by Englishmen who had the reputation of being friends of India. It was by way of indicating our reaction to such questions that an article was published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1903, entitled *If Russia Ruled India*. Not that we were then enamoured of Czarist Russian rule any more than we are now of any foreign rule over any subject country. The article was written to show that Russian rule over India might have been worse than British rule in India in their darker sides, but the former might have had some relieving features lacking in British rule in India.

The occasion for writing that article is described in the article itself. It was written then:

In 1834 and 1835, when there was that Pandyah affair and consequently a Russian scare, the Anglo-Indian press in general and in particular Mr. A. O. Hume, who afterwards conceived and brought into existence the Indian

National Congress, wrote many articles to show to the people of India the blessings they enjoyed under the English rule, and how they would be ill-governed and ruined, if they had the misfortune to come under the yoke of the Russians. Sir William Wedderburn in his Presidential Speech at the Bombay Congress of 1899 also referred to the calamities that would befall India if Russia were to rule her.

And now comes Mr. Nevinson's last letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in which he harps on the same string. Says he :

"After all I have said, it must not be supposed that I am blind to the advantages of our rule in India. It has saved her from Russia; it has given her a long peace and comparative security."

Again :

"Let it be granted that we stay in India, as far as practical politics can look, and that it is to India's advantage for us to stay. We must grant that, because the Indian peoples are now entirely unarmed" and unorganized, so that, if we withdrew, our place would be taken within a year by Russia, Germany, or Japan; perhaps by all three in conflict. When the very worst that can be said against our rule has been said, the substitution of Russia's rule for ours remains an incalculable disaster, nor has Germany and Japan yet given proof of governing subject races with success. Till India is strong enough to hold her own (which used to be the hope of our statesmen), we must retain the ultimate supremacy in government and war; not that we do it particularly well, but that others would do it worse."

We are, therefore, obliged to face this speculative problem.

In the article, *If Russia Ruled India*, published thirty-one years ago, the evils of Czarist rule in Russia were mentioned and similar features of British rule in India pointed out. This need not be reproduced. It was pointed out that "no foreign rule can be an unmixed blessing." Then the question was tackled : "If Russia were to come to possess India—of which, of course, there is no possibility—would her rule prove such a curse to India as it is represented by the British ?"

It was pointed out in the article that as Russia was not (then) a predominantly industrial country but mainly an agricultural one, Russia would not have had the same motive to ruin India's industries to promote her own and to draw away from India foodstuffs and raw materials, as Britain had in India under the rule of the East India Company. So economically Russian rule would not have been worse than British rule.

The British were and are a maritime people, the Russians were not. So under Russian rule India's shipping and her numerous harbours

would not or could not have been helped to disappear in the interests of Russian shipping, as they have been in the interests of British shipping.

Russia possessed village communities and the joint family system like India. So under Russian rule and influence indigenous village self-government in India and village life and family life would not have been disorganized, as they have been under British rule.

If Russia had come to occupy India, there would have been land connection of Europe with India. So, India could have more easily taken advantage of European science and mechanical invention as the dreaded and forbidden crossing of the ocean, involving outcasting, would not have had to be faced.

"Russia being connected with India by land, it would be impossible to deprive India of those political rights and privileges which would be enjoyed by the people of Russia, in increasing proportion, as day follows day. In an empire which spreads over an unbroken tract of country, it is obviously far more difficult to treat the inhabitants of different parts differently as regards political rights, than in an empire which lies scattered over different continents and separated by oceans. And as a matter of fact we find in the Russian Duma representatives of the different provinces (including Asiatic ones) of the Empire and of the different races and religious communities inhabiting it, though preferential treatment has been accorded to some, but not to the utter exclusion of any. We have read of the doings and sayings of the Musalman members of the Duma. Where are the Hindu and Musalman Members of Parliament representing Indian constituencies?...the Russian people....are devoid of that insular pride and haughty spirit which form such marked traits in the character of several European Christian nations."—"*If Russia Ruled India*," in *The Modern Review* for May, 1903, p. 450.

Those who wish to have more information on the topic may read the original article.

### *First Meeting of Soviet Supreme Council*

Moscow, May 25.

The Supreme Council, probably the most colourful Parliament in Europe, begins its first session for 1939 in former Courts Throne Room at Kremlin tonight.

Twelve hundred Deputies will represent over a hundred races. Russians in khaki tunics will mingle with shawled peasant women, turbaned Uzbeks and Turcomans from Central Asia, sly-eyed Siberian Mongols, Cossack horse-men and Eskimos wearing reindeer coats.

A signal for the proceedings to begin will be the entry of M. Stalin and the inner Cabinet, but M. Stalin is not likely to participate in the debate.

An important item on the agenda will be foreign policy and M. Molotov is expected to make a statement whereafter there will be a general debate on the international situation. M. Molotov may indicate the cause of M. Litvinov's resignation.

Other subjects for debate include national defence and third Five-year plan. The session will last a week or ten days.—*Reuter*.

\* "Disarmed" would have been a more accurate expression. . . .

† Does Mr. Nevinson really believe that England will, if she can help it, ever allow India to become strong enough to hold her own? India has been growing continually weaker under British rule, and the process bids fair to last as long as British rule endures.

## Speaking on British Imperialism Without An Apology

In the course of his speech at the Empire Day dinner in London, Lord Zetland observed :

On such an occasion and to such an audience one might speak without an apology on British Imperialism and its achievements.

He was more disposed to do so by reason of the fact that there had grown up among leaders of political thought in that part of the Empire, for which he was more particularly responsible, a tendency to speak of British Imperialism as if it was something evil—a thing to be fought and, if possible, destroyed.

As we do not make or countenance statements which tend to produce an impression that no good has befallen India or no progress has been made in India during British rule, we can condemn with all the greater emphasis those extremists among British imperialists who dare to speak on British Imperialism and its achievements without an apology. The most charitable characterization of British rule would be to say that it was not an unmitigated evil. But to pretend to believe or to try to make others believe that it is an unmixed blessing and that no apology is needed for any of its actions, is the height of absurdity.

Lord Zetland refers to "a tendency to speak of British Imperialism as if it was something evil—a thing to be fought and, if possible, destroyed." But has he never read the Independence Day Declaration which is repeated every year in January from a thousand platforms and reproduced in all Indian newspapers? There is no foggy vague thing like 'tendency' there, but an unequivocal and sweeping indictment of British rule and a call to end it.

vocally and at times vehemently critical of it, should be in power in eight out of the eleven provinces with the encouragement and active co-operation of those agents of British Imperialism, the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces?

"And is it nothing that all this should have been achieved in a term of years which measured against the life of a nation is a mere flash of the passage of time? On the manner in which these new Governments are wielding powers and responsibilities entrusted to them, it must be for the historian rather than for us, who are ourselves participants in this great drama in the domain of stage-craft which is unfolding itself against the immemorial background of Indian history, to pronounce judgment."—*Reuter*.

"That then was the goal." Yes, that was the professed goal in 1919 and 1929. But Lord Zetland has rot, we hope, forgotten the successful attempts made in the British Parliament, when the Government of India Bill of 1935 was being debated there, to exclude any mention of the goal of Dominion Status in it and to prevent the reproduction in it of the preamble to the old Act of 1919. If Dominion Status continued to be the professed goal in 1935, why was it not mentioned or even faintly indicated in the Government of India Act of 1935? Some Britishers tried to deceive others, if not themselves also, by saying that in the Act "Dominion Status" could not be mentioned as it was incapable of definition! But British Imperialists have been using this undefinable expression in their speeches and writings! Are they fond of sheer moonshine?

Lord Zetland is a scholar. He ought to know that the "difficulties arising out of the diversity of race, religion, language, civilization, social outlook and tradition" are far more formidable in Soviet Russia than in India. Yet these difficulties have been overcome in the U. S. S. R. with sincerity of purpose. In India, where the difficulties are far less and are magnified by Britishers out of all proportion to serve their purpose, "the diversity" is exploited for imperialistic purposes.

introduce its special brand of what it calls "provincial autonomy," why U. S. A. has given the Filipinos a greater measure of self-rule in less than 40 years than Britain has done after a very much longer period. America had no doubt to deal with a smaller population. But India's civilization was far higher and older and her political and cultural achievements dated from hoary antiquity. Whatever British imperialists may pretend, in India they have not had to train savages in the art of self-government.

### *Women's World Conference for Peace and Liberty*

A Women's World Conference for Peace and Liberty will be held in Havana, Cuba, this autumn.

It will follow a Conference of Pan-American women. Among the problems to be discussed, are the organisation of world peace, religious and racial persecution, the refugee problem, and the task of women's organisations throughout the world at the present period of danger.

The Conference has aroused world wide interest. Among its patrons is Madame Chiang Kai-Shek.

British women have given it their cordial support and at a meeting held in London recently, there were present representatives of Great Britain, Australia, India, China, the U. S. A. and France.

Prominent British women support the Conference. Madame Tabouis, the most famous living woman journalist, is giving her fullest support to the Conference and its aims.

Leading women in Denmark and Scandinavia are planning to help the Conference to the fullest possible extent.

Many prominent women in the United States are supporting the project.

An office has been opened in London at Dorland House, 14, Regent Street, W.1., in order to co-ordinate the support which is coming in from all over the world for the Conference.—*United Press*

### *Strike at Digboi Oil Fields*

At Digboi oilfields in Assam, where shooting, the usual remedy for strikes, has been tried, the strike continues. Informed and genuine sympathy, not shooting, is the right remedy.

Digboi, May 24.

With reference to the report published in a section of the Press to the effect that Government's failure to settle the strike at Digboi has caused great disappointment among the public and the strikers who cannot continue the strike any longer and a large number of them are willing to return to work, the Secretary of the Digboi Labour Union wires that complete deadlock prevails except a handful of blacklegs and limited raw unskilled labour, useless for petrol operations who were recruited from Assam now and then and are brought under police cordon to the concentration camps. All old employees remain solid and determined to continue the strike for months together. Preparations are being made for long struggle and collection of funds and formation of relief committees throughout Assam and India are going on. Many labour centres are responding to the appeal issued by the Labour Union.—*United Press*.

### *Assam Government's Labour Grievance Enquiry Committee*

SHILLONG, May 24.

Government have appointed a committee to enquire with Mr. S. K. Ghose, I.C.S., Controller of Emigrant Labour as Chairman and Mr. F. W. Hockenhill, Mr. Baidyanath Mukerjee, Mr. A. K. Chanda and Mr. Devswar Sarma as members to investigate the cause of the recent strikes and disturbances and organisation of such labour.

The committee will visit such tea estates as necessary and will frame their own programme.

The Government resolution published today in this regard states that it is their intention to discourage and disapprove of any strikes, lock-outs or other activities which might prejudice the results of the Committee's efforts and, if necessary, they will be prepared to see that this mutual forbearance is enforced by the use of the powers given by the law or consider other measures should the existing law prove inadequate for the prevention of any action initiated in contravention thereof.

The terms of reference of the Committee, referred to above, are to determine (1) what are the root causes of the recent strikes and other discontents in the tea gardens of Assam and particularly whether there are economic grievances either generally in the districts concerned or in the Estates, (2) what measures are required in order to remove the root causes of the said strikes, and (3) whether and if so what form of organisation is desirable to enable the labourers in the tea gardens to communicate their grievances to the management in such an effective manner as will remove any doubt that their interests are secured and to procure settlement of such grievances, if any, by negotiation.—*United Press*.

### *Keshub Chunder Sen on the Ruin of Indian Industries*

Navavidhan writes:

The feelings of pain with which Keshub Chunder Sen viewed the processes leading to the industrial ruin of his Motherland found a most frank and forceful expression in one of his famous lectures ("England's Duty to India"), delivered in London in 1870. He said: "You have no right to say that you will use . . . any of the privileges which God has given you, simply for the purpose of your own selfish aggrandizement . . . You cannot hold India for the interest of Manchester, nor for the welfare of any other section of the community here (England), nor for the advantage of those merchants who go there . . . and never feel an abiding interest in the country (India)."

### *Formation of Forward Bloc in The Congress*

After the adoption of non-co-operation by the Congress there was a time when Congressmen were either Swarajists or No-changers. That distinction has disappeared. But there is a Congress Socialist Party, as also the party known as Congress Nationalists, very strong particularly in Bengal at the time of its formation but now of unknown strength, though still existing. There are members of the Kishan Sabhas who are also Congressmen. Among

Labourites also there are Congressmen. Members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh are not debarred from taking part in politics, and those of them who do so are Congressmen of the Right wing.

All these facts show that during some periods of its past history Congressmen belonged to more than one political group and that at the present time also they belong to several different groups. Therefore, the formation of a new group, known as the *Forward Bloc*, is not a novelty in Congress history. There cannot be any *a priori* objection to its formation on the ground of its being a move of an unprecedented character.

Of course, there is a technical and somewhat nice distinction between a party or a group and a *bloc*. A *bloc* in European countries, specially in France and Italy, is a combination of two or more groups or parties willing to make common cause for some definite object. In the United States of America also it means a combination of members of different parties for a similar purpose. Now, even such a combination, though not called by any distinct name, is not unknown in the history of the Indian National Congress. To take only one instance out of more, many Congress Socialists sided with the Rightists in the voting on Pandit Pant's resolution at Tripuri.

So, though the Rightists and some other Congressmen may not like the programme and future activities of the *Forward Bloc*, they cannot reasonably bring forward any preliminary objection to its very formation.

Though the Congress has not established a parallel government, Congressmen regard it as the Unofficial Parliament of India. If so, and as the Rightists are in office, so to say, in eight provinces—by far the greater part of British India, there should or may be an Organized Party of Opposition as in other Parliaments. The *Forward bloc* may be that Opposition.

The Gandhi-Bose correspondence has made it plain that Mahatma Gandhi wants a homogeneous cabinet or Working Committee, and he told S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose that as the parties, popularly styled Rightists and Leftists, differed in "fundamentals", it would be best for them to work separately for the good of the country according to their own programmes. Subhas Babu has followed Mahatma's advice. And for that great crime Mahatma's orthodox followers have raised an outcry against him. Had S. J. Bose proposed to depart from the principle and policy of non-violent non-cooperation, the outcry would have been justifi-

able. But he has said repeatedly that violence will be absolutely eschewed. And as for non-co-operation, he thinks civil disobedience is practicable, whilst Mahatmaji thinks, from the examples of some Indian States like Ramdurg, Ranpur, etc., and from other evidence, that the country is not ready for any bloodless revolutionary movement. We share Mahatmaji's opinion, though we do not possess the abundant knowledge of the country which he does. A violent revolutionary movement is, of course, out of the question.

Perhaps, though S. J. Bose has been for some months past saying that civil disobedience can be started with a fair prospect of success, he will not actually set the movement going, unless there is convincing response from all provinces—especially from the provinces where there are Congress ministries. His speeches serve the purpose of feelers and propaganda.

### Programme of Forward Bloc

In several recent speeches of his, S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose has outlined the programme of the *Forward Bloc*. For obvious reasons it cannot be a cut and dry programme, complete in all its details. It must develop as the *bloc* goes on with its work and its experience increases.

At a meeting of journalists held at Cawnpore on the 18th May last S. J. Bose outlined the programme of the *bloc*.

He said it was difficult to describe in detail the exact form of the struggle, because that would depend largely on the extent of circumstances and also the tactics of the British Government. "However, it may be safely predicted," he said, "it will be some form of civil disobedience in which organized peasants workers and States people will take a more prominent part than similar movements in the past."

### TWO ASPECTS

The programme of the *Forward Bloc* will have two aspects. On the one hand, we will try to instill more life and dynamism into the present parliamentary and extra-parliamentary programme of the Congress. This will be possible only if we create a new revolutionary urge. Besides we will place before the Congress and the country an advanced radical programme, which will have as its immediate objective the preparing of the country for the impending struggle. If we carry on propaganda activities extensively during the next few months it is possible we may be able to persuade the next Congress to adopt this programme with a view to prepare the country for the struggle.

However paradoxical it may seem, when the Congress decided in favour of acceptance of office and of working the provincial part of the constitution, it did so in order to make itself and the nation stronger to fight the Government of India Act for ending it and to frame a new

constitution through a Constituent Assembly. Hence there is no fundamental contradiction between this part of the Forward Bloc programme and the declared object of office acceptance.

Sj. Bose observed later that there is no necessary connection between revolution and violence.

#### CONGRESS VOLUNTEER CORPS

Mr. Bose added: "As illustrative of the point I shall mention a few items of the programme. It will be necessary to raise and equip a Congress volunteer corps on an all India basis and develop closer and intimate contact with other anti-imperialist organizations, such as Kisan Sabha, Trade Union Congress, Youth League and students movements, if we want to mobilize all available revolutionary energy of the nation. In organizing the Forward Bloc we intend taking practical steps towards the establishment of contact between the Congress and other anti-imperialist organizations. A further item will be the establishing of closer relationship between the Congress and States' peoples movement. We are of definite opinion that a Sub-committee of the Congress should formulate a comprehensive programme for helping and guiding the people's movement in the six hundred and odd States. This plan should be given effect to simultaneously all over the country."

What will the Congress volunteers do and what kind of equipment they are to have, are questions which require to be answered. Their equipment will depend upon the kind of work they will have to do. The juxtaposition of the words volunteer and equipment may suggest in these days of national armed preparation some kind of external equipment, though equipment is not necessarily of a military character. Mental and moral equipment is necessary and soldiers of peace require a sound body no less than those who are soldiers in the ordinary sense.

Closer contact of the Congress with Kisan Sabhas etc. is not only unobjectionable but necessary. It is to be noted that Mahatma Gandhi and some lesser Congress leaders are against students' active participation in politics, but Sj. Bose appears to be in favour of it.

It would be desirable, if it were possible, for the Congress to lead the States' people's struggle throughout India. But the Congress has not hitherto felt strong enough to do it. Is the Forward Bloc strong enough? Does it expect to be?

#### HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION

"Apart from this we would devote our attention to minority problems particularly Hindu-Muslim question. In spite of assurances given to minorities and Muslims in particular through several successive resolutions of the Congress the fact remains that we have not succeeded in rallying them to a common platform. The announcement of the formation of the Forward Bloc has evoked such favourable reactions from minority communities that we

are led to hope that through the instrumentality of the Forward Bloc and its radical programme we may be able to establish real unity."

Mr. Bose added, "I think even if we do not succeed in one stroke we have no doubt the left wing of the Congress and the other non-Congress movements will draw nearer one another in the immediate future, thereby pave the way for the ultimate establishment of national unity."

How will Sj. Bose solve the communal problem? The method of pacts with communal leaders and organizations has failed and will not do. Will he consider the Muslims a minority everywhere, including Bengal? How will he tackle the Hindu minority problem in some provinces?

#### "REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY."

There were other things in the programme said Mr. Bose, which would be known later. Asked what he meant by revolutionary mentality, Mr. Bose said there were two aspects, destructive and creative. He said communists in Russia after capture of power created a new order, so also was the case in Ireland. In this country there were signs of losing the revolutionary impulse. It was a wrong idea that revolution meant the shedding of blood. England had achieved several bloodless revolutions.

Of course there have been bloodless revolutions. But the greatest revolutions in history, synonymous with rapid or immediate, great and radical change in the structure of the State and society, were not brought about in a bloodless manner. So, while we think that a bloodless revolution is a possibility in India, we also think that to make it an actuality much mental and moral enlightenment and training would be indispensably necessary. Such preparation our people have not yet had.

Asked whether Congressmen should come out of office to prevent further weakening of revolutionary mentality Mr. Bose said the question could be answered by the Ministers and legislators. If they feel that by their Parliamentary activities they could no longer enhance the strength and prestige of the Congress by implementing the Congress Parliamentary programme then they should think of giving up office, but when that is done the issues must be clarified and we must know exactly why the policy and programme cannot be furthered through legislatures. If it is found that the inherent shortcomings of the Government of India Act are responsible either partly or wholly for our failure to implement the Congress policy and programme, then the resignation will afford a powerful impetus for our attack on the present constitution.

Mr. Subhas Bose did not find fault with the principle of office acceptance but his opinion was that Ministers and legislators had shown a slackening of speed on implementing the Congress programme and were losing the initiative and being absorbed with day-to-day administration. As regards the question whether the country was prepared for a fight at the present, he said that on the basis of his personal experience the country was prepared but what was wanting was willingness on the part of the leaders to fight.

Regarding the questions raised in the last two paragraphs our impression is that the Congress ministers and the Congress High Command are unwilling to cut short the "parliamentary" experiment and give up their X-Year Plans, that they expect their brand of Swaraj to come in the slow evolutionary way, and that they would be prepared to work the British-made federation with some little changes.

Sj. Bose thinks the people are prepared to fight, the leaders are not. Who are more reliable? Are the bulk of the people who are said to be willing to fight fully aware of all the implications of a prolonged non-violent endeavour? We say "endeavour", because, though we are not thoroughgoing Ahimsā-ists, we wish to avoid the use of words like 'fight', 'struggle', 'freedom's battle', only to show that what we have in mind is a non-violent endeavour to gain freedom and are speaking with reference to it.

### "Ethiopia Intensifies Fight"

We read in *The Voice of Ethiopia* of April 22, 1939:

The following is an Associated Press report from Djiboutie, on Friday, April 14th, as published by the *New York Post*:

#### ETHIOPIANS RAID ITALIAN GARRISON

*Jibuti Reports Wiping Out of Troops at Italian Station*  
Jibuti, French Somaliland, April 14 (A. P.)—Reports were received here today that Ethiopians had attacked the Mojo station of the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railroad, forty-five miles from Addis Ababa, killing members of the Italian garrison and burning buildings there, including food and ammunitions depots.

### A Bengali "Personage Universally Loved and Respected" in Bihar

At the opening ceremony of the Calcutta Branch of the Bank of Behar Ltd., on the 29th April last, Babu Kulwant Sahay gave a short description of the work and progress of the Bank, in the course of which he said:

Necessity was then felt of having some one who could help and advise the Bank in its day-to-day work and whose advice could be implicitly followed. The choice fell upon Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narain Sinha, a personage universally loved and respected.

The first Balance-sheet issued by the Directors for the period ending December 1911, showed a paid up Capital of rupees seven thousand and odd, and a deposit of Rs. 6000 and odd. Our present authorised capital is Rs. 25 lacs and the paid up capital is Rs. 9,21,225. The Reserve Fund amounts to Rs. 4,60,000 and the amount of deposit is one crore nineteen lacs 89 thousand.

So, there was at least one Bengali in Bihar who was "a personage universally loved

and respected." Postmortem eulogium involves no risk.

The progress of the Bank is a proof of business capacity and integrity.

### Simla Exodus Partially Abandoned

The Government of India have decided to abandon the Simla exodus partially and to reduce their period of stay there by a month or a month and a half. New edifices will have to be built and other arrangements made in Delhi and New Delhi in consequence. The annual savings of several lakhs resulting from the partial abandonment of the exodus will go to meet the additional expenditure in the plains.

The decision is a half-way house which cannot give satisfaction all round.

### Minimum Demands of Arya Samajists in Hyderabad

LAKHORE, May 27.

The minimum demands of the Arya Samajists in Hyderabad State were enumerated by Mahashe Krishna (Sixth Dictator) prior to his departure for Hyderabad.

In the course of a statement on the subject he says he wants to make it perfectly clear and known once again that the Arya Samaj agitation is directed neither against the person of the Nizam nor against the Muslims. It is directed for securing for Arya Samajists in particular and the Hindus in general, their religious rights.

"We demand nothing more nothing less than what the Punjab Premier said in his speech at Sholapur. We want fullest religious and cultural freedom for the Arya Samajists and the Hindus, with due regard to the religious susceptibilities of the followers of other faiths. Our grievances against the State are many and varied. But our Satyagraha is for the present concentrated on the following:

1. Absolute freedom for the practice and preaching of the Vedic religion and culture with due regard to the feelings of the followers of other faiths.

2. Full freedom for starting new Arya Samaj and building of new Arya Samaj Mandirs, Yashobalas, Haran-Kundas and the repairing of old ones without obtaining any permission from the ecclesiastical or any other department of the State.

In conclusion, Mahashe Krishna points out that of the 7,000 volunteers who have courted arrest so far 7 per cent have come from the State itself. The Arya is, he declares, determined to continue the struggle until the elementary rights of the Arya Samajists are secured.

—A. P.

The demands of the Arya Samajists are quite reasonable. Musalmans, Christians, and Hindus other than Arya Samajists may not believe in all that the Arya Samajists believe in. But no State has any right to interfere with religious beliefs and practices which are neither immoral, nor ordinarily criminal nor politically subversive.

## Punjab Government's Attempt to Stop Publication of Hyderabad Satyagraha News

LAHORE, May 27.

An appeal to the Punjab press to place a voluntary check on the publication of news and comments relating to Hyderabad Satyagraha has been made in course of a press communique issued by the Punjab Government this afternoon.

The Punjab Government cannot prevent the widely reported oppressive treatment of the Satyagrahis in and outside the jails in Hyderabad, it cannot make the Hyderabad Government reasonable and tolerant, nor can it prevent what has been going on at Sholapur. It has found a remedy in stopping the publication of news relating to Hyderabad Satyagrahis. That, it thinks, will restore and preserve communal amity in the Punjab!

## Hitler's Redistribution of the World

About nine years ago, on the 13th October, 1930, Herr Hitler said: "I will give Africa to Italy, India to Russia." But

"in some diplomatic circles the Nazi Foreign Office is credited with having laid long range plans for the absorption of Italy."

But there remained no certainty that even Fuehrer Hitler would be able to carry through his bloodless conquest of Italy as easily as his seizure of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Memel.

Because of Italian hostility to Germany all Nazi soldiers stationed there have been instructed to wear their uniforms only when on duty.

Along the highway leading from the Brenner Pass, where the Italian and German frontiers meet, special guards have been stationed to prevent disturbances as Nazi troops and material pour southward.

This tension has galvanized into activity the underground Socialist movement which has never been completely suppressed in Italy.

At the Alfa Romeo works in Milan, and the Isotta Fraschini and Caproni aircraft plants, much illegal literature has been found. Arrests have been made in Turin and Bologna.

So serious became the position that Heinrich Himmler, Chief of the German Gestapo, recently "lent" a squad of his best men to the OVRA, Fascist secret police.—*News Review*, May 11, 1939.

## An American Survey of World Affairs

Regarding the democracies of Europe *The Living Age* for May writes:

In the past month the democracies of Europe have gained little, and have lost a great deal. There has been much tumult and shouting, with Great Britain loudly beating the drum for an anti-Nazi bloc. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, the pro-Nazi groups quietly continue to have their way. France is now under the tight grip of a stringent dictatorship; a dictatorship that, may, at

any moment, clamp down on the people and the press, already heavily censored.

With a loud fanfare of trumpets England has been publicly wooing Poland, Russia, and the Danubian countries in an attempt to forge an anti-Nazi chain about Germany. In actuality and fact, however, England has done nothing constructive. In reality, she has done worse than nothing. Chamberlain's offer to concede Italy's rape of Albania, providing Mussolini promised to withdraw Italian troops from Spain, is probably one of the most preposterous and impertinent bits of diplomatic window-dressing ever presented to the public gaze.

Regarding Rumania that American paper observes:

To all intents and purposes, Germany already is in economic control of Rumania. The German-Rumanian Trade Treaty of March took care of the details of that economic domination, and should Rumania show any signs of stepping out of line, the same minority disturbances that were so successful in disrupting Czechoslovakia could quickly be brought into play.

Altogether, Great Britain has been unfortunate in getting the smaller countries together into an anti-Hitler bloc. Up to now, old jealousies and mutual mistrusts have prevented an effective coalition.

Germany's economic position is reported to be deplorable.

A remarkable account of Germany's desperate economic position by Dr. Brinkmann, until recently Dr. Funk's assistant at the Reichsbank, was published last week by the *Agence Economique et Financiere*, which should guarantee its authenticity.

But,

It would be mistaken to believe that the Reich's finances are likely to break down soon. Rather, the Reich expects that given the success of its plans in foreign politics, its future come will easily be large enough to redeem the pledges now given. Only political collapse would bring about an economic crisis. And the heavy burden of indebtedness now assumed makes it all the more necessary for the Reich to carry out its plans for foreign expansion in the near future.

So far as Italian agricultural labourers are concerned, German-Italian relations appear to be strained.

Inadvertently, the Italian Ministry of agriculture has just revealed that, despite the fervent cries of undying loyalty and cooperation with Nazi Germany, tens of thousands of agricultural workers are in a state of incipient revolt against their Axis partner. These thousands (30,000, to be precise) are the Italian farm-hand battalions sent to the Reich last year to aid in the harvests, since the accelerated industrialization of that nation has provoked an acute shortage of field workers. On first sight, this arrangement seemed ideal. Italy's peasant-labor surplus would be absorbed and paid nominal wages by Germany while in return Hitler undertook to send Mussolini a small number of sorely needed industrial experts.

The Italian workers returned to their homes, after working on great German estates, on the Siegfried fortifications and on other projects, grumbling loudly over, the devious ways by which their German employers defrauded them of fractions of their pittance. They are not returning north this month with any emotion resembling enthusiasm.



Speaking of the seizure of Albania by Italy, the American journal observes:

Best quotation of all during the crisis was that of King Zog, driven into Greece from his capital at Tirana, who not only gave the world a chuckle but dared to actually tell the truth at last. His throne gone, his country vanished, Zog had nothing to lose when he boldly declared:

'There are in Europe today two madmen who are disturbing the entire world—Hitler and Mussolini. There are in Europe two damned fools who sleep—Chamberlain and Daladier.'

It appears that there are to be two American navies.

Reports persisting in responsible quarters indicate, the United States Government is seriously considering the more or less permanent establishment of two navies: that is, two separate and complete grand fleets, each having independent command and each organized to deal with widely divergent strategic problems in fields of operation requiring them to patrol or fight, each independent of the other.

The obvious field of operations for these two navies, should they be so set up, is the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Herr Hitler has his eyes on South America, too.

Turning anxious eyes away from a gloomy Europe, the State Department in Washington views with no less alarm increased Nazi activities in South America. Sensational news from the Argentine of the arrest of Nazi agents in a plot to seize Patagonia has more behind it than the casual observer thinks, fantastic though the scheme for the annexation of the Southern Argentine area sounds.

But oil and wool is not the only prize Germany would have by such a seizure. Off the Atlantic coastal plain of Patagonia are the vital Falkland islands which guard the Straits of Magellan, off the tip of South America. Control of this strategic point entirely blocks the only passage between the Atlantic and Pacific other than the Panama Canal. Britain holds the Falklands as a naval base and one of the most important battles of the World War was fought off the Falklands when Germany tried to gain control of the Magellan Straits. The German fleet was defeated primarily because it was a long way from a provisioning base. Control of Patagonia would remedy this weakness.

Japan's bid for American assistance is also noticed by the American journal.

That the United States would be granted preference over Britain in trade in North China also was indicated by the fact that Tokyo is bitter against London's aid to Chiang while Japan considers American loans to China as merely Washington's cat's paw role in playing the British game in Asia.

### Trilingualism and Bilingualism under Congress Rule

Independent countries in Asia like Japan and China value knowledge of English and their students of both sexes generally learn it. On the continent of Europe a considerable proportion of cultured people and business men know English. These facts show that a

knowledge of English has become necessary for cultural and commercial purposes, as well as for international intercourse, in countries of whose inhabitants it is not the mother-tongue. That makes it very probable that under Congress rule English would continue to be used for intellectual pursuits, business transactions and intercourse with foreign countries. The mother-tongue will of course be learnt, and in addition Hindi, Hindusthani or Urdu will have to be learnt for inter-provincial intercourse. So, over the greater part of India educated persons would be expected to be trilinguals. We say, "over the greater part of India," because in areas where Hindi is used as the mother-tongue only a second language, namely, English, would require to be learnt.

So in Hindi-speaking areas people will be bilinguals, and elsewhere they will be trilinguals. Learning an additional language may be looked upon either as an additional equipment or as a handicap. People who may learn a third language may think either that they are having an additional intellectual equipment, or that they are being compelled to devote to its acquisition the time and energy which could have been spent in mastering an additional scientific subject or an additional industrial process. If they take the former view, obviously those whose mother-tongue is Hindi ought to learn some other Indian language in order to be linguistically and culturally as well equipped as those whose mother-tongue it is not; but if the latter view is taken, those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi may think that they will be placed at a disadvantage as compared with those whose mother-tongue it is.

We take the former view and think that those whose mother-tongue is Hindi would do well to learn a second Indian language—preferably Tamil or Telugu, if only by way of paying a compliment to or expressing sympathy with those in the Madras Presidency who are learning Hindi. Of course, we have neither the wish nor the power to compel those whose mother-tongue is Hindi to learn Tamil or Telugu, or any other Indian language. They may or may not learn any.

### Infringement of Civil Liberties During Two Years of Provincial Autonomy

Dr. K. B. Menon, Ph. D., Secretary, Indian Civil Liberties Union, has contributed to *The Servant of India* an authoritative article on the infringement of civil liberties under provincial autonomy, which ought to be studied by the Congress High Command, Con-

gress and non-Congress ministries, Congressmen, and the general public. Dr. Menon has appended to his article a tabular statement showing the numbers of cases of infringement of civil liberties during the first two years of provincial autonomy, 1937 and 1938, by the eleven different provincial governments by recourse to different laws.

The article and the statement are revealing documents.

### *Distress of Talcher Refugees*

The miserable condition of some 30,000 people of Talcher who, unable to bear the oppression of their ruler, left their State and took refuge in the Angul district of British-ruled Orissa continues to be as distressing as ever. All means should be tried to bring home to outsiders the real situation. In addition to verbal descriptions, vivid and distinct photographs of the improvised leaf-huts the refugees live in, their clothes, the details of their daily life, etc., should be published in as many newspapers as possible.

### *"Fundamental Differences"*

The "fundamental differences" between Gandhiji and Subhas Babu are thus stated in *Haryana* (May 27, 1939) :

"But the differences I should think are well known. Take his proposed ultimatum to the British Government. He thinks that the situation is ripe for throwing a challenge to the British Government. I feel that it is impossible to inaugurate and conduct a non-violent campaign today. We have no control on those who believe in violence. Kanpur, Ramdurg, Cawnpore are points. Pandits had little non-violent control of the situation in Cawnpore and other cities in U. P. and the Shia Sunni trouble is a fresh species of the difficulties we have to face. We have not only no control over non-Congressmen but little over even Congressmen. There was a time when the bulk of the country used to listen to us; today, even many Congressmen are out of our hands. I cannot think of organising a Paudi Salt March today. The atmosphere is altogether unpropitious. Subhas Babu thinks otherwise.

"Let's again our views on corruption in the Congress ranks. I would go to the length of giving the whole Congress organisation a decent burial, rather than put up with the corruption that is rampant. I do not know that I could take all members of the Working Committee with me in this view. I know that I cannot possibly take Subhas Babu with me.

"In brief I believe that violence and corruption are rampant. He does not share my belief and therefore his plans and programmes must necessarily differ from mine."

We have never supported Subhas Babu's proposal of an ultimatum to the British. It is necessary, however, to repeat here what he wrote to Gandhiji on the subject of corruption and violence in his letter dated the 10th April last :

### (1) *Re CORRUPTION AND VIOLENCE*

If I have understood you correctly, you are opposed to the idea of an ultimatum and early resumption of the national struggle because you feel that there is too much of corruption and the spirit of violence among us. We have been discussing the question of corruption in the Working Committee for several months and I think we are in general agreement on this question—with this difference that I do not think that there is so much of it that we are incapacitated for an early struggle for Purna Swaraj. On the contrary, the longer we shall drift along the path of constitutionalism and the longer our people have a taste of the loaves and fishes of office—the greater will be the possibility of corruption increasing. Further, I may say that I have some personal knowledge of political parties in Europe today and I may claim without any fear of contradiction that judged, from the ethical point of view, we are in no way inferior to them and perhaps we are superior in some respects. The spectre of corruption does not therefore appeal to me. Moreover, a call for further sacrifice and suffering in the cause of the country's freedom will be the best antidote in corruption and will incidentally expose to the public eye any corrupt persons who may have crept into—or gained ascendancy within—our own ranks.

To use an analogy, history furnishes instances of astute statesmen launching on a fight with external enemies in order to ward off enemies at home.

### *SPIRIT OF VIOLENCE*

As the existence of the spirit of violence, I adhere to my previous statement. Within the ranks of Congressmen and all those who are supporters of the Congress, there is, on the whole, less violence today than before. In any case there is certainly not more of it now than before. I have already given you my arguments for disagreeing with you on this point and need not repeat them. It may be that there is the spirit of violence today among the opponents of the Congress leading to riots which are being forcibly suppressed by Congress Governments. But that is quite a different matter and should not lead us to the view that the spirit of violence has increased among Congressmen or their supporters. Would it not be too much to hold up our fight for independence till other organisations with which we have no connection whatsoever—for instance, the Muslim League—become non-violent in spirit and in action?

This extract shows that Subhas Babu does not deny the existence of corruption and the spirit of violence. He only says that there is not as much of these as Gandhiji believes there is. Whether this difference can be called "fundamental" would depend on the meaning one would attach to that word.

### *Savarkar's Circular on Hyderabad Satyagraha*

LUCKNOW, May 26.

"The struggle should be viewed from a pan-Hindu point and no parochial and unhealthy narrowness should be allowed to mar or hinder the common efforts by any foolish and cavilling sense of rivalry. The efforts put forth by any part of our body politic cannot but add to the strength of Hindudom as a whole," said Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Sabha in the course of a circular letter to the Hindu Sabhas in the United Provinces, on the Civil Resistance movement in Hyderabad.

Continuing he emphasised that every Hindu Sanghastantist who was willing to go forth as soldier of faith in defence of Hindudom should start immediately.

To finance the movement he has asked for a remittance of Rs. 500 at least from the Provincial Hindu Sabhas and send volunteers to participate in the struggle.—United Press.

### **Students' Strikes in U. P. Caused By "Outside Influences"**

The following sentences occur in the report on public instruction in the United Provinces for the year ending March 31, 1938 :

Outside influences have been brought to bear on the students resulting in displays on the part of the latter which have sullied the fair name of education. These outside influences have not helped the institutions or the students and their tendency has been to foment trouble and incite the students to strike.

Who exert these outside influences? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been again and again eulogized as the idol of youth, and he has been again students' strikes. What are the influences which are more powerful than his influence? Who are the iconoclasts in the United Provinces who have broken this idol of youth?

### **Gandhi Triumphs Over "Terroristic Tactics" of Bose!**

The following paragraph is from the April number of *Current History*, a well-known American Magazine :

A few days later, Gandhi won a second victory when the All-India Congress curtailed the powers of President Subhas Chandra Bose, whose radical policies are violently opposed by Gandhi. Bose, a Cambridge graduate, with a leaning toward Communism, was backed by the left wing of the nationalist party in his demand for immediate independence for India. In his opinion, immediate independence can be secured by terror only. Gandhi, who wants India to be prepared to hold her independence when that teeming country does achieve it, urges a "go-slow" tactics. He favours the English Parliament Act of 1935 which grants India self-government in all matters except finance, defence and foreign policy. Britain continues to worry about Gandhi's health, fearing that, if he should die, the terroristic tactics of Bose, which Gandhi has curbed, may become a reality.

How accurate in every detail!

### **Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu**

Brahmarshi Sir Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu dies full of years and honours. As principal of the Pittapur Raja's College at Coenada for years, he was the teacher and inspirer of successive batches of young men and women. After retiring from the principalship of that large and excellent institution, which owes its standing and reputation not a little to his connection with it, he filled with

distinction the high academic office of Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. In that capacity, too, he set before the youth of Madras high ideals of character and scholarship by precept and example. He was a great scholar. His discourses and sermons, brought together and published by Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, bear witness to his affluence and depth of thought and sentiment and his mastery over the resources of the English language. His scholarship was equalled—perhaps exceeded, by his spirituality. For his piety, spirituality and high character his disciples and other followers and admirers bestowed upon him the title of *Brahmarshi*. The Maharaja Saheb of Pithapuram looked upon him as his spiritual preceptor and turned to him for advice, initiative and guidance in his many philanthropic benefactions and institutions. His ears were always open to cries of distress and his hands ready to give relief.

Sir Raghupati presided over a session of the All-India Theistic Conference held in Calcutta and delivered a masterly address.

### **Recruitment to Bengal Services on Communal Basis**

A resolution was carried by a majority in the Bengal Legislative Assembly recommending that 60 per cent. of the appointments in the Bengal public services should go to Muhammadans, 20 per cent. to Hindus of the scheduled castes, and 20 per cent. to "caste Hindus," Indian Christians and others. A majority decision of the Bengal cabinet is to the effect that 55 per cent. should go to the Muhammadans, and so on.

Bengal leaders of the eminence of Rabin-dranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Ray and others sent a telegram of protest to the officiating Governor, pointing out how such recruitment would impair the efficiency and integrity of the services and injure the interests and interfere with the rights of the Hindu community and non-Muslim communities in general. The leaders asked the Governor not to approve of the ministerial decision before giving a hearing to a representative Hindu deputation. The Governor was pleased to receive the deputation on the 27th May last and listened attentively to all that the members of the deputation, led by the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, said. They placed an elaborate and reasoned Memorandum in his hands and asked him to arrive at a decision after due enquiry.

The Memorandum has appeared in the dailies. It need not be reproduced here. We

support its contentions. On different occasions and in different connections we have repeated the truism that appointments in the public services should go to the fittest in the country, irrespective of creed, caste, colour or race. We have done so in the interests of the efficiency and integrity of the services, as well as because the principle of the "open door to talent" is the only one consistent with democracy and nationalism.

### *Huq Ministry's Inconsistency*

We must apologize to our readers for the above heading, which we have given, not because we ever expected that ministry to be consistent—that would have been tantamount to paying it a compliment, but because it states a plain fact.

The Huq ministry want to give Muslims 55 per cent. of the appointments only because the latter are about 55 per cent. of the population, including infants and others of both sexes, in spite of the facts that in the numbers of graduates, undergraduates, and literates, Hindus far outnumber the Muslims and that Hindus contribute the bulk of the revenues to the public exchequer. But though in the Calcutta Municipality the Hindus are more than 70 per cent. of the population, more than 80 per cent. of the voters, pay more than their numerically proportionate share of the rates and taxes, are more educated and public-spirited, they have not been given in the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill their proportionate share of the seats.

So numbers and numbers alone must count and be the decisive factor when Muslims are to gain thereby. But when the question is one of justice to the Hindus and of safeguarding their rights, neither their numbers, nor their education, nor their contribution to public revenues, nor their public spirit must count!

### *British Imperialism and The Hindus*

The most machiavellian and the most sinisterly effective move of British imperialism has been the Communal Award. It is directed against the forces of nationalism and democracy in India and against the Hindus, because it was the latter who practically represented those forces in their persons and activities, tried to mould world opinion against British imperialism, and led the struggle for independence. As leading Hindus of Bengal have been among those Hindus of India who have influenced world public opinion so far as it relates to Indo-British relations, British imperialism cannot

be expected to forgive the Bengali Hindu community for what its leaders, past and present, have done. Therefore British imperialist sympathy cannot be expected to range itself on the side of the Hindus of Bengal in their agitation against communal measures like the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, allotment of appointments on a communal basis, and the like. Imperialists cannot be expected to attach so much importance to justice, and the efficiency and integrity of the services and the like as to crushing the principal enemies of imperialism. But as these enemies cannot and will not fight with material weapons—the only ones which imperialists seem to fear, the latter do not consider their opposition of any importance.

It may, however, deserve to be noted by all Britishers that Hindus, including those of Bengal, will take a lot of crushing, and that, down to the date of their final crushing—if it ever comes, they will continue to influence world public opinion relating to Indo-British relations by their thought. Thought, though non-material, does count, being a high explosive.

### *Rajkot and Bengal*

Mahatma Gandhi put himself to great trouble and suffering for the 75,000 souls of Rajkot. And at one time it seemed probable that many provincial Congress ministers would resign on the Rajkot issue. It is neither urged nor expected that the efforts that are being made to kill nationalism and democracy in Bengal, to crush the Hindus and to establish communal rule in Bengal should or would be considered matters of at least equal urgency and importance in high Congress circles—though Bengal contains a larger population than Rajkot and its contributions in the fields of Indian political thought and activity are perhaps not inferior in amount or quality to those of Rajkot. But Hindus outside Bengal may, unreasonably enough, argue logically and create problems for Congress ministries and Congress leaders outside Bengal. Hindus in U. P., Bihar, Orissa, C. P. and Berar, Bombay, and Madras, who form the vast majority of the population of those provinces, may address their ministries and other Congress leaders to the following effect:

"*'Mavam sammati-lakshanam,'* 'silence is an indication of approval.' As you have not expressed any adverse opinion on the communal proposals and measures in Bengal, we take it that they have your approval. Therefore, to

mention only one matter, we want a percentage of posts in the public services equal to our percentage in the population to be reserved for us. Neither more nor less. Please comply with our request."

Congress ministers and Congress leaders outside Bengal should certainly leave Bengal to stew in her own juice. That is undoubtedly provincial autonomy. But if and when the turn for similar stewing comes to other provinces it may be hoped that there may be All-India Thinking as to whether that sort of provincial autonomy is the last word in Indian politics in general or Indian Congress politics in particular.

### *When A Request Is "Mendicancy" And When Not*

When Rabindranath Tagore and some other Bengal leaders telegraphed to the officiating Governor of Bengal urging him not to approve of the Bengal ministry's decision about the communal ratios in the public services of the province, a Bengali weekly sporting Congress politics observed that that sort of political mendicancy was futile. But when in the Rajkot affair Gandhiji invoked the Paramount Power, which it is the declared policy of the Congress to eliminate from Indian politics, and sought the award of the Chief Justice in order to coerce the Thakore Sahib, thus taking a step in conflict with the Congress policy and practice, that paper did not call Gandhiji a political mendicant.

### *Congress Majority, Not Hindu Majority, to be Reduced in Calcutta Corporation*

In a recent speech of his in the Bengal Legislative Council Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, premier of Bengal, said with reference to the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill:

"The Bill had been brought forward in order to turn the Congress out of the Corporation. It did not aim at reducing the majority of the Hindus, but it sought to curb the supremacy of the Congress in the Corporation."

Though, according to the Maulvi, the Bill did not aim at reducing the majority of the Hindus, it has actually done so.

Radical, or Labour, has ever introduced a bill to keep its opponents permanently out of the Parliament. They were not capable of taking any such foolish and undemocratic step.

One Hindu member of the Bengal cabinet has openly declared that the Calcutta Municipal Bill has been unjust to the Hindus. He did not defend the Bill by saying that it wanted to keep out the Congressites.

It is useless to ask Mr. Huq or the Khwaja to be logical. Were it not so, one might have asked them to allot in the Bill seventy per cent. of the seats in the Corporation to the Hindus, laying down expressly that only non-Congressite Hindus would be entitled to stand for these seats, and that, if any Hindu member of the Corporation became a Congressman after election, he would have to vacate his seat.

If that had been done, that would have proved the honesty and sincerity of the two ministerial apologists for the Bill.

By the by, if the object of the Bill be to keep out Congressites, why is there not in it a section or a clause laying down that non-Hindu Congressites, too, must not become or remain members of the Corporation?

Mr. Huq, like other Muslim Leaguers, has repeatedly accused the Congress of being a Hindu organization. But now he disingenuously argues that he wants to shut out Congressites but not Hindus!

The object of the Government of India Act of 1935 is to weaken the Hindu community and the Congress, reducing them to impotence. But as that object has failed in eight provinces and succeeded to a remarkable extent in Bengal, the henchmen of British imperialists in Bengal, viz., the Muslims of the ministerialist party and their patrons the Britishers (the self-styled Europeans), are trying to make that success as complete as possible—mowing hay while the sun shines.

The Hindu members of the legislative bodies in the Hindu majority provinces cannot give a sincerer proof of their admiration of Huq politics than by introducing bills in them for shutting out from local bodies in their provinces all Muslim Leaguers.

say that they had some intelligence. But was it a proof of intelligence when he declared in the course of his Bengal Council speech from which we have quoted above :

"Threats of civil disobedience have been held out. But let me tell you here and now that if the time comes when any unconstitutional agitation is started we will know how to meet the situation."

It would be unbecoming to indulge in tall talk in reply to tall talk. Mr. Huq's might is not greater than the might of the British Empire. The fear of that might, including the nightmare-like fearful memory of what was done to the Hindus in Jamalpur, Dacca, Chittagong, Tamuk, etc., did not deter the Hindus from launching or continuing the perfectly constitutional movement of civil disobedience. Should it be decided to have recourse to civil disobedience again, the fear of the tiger and lion in Mr. Huq will not act as a deterrent. Mr. Huq has sufficient intelligence to understand that in his calmer moments

### French Policy of Peace

PARIS, May 29.

France's desire to live in friendship with all men was stressed by M. Daladier in a speech at the inaugural ceremony of the new American Legion Memorial at Neuilly cemetery.

M. Daladier said they never had the pretension of presenting themselves as a predestined race superior to all others and capable of enslaving them. Their greatest happiness consisted, on the contrary, in feeling themselves similar to the noblest and the most peace loving among them.

"France is not playing a double game on the map of the world. When she proposes peace, it is to peace that she sincerely devotes her effort. In spite of renewed threats and uncertainties of the present hour France does not wish to abandon the hope of saving peace."

Mr. Bullitt, the American Ambassador, in his speech declared: "To Americans, as to all great peoples of the western world, the acceptance of war is a less horrible alternative than the acceptance of enslavement."—*Reuter*

### Britain's Grant to Indian Exchequer

LONDON, May 27.

It is reliably understood that the British Government in accepting the recommendations of the Chafeld Committee have decided to grant £50 millions to the Indian Exchequer for the purpose of the Imperial Defence Scheme.

It is also understood that arrangements are being made for production of Bren Guns in India. Construction of Tanks and Iron Plates will also be undertaken and the contract, it is understood, has been given over to Tata's Ltd.

It is to be noted that the grant is for the purpose of the imperial defence scheme—that India is to be defended as a dependent country forming part of the British Empire. The receipt of this amount is a sort of renewal of the bond of slavery.

We have explained repeatedly in these

pages that the word 'defence' as used by Britishers with reference to India does not mean the defence of her liberties and her independence in her interest, as it does when used with reference to free countries, but that it means the preservation of her subject condition in the interest of Britain.

Even without reference to any such meaning, the grant of £50 millions is insignificant compared to the untold billions which Britain and Britishers have drawn from India.

### The Home Ministers' Conference

A conference of the provincial home ministers was held last month at Simla. Sir Reginald Maxwell, home member of the Government of India, opened it with a speech, in which he dwelt on the desirability of a common front for the maintenance of law and order. It appears from news published in the press that the conference arrived at some unanimous conclusions. That is rather intriguing. Sir Reginald Maxwell, who opened the conference as a sort of informal chairman, is not responsible to the central legislature, but the provincial ministers who took part in the conference are responsible to their respective provincial legislatures. Among them the Congressite ministers were bound by their election manifestoes and pledges to repeal repressive laws, the non-Congressite ministers are not perhaps bound by any such promise. Hence Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Congressite ministers and the non-Congressite ministers would naturally approach the problem of the maintenance of law and order from somewhat different angles. In fact, the Congressite ministers, if they are loyal to Congress principles, must maintain order not only without interfering with the civil liberties and political rights of citizens, but with special and due regard to the safeguarding of these rights and liberties. But one finds from Dr. Menon's article and tabular statement in *The Servant of India*, referred to in a previous note, that such liberties have been infringed both in the eight Congress-governed provinces and in the three others, the press suffering heavily. In Madras the Criminal Law Amendment Act is being utilized for a purpose, namely, the suppression of the Anti-Hindi agitation, for which it was never meant. Moreover, Congress ministers were, on the contrary, expected to act up to their promise to repeal it along with other repressive laws.

The first paragraph of the resolution passed by the Conference "to deal with communal writings and propaganda" runs as follows:

On a general discussion, it was found that in all Provinces inflammatory utterances in the Press and on the public platform tending to incitement of violence are increasing; that matters having a tendency to create communal hatred and bitterness between sections of the community are published as from one Province to another, intensifying tension; that unless these utterances and publications are effectively controlled in all the Provinces simultaneously, violent outbreaks are bound to increase; and that inter provincial co-operation is necessary for the effective control of such propaganda; this Conference resolves as follows:

It is recommended to all Provincial Governments that they should undertake a concerted campaign against propaganda of a communal nature and against incitement to violence of any kind whatever.

Will the provincial government of Bengal undertake a campaign against the bitter anti-Hindu speeches of Mr. Fazlul Huq and against the bitter anti-Hindu writings in the subsidized newspaper *Azad*?

We do not want communal tension, bitterness, hatred and riots. We do not want incitement to violence. But those in authority should go to the root of the matter. The whole structure of the State in India is communal. Its foundation is laid on the accursed Communal Award. There is communalism in the legislatures, the electorates, the cabinets, the local boards, municipalities and unions, the public services, the educational institutions, and the ways of thinking of the men in authority. There is communalism in the tea and drinking water supplied at railway stations! Under the circumstances, it is only hypocrites or fools who can expect to destroy or even curb communalism without destroying the roots of the poison tree. We have hitherto had gubernatorial exhortations to destroy communalism, of which our paraphrase is: "Look here, we, your masters, have taken every care that communalism shall thrive on the soil of India. But we expect you to be good boys, not wicked communalists. Of course, experts in communalism will continue to enjoy our favours." Sir Reginald Maxwell may some day become a Governor. When he inveighed against communalism, he unconsciously served apprenticeship to one function of a Governor. But what sort of apprenticeship to what kind of superior office did the provincial home ministers—particularly the Congressite home ministers—serve?

### "Promotion of Feelings of Enmity Between Different Linguistic Areas"

A Simla message, dated 28th May, relating to the home ministers' conference runs partly as follows:

Another potent source of disturbance of the peace was generally agreed to be the incitement of hatred between

one language group or class and another, such for instance as the Bengali against the Behari or the Gujarati against the Marathi.

This is news to us. Have there been linguistic riots in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal or Bihar?

It appears that it is not beyond doubt whether this type of activity comes within the purview of the law relating to the spread of class hatred or not. The Conference as a whole is believed to have been in favour of clarifying the position.

Hence the fifth paragraph of the resolution referred to in the previous note runs:

It is recommended that the Central Government should similarly consider with its legal advisers whether Section 4 (ii) of the Indian Press (Emergency) Powers Act could be suitably strengthened by the addition of an explanation to make it clear that the promotion of feelings of enmity between different linguistic areas fall within the scope of that sub-section.

We do not know the points in dispute between Gujaratis and Marathas. As regards Bihar and Bengal, the A.-I. C. C. passed a resolution in favour of including in Bengal, the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar. That resolution has not been given effect to. On the contrary, organized efforts are being made to show that there is no Bengali-speaking area in Bihar, or in any case, there is only an insignificant area, and Hindi is being pushed in Bengali-speaking areas. If the law be altered, as suggested in the resolution, Bengali protests against such efforts would be treated as criminal offences.

It is a nasty game.

Bihar ministers do not want to let go Bengali-speaking areas, and Bengal Muslim ministers would not have them for fear of reduction of the Muslim majority.

### "Abuse of Officers of Government"

The 6th paragraph of the home ministers' conference resolution runs as follows:

It is recommended that as a remedy against the abuse of the officers of Government from public platforms or in the Press, an amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code should be considered in order to make such offences cognizable.

"The resulting proposals should be circulated to the provinces. It is, however, the opinion of the Conference that the protection afforded to Government officers in this manner should be against false statements only in order to avoid any suspicion that the object is to protect dishonest officers."

The Bengal ministers wanted to protect themselves by legislation against criticism. But this recommendation goes very much further. According to Manu, Brāhmanas were sacrosanct. According to medieval Christianity the clergy were sacrosanct. According to the home ministers all Government officers are sacrosanct.

## THE TRANSCENDENTAL CLUB, THE DIAL AND BROOK FARM

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

A REMARKABLE group of New England literary men and women, following the lead of Emerson and William Ellery Channing, formed in 1836 what was known as the Transcendental Club. It was very loosely organized, hardly a club in the ordinary sense, and it held together only a few years but its influence on American thought of that day was important. The time was one of extraordinary ferment,—intellectual, religious, moral, social, scientific, industrial. New reform movements and new plans and methods for the betterment of society were springing up in every direction. The anti-slavery movement was attaining much activity and heat. The cause of world-peace (anti-war) was agitating many minds. The growing sciences of astronomy and geology were making havoc of old ideas of creation. There was increasing revolt against Calvinism and creeds of all kinds. Unitarianism and Universalism were starting. Temperance movements were coming to the front. Moral rights were being demanded for women. Better treatment of the insane and of the Indians, prison reform, education for the blind, deaf and dumb, more adequate education for girls and young women, free public schools, socialistic and communistic schemes for ameliorating or abolishing poverty,—all these and other movements and plans for the social betterment—some of them important and lasting, some impractical and short-lived,—were attracting the attention and absorbing the thought of the people of Boston, of New England, and, to some extent, of all America.

To many of the leading minds of New England, thus reaching out in all directions for something new, the transcendentalism of England and Germany, introduced by Channing, Emerson and others of their group, seemed inspiring and satisfying. It offered a welcome antidote for the barren orthodoxy and materialism controlling the religious thought of the period.

Transcendentalism was the philosophy of Kant, interpreted and modified by Goethe, Coleridge and Carlyle and, on this side of the ocean, by Emerson, Channing and others of their circle. It was idealism, as contrasted with materialism. It interpreted the universe spiritually. It made intelligence and reason

the basis of reality. Emerson in his address on the Transcendentalist, said of it, "What are called new views here in New England are not new, but are the very oldest of thoughts cast into the mould of these new times."

The Transcendental Club was an informal association of the New England writers and thinkers who were interested in this new philosophy. They naturally drew together for conference and discussion, at first two or three, then gradually more. Dr. Channing was their first leader, but Emerson came to be looked upon as the outstanding representative of the movement. The first meeting of the Club was at the home of George Ripley, then a prominent clergyman in Boston. It was called, at the beginning, "The Symposium," later "The Hedge Club" after Frederick Hedge, a Unitarian minister in the group, who later was a professor in Harvard Divinity School. But the name "Transcendental Club" was finally given it and became permanent.

The members called themselves the "Club of the like-minded." James Freeman Clarke, who was one of them, said, "I suppose it was because no two of us thought alike." Perhaps it would be truer to say that in spite of differences of opinion, they were united in a common unpatience with routine thinking.

From the beginning, the Club attracted considerable public attention because of its, at that time, radical thought and because of the eminence of the men and women who belonged to it. In addition to Emerson and Channing, George Ripley, Frederick Hedge and James Freeman Clarke, there were Theodore Parker, Bronson Alcott, Henry D. Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Peabody, O. A. Brownson the distinguished Catholic writer, and a few others.

During the four years of the Club's existence Emerson attended its meetings with faithfulness and interest, and whatever he said always had great weight with the other members. Now and then he gently plucked a feather from the wings of a member who got to soaring too high into the upper air of idealistic philosophizing. Though an arch-Transcendentalist himself, Emerson often poked fun at Transcendentalists—fun which, though sometimes keenly sarcastic, was never bitter and had within it a subtle



appreciation. Someone has defined Transcendentalists as persons who try to obey Emerson's oft-repeated, cryptic injunction, "Hitch your wagon to a star," but who, in their eagerness for the star, forget about the wagon. Not so Emerson himself, who back of all else was a keen Yankee and "hugged his fact"; his wagon always jogged along serenely on the solid earth though he never lost sight of the star forever shining before him. So in the midst of all his idealistic philosophizing, he could humorously remark: "A man must have aunts and cousins, must buy carrots and turnips, must have barn and woodshed, must go to market and to the blacksmith shop, must saunter and sleep and be inferior and silly."

Charles Dickens interested himself in the Transcendentalists and resolved to find out at firsthand what they were. In his "American Notes" he wrote: "There has sprung up in Boston a sect of philosophers known as Transcendentalists. On inquiring what the appellation might be supposed to signify, I was given to understand that whatever was unintelligible would certainly be transcendental. Not deriving much comfort from this elucidation, I pursued the inquiry still further, and found that the Transcendentalists are followers of my friend Carlyle, or, I should rather say, of a follower of his, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson."

Transcendentalism has its occasional vagaries (what school has not?), but it has good healthful qualities in spite of them, not least among the number a hearty disgust of Cant, and an aptitude to detect her in all the million varieties of her everlasting wardrobe, and therefore, if I were a Bostonian, I think, I would be a Transcendentalist."

Out of the Transcendental Club grew the little quarterly magazine called *The Dial*. The members of the Club were mostly young, ranging in age from twenty-two to forty, and they were eager to have an organ through which they might disseminate their idealism and perhaps do something toward inspiring freer thought and richer spiritual life in America. Apparently too the members of the Club felt the need for a medium of self-expression, for clarifying their own thought and for communicating with each other. Emerson in his introductory article to the first number said that "the present conductors of this work . . . have obeyed, though with great joy, the strong current of thought and feeling, which, for a few years past, has led many sincere persons in New England to make new demands on literature, and to reprobate that rigor of our

conventions of religion and education which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing so much in horror as new views and the dreams of youth."

In after years Emerson wrote of *The Dial*: "It had its origin in a club of speculative students who found the air in America getting a little too close and stagnant; and the agitation had, perhaps, the fault of being too secondary and bookish in its origin, or caught, not from primary instincts, but from English, and still more from German, books. The journal was commenced with much hope, and liberal promises of many co-operators. But the workmen of sufficient culture for a poetical and philosophical magazine were too few; and as the pages were filled by unpaid contributors, each of whom had, according to the usage and necessity of this country, some paying employment, the journal did not get his best work, but his second best. Its scattered writers had not digested their theories into a distinct dogma, still less into a practical measure which the public could grasp; and the magazine was so eclectic and miscellaneous that each of its readers and writers valued only a small portion of it. For these reasons it never had a large circulation and it was discontinued after four years. But *The Dial* betrayed, through all its juvenility, tumidity, and conventional rubbish, some sparks of the true love and hope, and of the piety to spiritual law, which had moved its friends and founders, and it was received by its early subscribers with almost a religious welcome. In 1848 the writer of these pages found it holding the same affectionate place in many a private book-shelf in England and Scotland which it had secured at home."

*The Dial* was started in 1840, after many months of deliberation. Margaret Fuller was its first editor and some of her best writing was published in it. When she was obliged by ill-health to give it up, Emerson himself became its editor, with Thoreau as his associate. Thoreau was but twenty-three years old when *The Dial* was launched and, from the first, contributed to almost every number. It thus became the means of introducing this young writer to the public.

During the four years of its existence the little quarterly brought out some of the best of Emerson's poems and several of his important essays. All the other members of the Transcendental Club contributed to it and among these contributions was considerable notable

work beside that of Emerson, Thoreau and Margaret Fuller.

Emerson sent a copy of the first number of *The Dial* to Carlyle. Carlyle answered: "The Dial Number came duly. Of course I read it with interest; it is the utterance of what is youngest in your land, pure, ethereal as the voices of the morning. And yet—you know me—for me it is too ethereal, speculative, theoretic; all theory becomes almost a kind of mockery to me."

Whatever value and influence *The Dial* had was due more to Emerson than to anyone else. Though there was some youthful immaturity in it there was also much of striking originality and merit. George Willis Cooke, one of Emerson's biographers, writing in 1881, sums up its merits as follows: "It was the first American periodical to assume a character and aim of its own. However many its deficiencies, in spite of all the sport it gave the critics, its influence was wholesome and vigorous. It quickened thought, gave its writers freedom of expression, and greatly stimulated originality. The school of writers which it formed and brought before the public has been the most productive and helpful we have yet seen in this country."

We have the authority of Emerson himself for the statement that the Transcendental Club was the source not only of *The Dial* but also of Brook Farm. He himself did not enter as actively and whole-heartedly into this second undertaking as into the first. While he sympathized with certain aspects of it, he was critical of others.

Brook Farm was established in 1841, the year after the first publication of *The Dial*. George Ripley, Charles Dana, William Henry Channing, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Hawthorne, Bronson Alcott were among the leaders in it. Other men and women joined with these and an association was formed which purchased a farm in West Roxbury. Here buildings to house the members and their families were put up and a communistic community was started. Emerson wrote of it: "There was, no doubt, great variety of character and purpose in the members of the community. It consisted in the main of young people, few of middle age and none old. Those who inspired and organized it were, of course, persons impatient of the routine, the uniformity, perhaps they would say the squalid contentment of society around them, which was so timid and skeptical of any progress." Their idea was that by thus uniting in community living they could each have a share

in the physical labor upon which life depends and so bring about an ideal combination of mental work and bodily work, of toil and leisure, with the solace and pleasure of companionship always at hand. Though the original sources of the idea were the French Utopians, Claud Saint-Simon and Francis Fourier, and the Englishman Robert Dale Owen, yet at Brook Farm it was worked out in a purely New England fashion. It was more simple in its organization and more free and spontaneous in its activities than the communities established in Europe under the direct influence of Saint-Simon, Fourier or Owen. For two years it kept its original simplicity and freedom,—and this was perhaps the happiest part of its history. Then under the influence of certain new members who were ardent followers of Fourier, a new Constitution was adopted, which made the association a little more formal, a little more of a business undertaking, a little less free and spontaneous, and, seemingly a little less content and happy.

The two hundred acres in Brook Farm consisted of land that was not first quality,—land which required much hard work to make it satisfactorily productive. The aim was to make the farm pay. Mr. Ripley had considerable knowledge of advanced agricultural methods which he endeavored to carry into operation. Farm produce was to be sold as a source of revenue. There was also a workshop in which several kinds of useful articles were manufactured to be sold outside. The community published a paper called *The Harbinger*, with Mr John Dwight as editor. All adults in the colony were expected to perform a given number of hours of manual labor of some kind, generally choosing their own kind. For this they were allowed pay, the same amount for men and for women.

There was a keen literary life; the best books were read and discussed. Lecturers were brought from Boston and elsewhere to speak in diverse subjects. There was a happy social life, with many parties, dances and other gatherings. The novelty of the place brought frequent visitors, who were liable to come at almost any hour of day or night. They were always hospitably entertained. Emerson says, "Of course every visitor found that there was a comic side to this Paradise of shepherds and shepherdesses. There was a stove in every chamber and everyone might burn as much wood as he or she would saw. The ladies took cold on washing-day; so it was ordained that the gentlemen-shepherds should wring and hang out the clothes, which they punctually did.

And it would sometimes occur that when they danced in the evening, clothespins dropped plentifully from their pockets." Again, he tells us, "Married women, I believe, uniformly decided against the community. It was to them like the brassy and lacquered life in hotels. The common school was well enough but to the common nursery they had grave objections. Eggs might be hatched in ovens, but the hen on her own account much preferred the old way. A hen without her chickens was but half a hen."

A school was established for the colony with educational ideals that were high, and, for the most part, with excellent teachers,—Mr. and Mrs. Ripley, Mr. Dwight and Mr. Dana making themselves a part of the active teaching group. The school accepted pupils from outside at purposely low tuition rates, and its course extended from primary to college-preparatory work. George William Curtis, who in his youth spent some time at the Farm, was an advanced pupil in the School, and in his later life looked back to it with warm interest, declaring that it gave him the most valuable part of his education.

The community was small at first, numbering about twenty, later it increased to seventy. As time went on, applicants for membership increased until there were more than could be received. The original idea of a small and simple project gradually changed and at length after some debate it was decided to erect a large building to be the headquarters of the project and the center of the community activities. This involved a large expense and money had to be borrowed to do it. Possibly all might have turned out successfully had it not been for a sudden calamity. Before the new building was completed it caught fire and

burned to the ground. This was a blow that staggered everyone. Though the community went on with its activities as usual for a time, hope and courage were dampened. It was not long before members began one by one to withdraw, as from a sinking ship, and to seek homes and employment elsewhere. All saw that the end was not far off. Emerson tells us, "The society at Brook Farm existed, I think, about six or seven years and then broke up; the farm was sold, and I believe all the partners came out with pecuniary loss. Some of them had spent on it the accumulations of years. I suppose they all, at the moment, regarded it as a failure. I do not think they so regard it now, but probably as an important chapter in their experience which has been of lifelong value. What knowledge of themselves and of each other, what various practical wisdom, what personal power, what studies of character, what accumulated culture many of the members owed to it!"

A summing up of the merits of the Brook Farm experiment is the following passage from Emerson: "The founders of Brook Farm should have the praise, that they made what all people try to make, an agreeable place to live in. All comers, even the most fastidious, found it the pleasantest of residences. It is certain that freedom from household routine, variety of character and talent, variety of work, variety of means of thought and instruction, art, music, poetry, reading, masquerade, did not permit sluggishness or despondency; broke up routine. There is agreement in the testimony that it was, to most of the associates, education; to many, the most important period of their life, the birth of valued friendships, their first acquaintance with the riches of conversation, their training in behaviour."



## THE STRANDED EMIGRANTS AT MATIABRUZ

By C. F. ANDREWS

I HAVE written letters continually to the papers on this very painful subject and have also spoken on public platforms, but the evil has gone on unremedied for nearly twenty years. It has appeared to me therefore that more support may be given to the programme that I have proposed, if I can set it out at greater length than can be afforded to it when it has been briefly presented in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. Those who have already grasped the subject in outline may be glad to see it stated more fully with its difficulties disclosed.

The evil goes back to the system of indentured labour itself, whereby many hundreds of thousands of villagers were recruited from the Indian villages (chiefly by fraud) to go out to the sugar plantations in the distant British colonies. One of the few inducements which caused the more intelligent of these villagers to go out was the promise of a "free passage" at the expiry of their indenture. The value of this free passage, when the journey was taken from the West Indies, might be put down as equivalent to about £20. In the past, many thousands have taken this free passage and returned with their families to India. But of these, a rough estimate may be given, that about 60 per cent have been welcomed back into their own villages, as far as North India is concerned. In South India, owing to the constant nearer emigration to Malaya and Ceylon, which has made these villages more "migration conscious," the proportion received back on their return appears to be higher.

In the United Provinces and Bihar, a rough estimate shows that out of the ship-loads of returned emigrants as many as 40 per cent have been rejected by the upcountry villagers and have slowly drifted down to the docks of Calcutta, where their only desire is to get on board a ship that will take them back to the colony from whence they have come to India. Thus for a very large number of these indentured emigrants, the free passage has proved, not a benefit at all, but a snare and a delusion; and they have most bitterly regretted the day when they took it and returned to India. Most pitiable of all is the fate of the children, whom they brought back with them. These had no idea of India, and cannot bear the Indian climate and the Indian conditions, especially where they are thus left derelict in the slums of Matiabruz and Akra

Bagan. They die of dysentery and malignant malaria and not seldom of cholera. Thus, the terribly high death-rate, so close to the rest of the population of Calcutta, makes their presence there a very alarming source of infection and leads to the spread of disease.

Added to this, their extreme misery and want, with no steady employment and no means of getting work, has led them inevitably on the down-grade path to beggary and mendicancy. It is estimated that some two hundred beggars have been added to the streets of Calcutta from this source alone. Beggary itself spreads like a disease, and one of the gravest of all difficulties, which we have had to meet in dealing with this subject, is the danger of merely encouraging mendicancy, instead of clearing away the great danger of further infection. In seeking for remedies, it is absolutely necessary to get at the root of the evil and not to deal merely with symptoms.

There are three things that stand out quite clearly as necessary.

(1) These "free passages" must be compensated for in the colonies themselves by offers of land or money—preferably land. This will immediately reduce the number, who may still wish to return, to such a small amount, that it will mean practically the end of the whole matter. The Dutch Guiana Government have already done this, and as a consequence, when the last emigrant boat left the West Indies for Calcutta, it contained only 13 from Dutch Guiana, while 867 came from British Guiana. It is true that the number of Indians in Dutch Guiana is under 40,000, as compared with 140,000 in British Guiana, but still even then the figures are significant. From my own experience in British Guiana, I can assert confidently that with Indian opinion itself in that Colony strongly against this repatriation, and with the natural eagerness of those who are settled in the country to get freehold land for rice cultivation, the numbers that would wish to come back if compensation was offered would be almost nil.

(2) The greatest tragedy has been that of the young people, who have been brought over by their parents. We call these the "Colonial-born" and it has been made abundantly clear that their condition when they drift back to Calcutta is the most pitiable of all. The death-rate among them is very high indeed; and it is

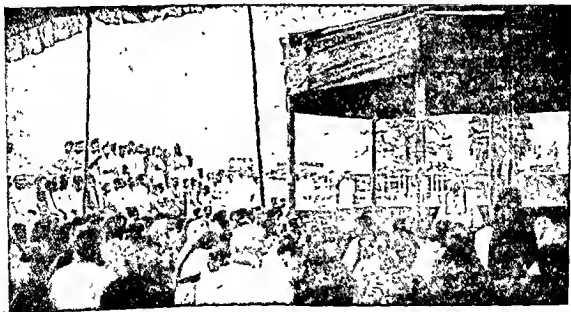
impossible for us to acquiesce in their present state, without lifting a finger to help them. Most of them had no choice about coming to India, because their parents brought them when they were young. They knew nothing about Indian conditions. They do not like India. They say, "We do not belong here: send us back to our own motherland."

It is obvious, of course, that Colonial Governments are not philanthropic societies: but it may be pointed out to a colony like British Guiana, which is altogether under-populated, that at least the able-bodied among these people, who were born in British Guiana, would be an asset to the Colony, where thousands of acres of very fertile land is left uncultivated for lack of population. British Guiana, in the past, has sent over very expensive delegations to India in order to persuade the Indian people to send more emigrants over, and the Indian Government has rightly refused. But here are able-bodied young people, who were born in British Guiana, and are only too eager to get back to their own birth-place. They are doing no good, but only harm in India; and they do not belong to India. Surely the able-bodied, at least, ought to be sent back to their own country, and the Government of India ought to see to it that they return as speedily as possible. If it were necessary for the Government of India to bear part of the

cost, it should be borne, in order to put an end to this evil—as far as possible.

(3) The last question is one of pure charity and humanity. Cannot something be done to make the lot of those who are lying ill, diseased, infirm, and decrepit, less pitiable than it is? Again and again, I have gone down with Mr. H. K. Mukerji of the Y. M. C. A., and in earlier days with Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, when he was editing *Vishal-bharat*, and our hearts have been pained beyond measure by what we have seen. Only a few days ago, on two separate days, I had to go journeys with the Garden Reach Ambulance to the Hospital in Elgin Road, bringing altogether on different journeys, four of these returned emigrants who were terribly ill, one of whom died on the same evening on which I took him into the Hospital. Cannot something at least be done for those who are in such utter misery as this?

The All-India Women's Conference has decided to take up the matter. The Society for the Protection of Children has also been helping in every way possible. My own efforts,—with so much work elsewhere to be done—must of necessity be only occasional, for I do not live in Calcutta. But I am sure of one thing, that God's blessing will richly descend on any one who will undertake this service of mercy and compassion.



Birthday Celebration of Rabindranath at Santiniketan  
Photograph by Satyendranath Dasi

## CALL OF THE SUN

By DR. SUDHINDRA NATH SINHA, M A

It is curious that the colour of the skin should have played and still be playing such a great part in the social and political life of the peoples that inhabit our planet. The white or non-pigmented people look down upon the coloured or pigmented people, and, incompatible as it may sound, they themselves have gone crazy over pigmentation, or tanning as they call it. One has only to look around here, there and everywhere in Europe to comprehend the firm grip this fad has over the white people. Meadows, seabeach, lake and river-sides are packed up, particularly during holidays, with people eager to get pigmented within the shortest possible time. They are mostly from towns and cities where there is hardly enough sun to colour the skin. Even the manufacturers are busy exploiting this craze. They have put all sorts of pastes and powders in the market, 'aids' to tanning, which benefit 'souls rather than the skin' of the pigment-seekers. Europeans, young and old, often asked me the secret of my brown skin. Why is this craze?

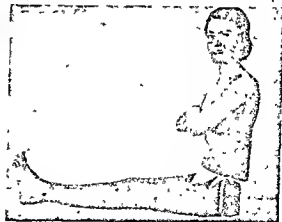
So far so good. But excessive and uncontrolled exposure to the sun, as is popularly indulged in, not infrequently lead to unpleasant and even grave accidents. Sun is the most powerful biotic energy in the universe; and one must know how to handle it. In dealing with the sun wisdom is bliss, and it is folly to be ignorant. Most people, unfortunately, are innocent of any conception of scientific sunbathing. These lines will, it is hoped, be of help to people who want to know why sunbathing is advocated.

In all countries in all ages there have been sun-worshippers. Beginning from the dawn of humanity to our days, sun's blessing has been invoked to play its great rôle in preserving human life. The lores of India, Egypt, Greece and Rome testify to that.

Life draws its energy from the sun. In fact, existence would not be possible if there were no sun. Humans, animals, vegetables, and, for that matter, all living objects need sunlight to keep the life going.



A tubercular patient



The same patient cured by Sunbath

Evidently, this is a conscious or unconscious attempt on the part of the people to get back to the caress of the sun and the air, modern civilization has been trying hard to deprive them of. They have begun to quicken to the instinctive urge to respond to the call of the sun. After all, there is great truth in the statement that 'civilization was born in countries with plenty of sunshine.'

In the study of the influence of sunlight on the human physiological system, it is the skin that claims the place of honour. The rays are received by the skin, and, after necessary transformations and adjustments the latter transmits them to different parts and organs of the body. Without intervention of the skin the organs of the body would be killed by the strong rays of

the sun. This fact leads us to the consideration of the skin in its relation to the sunlight.

The first noticeable effect of the sunlight on the skin is development of pigment, the colouring matter of human skin. Authorities differ regarding the mode of formation of this substance. They, however, seem to agree :

(1) That pigment protects the body against excessive exposure to sunlight.

(2) That pigment transforms the light energy into an energy that brings about certain chemical reactions useful in body-defence.

In any case, its primary function is to check excessive light and to convert the light energy into heat energy which is sweated off when excessive. Besides, the cosmetic touch pigment gives to the skin is characteristic. It renders the skin remarkably softer, smoother, and more elastic than the non-pigmented skin. Further, the pigmented skin loses all roughness and wrinkles and freckles, the common and much dreaded blemishes of non-pigmented skin. Let the white people take this hint, act up to it and they will have got rid of their many worries and stopped a steady leakage in their purse in the bargain !

The skin is endowed with a rich blood supply. The sunlight acting on the skin induces a pronounced dilatation of the blood vessels. It is a common experience that parts of the skin habitually exposed to the sunlight are more actively irrigated by blood than the less exposed areas. The blood vessels of these areas are more numerous than in other parts. Also these exposed parts are considerably more resistant to changes of temperature and infective agents. Moreover, the dilated vessels draw out blood to the surface, and the deep-seated organs are relieved of congestion. De-congestion facilitates normal circulation and the organs function better. Further, this movement allows the entire volume of blood in the body to derive the beneficial effects of sunlight. The number of blood corpuscles, red and white, multiply, and they function more energetically. The red corpuscles have their power of resistance increased. There is proportionate increase of haemoglobin; calcium and phosphorus contents of the blood rise, as also the bacteria-killing power.

The skin contains the peripheral extensions of the nervous system, innumerable terminals of which form an extensive webwork. Sunlight strikes against this webwork and excites resonance which is transmitted to the nerve-centres. The centres, on their part, transmit the resonance to the different organs in the body which respond by a show of improved functioning. The

mechanism is not difficult to follow when it is known that the skin is intimately associated with the vital organs of the body through reflex connections.

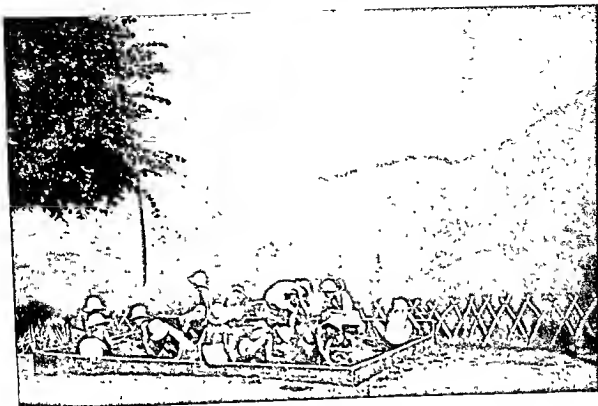
Contact with sunlight brings about a remarkable change in the muscles of the body. They become strong and graceful without undue development of particular muscle or muscles often noticeable in the wrestlers and in the muscle-cult people. This improvement is effected by movement of blood from the deeper parts towards the surface, as sunlight dilates the vessels of the skin, through the layers of the muscles. As the blood flows through the muscles, it produces an effect that may be compared to that of massaging. Moreover, the nerves feeding the muscles are themselves stimulated by sunlight and produce a tonic effect. Considered part by part, the strengthening of the thoracic muscles improves respiration; well-developed back muscles bring in a vigorous but natural support to the spine; and well-developed abdominal muscles provide that support to the abdomen so essential for efficiency of its organs. Finally, the well-developed muscles of the limbs complete the picture of a strong and graceful human-being.

The helpful action of sunlight on the skeleton is evident from calcification of de-calcified bones. Vitamin D is essential for normal development of bones. This is formed when sunlight acts on the skin. The skin contains lipid, a substance which closely resembles fat. Activated by sunlight lipid liberates Vitamin D. Moreover, we already know that sunlight by its action on the blood increases its calcium and phosphorus contents. A constant and steady supply of calcium and phosphorus is essential for the proper development of bones in children.

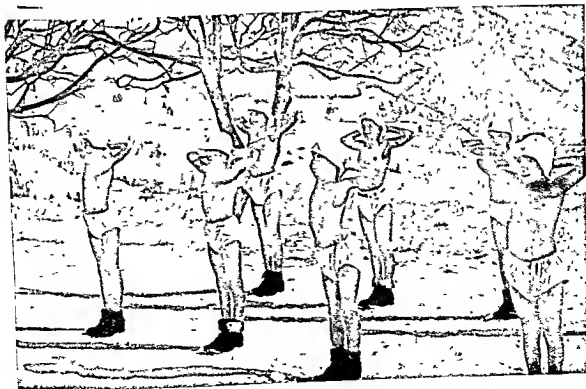
Human body is in constant danger of being invaded by various infective agents. Large numbers of pathogenic organisms are present on the surface of, as well as, inside the body. The body tolerates their presence, but does not allow them to do any damage because of the immunity it possesses. Sunlight through its action on the skin strengthens this immunity.

The skin through some of its cells secretes, chemical substances that support body metabolism. Humans take in different food-stuffs. When burned with oxygen, these stuffs yield the energy that maintains life. In the course of this process of burning, Carbon dioxide, water, heat, nitrogen, etc. are given out. These activities inside the body to convert food into life-energy are known as metabolism. Sunlight

CALL OF THE SUN

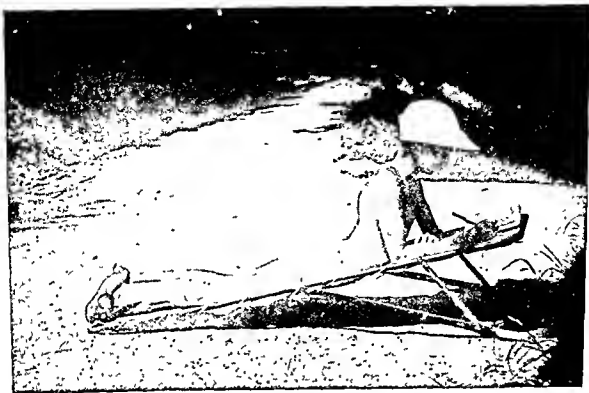


Play and Sunbath



Breathing Exercise and Sunbath





Sunbath and Study



Sunbath in Hospital

stirs up metabolism. Certain waste products of metabolism are eliminated through sweat and sebaceous matter secreted by the skin. Because of this function the skin is, in times of need, a vital relief to the kidneys—a true vicar.

Sunlight excites the endocrine glands to better activity. Improper functioning of these glands has been, of late, engaging great deal of attention as responsible for the mental and physical defects in children and disturbance of various normal functions in adults. Sunlight restores normal activity to these glands.

It has been found that humans and animals lose breeding power due to lack of sunshine. Chickens lay more eggs and cows give more milk when exposed to sunlight. Remarkable

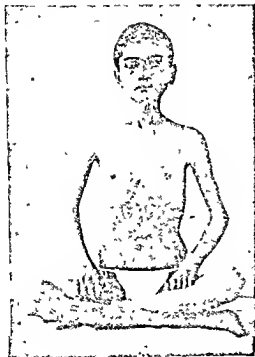
onset of evil effects resulting from lack of nutrition. Remarks Sir Leonard Hill:

It was observed in Vienna that systematic exposure to sunlight of children living on deficient diet prevented, or brought about healing of rachitic process in their bones; while children confined in the hospital wards all showed rickets bones except one who lying in a cot near an open door was crossed by the sunbeam.

Speaking on the subject, Monteunis from Nice said:

".....Man does not live on bread alone; he feeds on air as well, this being the bread of respiration; over and above the digestive and respiratory nourishment there is also a cutaneous one."

The skin does not receive the care and attention it deserves, and is perhaps the most



A tubercular male patient



The same patient cured by Sunbath

is the statement that Eskimo women cease to menstruate during the long winter months of no sun.

Another great gain from regular exposure to sunlight is that it makes good the deficiency in diet. A well-chosen diet with a liberal supply of essential food principles will keep humans and animals alive for long periods in the absence of sunlight. On the other hand, when the diet is deficient, such as millions in India have, exposure to sunlight can ward off or delay the

neglected of all bodily organs. People are alert about the well-being of other organs of the body, but indifferent to the needs of the skin. This indifference is, no doubt, due to ignorance and must by all means be removed. Few people know what part the skin plays in human life; still fewer know that well-being of other organs independently or irrespective of the state of the skin, is out of the question; and that the skin is directly and indirectly responsible for the safety, well-being and efficiency of the human

organism. To neglect the skin is to deliver a blow to the system as a whole.

Skin of the modern civilised humans is universally anaemic and feeble. In a civilisation where lavishness and not scientific selection of clothing is the standard, it is no wonder that the skin is unhealthy and inefficient. Health and efficiency of the skin come from its direct contact with the sunlight and the air, a contact people hardly allow the skin to have. Even children have to carry unnecessary and unhygienic clothing to the great detriment of their health. It is distressing to notice the quantity of linen one carries on the body even in the hot Indian climate. Unhygienic clothing creates a hot and humid atmosphere in which the skin gets exhausted and weak. Such a skin cannot fulfil its functions. Due to its weakness and exhaustion it cannot transmit necessary stimulus to the organs of the body which are consequently put out of gear. This makes the defensive mechanism shaky which may crumble at the first impact with the enemy. Evidently, the consequences of the treatment it is the lot of the skin to receive, are of far-reaching nature.

Scientific sunbathing is based on and governed by definite laws evolved out of the experiences extending over a long period. To be effective it must strictly adhere to these laws. Sunlight has got to be administered in regulated doses. It is one thing to make hay while the sun shines, and quite another to bury with

the sun. If people stick to the slow sunning, they will convert their body into rocky soil where dangerous microbes cannot grow or thrive.

Nobody wants to die. But how to dodge death at least for a long time? Laboratories may not help; neither will surgeons and physicians with their knives and bottles. Then? The good old sun is there to help you. Respond to its call and you are safe. Rollier, the greatest of the modern sun-worshippers, has been telling us for nearly half a century how one may keep young in body and mind long and grow old slowly by life in the sun and in the open.

It is worth mentioning that sunlight is essential not only because it fortifies the body by stimulating the normal functions but also because it has great preventive and curative properties. Armed with science and inspired by a clearer consciousness of our duties towards our fellow-beings, we can fight, with the surest weapon that we have in the sunlight, the dangerous microbes which thrive in a closed, invisible world.

Though a land of plenty of sunshine, it is curious that modern India is far behind other countries in recognising the importance of sunlight in human life. Is it because of the 'silly simplicity' of the method involved in utilising the sun, or is it because the effect of sunning is slow and gradual like nature and not sudden or dramatic like that following the slash of a knife?

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In the dawn of a new age  
why waver, wise fool, in subtle disputes,  
and miss your chance for starting  
and empty your thoughts into a bottomless doubt?

Like a desperate torrent fighting an obdurate mountain gorge,  
take a wild leap into your fate, dark and strange,  
win it for your own through a defiant courage  
challenged by obstacles.

RAJINERANATH TAGORE

## ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-ASIANISM

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS,

*Department of History, College of the City of New York*

ANTI-SEMITISM, persecution of Jews in Christian lands, is based upon three things: (a) religious intolerance, (b) racial discrimination and (c) depriving the numerically weak and politically defenseless of the fruits of their labour by the powerful bullies who are inferior in efficiency and ability to the persecuted minority. I have come to this conclusion after mature deliberation and considerable study on the subject.

Persecution of the Jews has been practised by various peoples in all ages, except during the period when the Jews enjoyed political power in their own homeland in Palestine. It may be also mentioned that in the past the Jews suffered less in Moslem countries than they did in Christian lands. The Romans persecuted the Jews who tried to oppose Roman conquest of their homeland; and the Jews scattered themselves in all parts of the Roman Empire and other regions to live in comparative safety and at the same time serving the community where they got refuge, to the best of their ability and to the extent they were given opportunity to participate in the economic life of the people. The Jews could work only in certain professions where they had the opportunity to work. In most countries they were not allowed to own or cultivate land. But through their efficiency and hard labour in those avenues where they were allowed to work, they bettered their lot to secure economic independence; because in it lay their relative freedom and safety. But their very success economically, became in every instance the object of attack by the less efficient and less industrious and greedy people of the land of refuge. They plundered the unfortunate Jews of their property, they massacred them; and in justification of their barbarism and savagery, they took refuge under the cloak of religion or patriotism.

The "wandering Jew," the homeless Jew, the supposedly international Jew is the product of the persecution of the politically weak by the Christian world. It is not the Germans alone that have persecuted the Jews. Yes, the Italians—the Romans persecuted them. The English persecuted and banished them and then the Jews sought refuge in France. When the French persecuted them, the Jews went to Spain and Portugal. When they were perse-

cuted in Spain and Portugal, they left for Germany and Eastern Europe. The relative emancipation and freedom of the Jews came in European countries, after the French Revolution, which glorified rights of men. Yet the Jews have been victims of persecution in Russia, Roumania, Poland and other lands. But the German persecution of the Jews under the present Hitler regime has no parallel in history. But the Germans have capitalised the old ideas of religious intolerance, racial discrimination and plundering the defenseless to satisfy the greed of the more powerful, under the pretext of saving their country from "calamities caused by the Jews."

No sane man, with any sense of justice, can believe in the charges levelled against the Jews by the Nazis. Lest I be misunderstood, I wish to make it clear that all the Jews are not saints. There are bad Jews or bad Japanese or bad Christians or Americans. It is not only absurd, but criminal to class the Jews—the Jews of Germany—as if they were all criminals and thus punish them all and rob them of their freedom and property.

The Jews in Germany, in fact the Jews in all the so-called Christian lands—are in minority and are devoid of dominant political power; and therefore it is ridiculous to assert that the Jews in Germany persecuted the Germans. Out of more than 65,000,000 of people of Germany proper, the number of the Jews was barely 650,000, i.e., one-tenth of one per cent of the total population. How can the Jews be the cause of the downfall of the dominant Germans who were ruling the country's destiny? If that may be conceived to be possible then the Germans must be very inferior people. But the Germans are undoubtedly very efficient and intelligent and they claim themselves to be God's chosen people—the Nordics and pure Aryans—!

We have been told that the Jews deprived the Germans of the important positions in universities, and the Jews overcrowded the fields of legal, medical, engineering and other professions. With no special privileges afforded to the Jews and with equal opportunity afforded to all German citizens to enter all professions, if 650,000 Jews could oust the best brains repre-

sented by the vast majority of the German Christians, then again it simply demonstrates superior efficiency of the Jewish people. In fact the Jews of Germany demonstrated their superiority in world competition when they, taking their number into consideration, won more Nobel Prizes than any other racial or religious groups.

## II

Of all the peoples of the world, the peoples of Asia, those who had been subjugated and ill-treated by the western and Christian imperialist powers and racial groups, are in a better position to understand the plight of the Jews. Indian labourers were taken from their homeland as indentured labourers to all parts of the world, particularly in Africa and British West Indies. The semi-slave Indians, through their hard labour freed themselves from awful lot and worked hard to improve their condition. They bought lands and started to become farmers; some adopted trades and started small business and some rose in prominence in various walks of life, overcoming all obstacles imposed against them by the superior Christian white men. Even today, Indians born in South America are treated as semi-slaves. They are segregated and treated as inferior people and abominable laws have been enacted to prevent the possibility of regeneration of their inferior economic and political position.

Anti-Asiatic laws are operating nearly all over the British dominions—Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand—Anti-Asian Immigration and land laws are in operation in the democracy of the United States. The Hindus, Chinese and the Japanese who developed swamps and desert lands of California lost their lands; because they were Asiatics. Asiatics are not allowed to become citizens of the United States, the greatest of all democracies! *The curse of racial imperialism* of the west has done great harm to the cause of better understanding among peoples. It has degenerated the peoples of the west spiritually and it has created a feeling of opposition to the people of the west in the minds of the peoples of Asia. It has created a gap between the East and the West. It has created a spiritual unrest, based upon racial antagonism and hatred. The peoples of Asia must not by their actions add fuel to the fire of racial discrimination.

Behind anti-semitism there is the curse of racial and religious bigotry and spirit of economic exploitation. This curse, which has been propagated by the German leaders of the

Nazi party, has taken root in Italy, because of pure political reasons. Signor Mussolini is not an ignorant man. But with all his enlightenment, he, as an ally of Herr Hitler, who has made the Jews of the world as Germany's mortal enemies, has also chosen to practise anti-semitism, under the pretext of patriotism and please his German ally who promises him effective help in international politics. For reasons of international politics British imperialists are indirectly promoting Arab-Jewish conflict, as they have provoked at times Hindu-Moslem disunity in India. There are also indications that some blind Japanese leaders, supposedly to cement friendship with Herr Hitler's people and promote 'cultural co-operation' between Japan and Germany, are advocating definitely anti-semitic measures in their lands. They may justify this stand because some of the British and American Jews have taken a stand against Japan's policies in China. Tens of thousands of British and American Christians have done the same thing; but the Japanese do not advocate anti-Christian measures in their land. In India some of the influential, but opportunist politicians, belonging to the All-India National Congress Party, are acting as anti-semites, catering to extra-territorial and communal patriotism of Indian Moslems who think more of their Arab brothers than their own countrymen of different faith and even of their own faith in India. These are disturbing signs for the future of the world, indicating that the peoples of Asia are being contaminated with the curse of religious and racial bigotry.

## III

The ideal of freedom for the peoples of Asia is the most important impetus for social, political and industrial regeneration of the Asian peoples in all lands. This urge for freedom is embodied in the new Nationalism in Asia. The Asian peoples want to free themselves from the last vestige of foreign domination—control and rule by western powers. The movement for abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, and the demand for Indian freedom are mere expressions of the deep-rooted *Will to Power*, existent in all peoples with vitality. The new urge of industrialisation of Asian countries are political and economic necessities to furnish material power for national defence and to check economic exploitation of their lands by western capitalists, and also to improve the lot of the peoples of Asia who have been reduced to poverty by their alien rulers. Lastly, the peoples of Asia are interested in asserting them-

selves in all fields of human activities that they may not only be regarded as equals of the dominant western peoples, but that the last vestige of so-called racial inequality directed against the fundamental human rights of Asian peoples may be removed. In short when one deeply meditates over the future of the peoples of Asia, it becomes clear that the desire of attaining human liberty and equality is the fountain which is feeding the stream of Asian Freedom. Thus let us not forget the truth that there is no room within that sphere in Asia, which is working for political, economic and racial freedom, for any form of discrimination and restriction to human-beings merely on the basis of race, creed or color

## IV

If we analyse the recent movements for Asian Independence, we find that the people of Japan have played the most important part not only through their achievements in the political, economic, industrial and intellectual fields, but also by setting an example for all the Asian peoples that they can hold their own with the so-called superior peoples of the West. At the beginning of the twentieth century when the Japanese defeated the Russians and saved China from being dismembered by the Western Christian Powers, then Germany under the leadership of Kaiser Wilhelm raised the bogey of "Yellow Peril," which worked against Japan as well as China and India. Assumption of political power by the peoples of China, Japan and India will be a menace to Western Imperialism, and this thought is one of the prime causes of anti-Asianism nearly in all countries of the West.

Because Japan fought against Germany and sided with the Entente Allies and the United States, there was a very great bitterness against Japan in Germany after the World War. Herr Hitler's racial policy is anti-Asian and there is no doubt about it. But Herr Hitler's love for Japan and the Arabs is based upon political

expediency. He supports the semitic Arabs to embarrass Britain and he is seeking Japanese co-operation to save Germany from being isolated in world politics. Germany is using Japan as a pawn in world politics solely to promote German interests. It is a tragedy that, owing to unforeseen events in China and the attitude of other nations which want to isolate Japan in world politics, the Japanese are forced to become partners of the anti-Communist Pact—combination of Germany, Italy and Japan. This combination may be useful against Anglo-French combination or any other combination which may be hostile to Japan and Japan's political aspirations of enforcing the New Order in Eastern Asia—the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine under the leadership of Japan. But it would be the greatest calamity for Japan and all Asia, if Japanese statesmen in their short-sightedness and mere political expediency start any movement which will be against the principle of Racial Equality, which Japan's representatives in the Versailles Peace Conference strenuously advocated to have it incorporated as one of the fundamental ideas behind the covenant of the League of Nations. Japan must not betray her heritage and she must not be a party to any form of racial discrimination.

If the peoples of China, India and Japan or any other country who are working for their political, economic and spiritual emancipation, practise anti-semitism for some reasons of temporary gain, then they do not deserve that real freedom which is the expression of true nobility and recognition of Freedom for all. In these days of civilised barbarism or racial hatred and religious intolerance and unceasing political and economic warfare, the peoples of Asia should extend aid to the persecuted Jews, human-beings who by the accident of fate also belong to one of the branches of the disinherited and persecuted children in Asia.

New York City,  
February 11, 1939



## SOME NOTES ON MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

By C. F. ANDREWS

### I

For a long time after the European War was ended and the still more ruinous peace had run its course, it seemed as if English poetry in its higher ranges had almost ceased to function.

Some of the noblest spirits of our era, such as Rupert Brooke, had suffered death in the War itself. Others had been left wounded and disabled. Some, whose fate was even more deplorable, had been so mentally injured by War's brutalities that their powers of song had been dried up. It was a barren and unprofitable time, and there were many of those still living, whom Gogol, the Russian novelist, might have called "Dead Souls."

Outside the younger generation, which had so grievously suffered, there happened to be living in England, through the War period itself, some older writers, whose reputation had already been made. These all came through the world cataclysm with its marks of suffering branded deeply upon them. Among such were three,—Robert Bridges, W. B. Yeats, and his fellow Irishman, G. W. Russell, who had taken as his *nom-de-plume* the curious initials A. E. It is interesting now to recall, that both of these Irish poets looked out towards India and the East for the restoration of that foundation of serene peace and mature wisdom which had been shattered by the War in the West.

### II

When I met George Russell in London, not long before his death, he was evidently a broken man—broken physically in health, but much more seriously injured in his keenly sensitive and tenderly loving spirit.

His own friends, he told me mournfully, had passed away, one by one, leaving him alone. That ample, boundless freedom of soul, which had been his in earlier days, had now departed. The riddle of human existence in this shell-shocked world had proved too hard for him, and at times he had felt himself stranded and left behind at the ebb of the tide like a derelict ship uselessly thrown up on the beach. He had known great domestic sorrow, and this had still further increased his inner grief over the universal tragedy of the West. We talked alone together far into the night over the events of

the past and the sombre aspect of the future. It hardly came as a surprise to me later on to read in the newspapers that his saddened life was ended. For he had evidently known that death was near and had welcomed its approach.

Robert Bridges had felt with equal pain of heart the agony through which humanity in the West had passed. It had mellowed the wisdom of his old age and given him a new understanding of history and also new powers of expression in his own lucid mother-tongue. The *Testament of Beauty* was slowly written. It formed his own noblest contribution to the pattern of the future. About this I shall write later on in these notes.

Only once, before the War, I had met W. B. Yeats in London, when he was at the height of his fame as a poet. He had, at that time, introduced Rabindranath Tagore to the West as the true embodiment of all that was noble and beautiful in the soul of the East. The post-War years, in spite of all their barrenness, were able to bring to Yeats a deeper note of song. This carried him still further forward beyond the marvellous melody of that first period of his verse, when he was one of a young band of singers and play-wrights at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, who ushered in together the national awakening of art and literature, music and song, in Europe.

### III

D. H. Lawrence, at this point, needs some special remembrance in a paragraph by himself; for he was always a solitary genius marking a lonely trail. During the War, he suffered bitterly, because he saw with clear eyes the world's impending ruin, as hate crowded in upon hate. He seemed, in his cruelly tortured life, to be "a man born out of due time"—to use a striking phrase from St. Paul's Epistles; for the universe seemed to be against him.

He had a body, mortally diseased from an early age, and this war linked with a marvellously far-seeing mind. In days to come, his greatest thoughts may find a congenial soil in which to bear fruit; but the time has not come yet.

Not seldom, in the past history of English poetry, the adverse circumstances which D. H.

Lawrence encountered have proved to be the main stimulus whereby the genius of a poet, such as Keats or Shelley or Frances Thompson, has been evoked. Milton, with his blindness, is another example of the same rule. But with Lawrence fate dealt such heavy blows, one after another, that it seemed at last as if he could neither rally any longer nor meet them victoriously. His best work became marred by these fatalities and ceased to attain that classic quality which is always needed if poetry is to survive. In this way, he seems to me more than any other poet to have been the child of the times in which he lived, and when those times were out of joint his own poems became disjointed also.

## IV

The recent tragedy of Spain, so close to the shores of Great Britain, has called for a singular sacrifice among the younger artists, poets and thinkers. The cowardice of statesmen has been partly redeemed by the high spirit of these younger men, who have been ready at a word to lay down their lives on behalf of the cause of freedom which they saw massacred before their eyes across the sea. Young writers, not only from Great Britain, but also from America and France, and even from Germany and Italy (when they had escaped from imprisonment) have carried on the warfare of the spirit against the mechanised warfare of arms. From England, Stephen Spender, W. H. Auden and Cornford may be mentioned, out of a number of others, who carried on the same campaign.

## V

There is one English poet, whom I have kept to the end, because among those who are living today he appears to me to be greatest of them all. T. S. Eliot has gone on from strength to strength. The effect of his progress is seen in his Epic drama, which tends to deal chiefly with tragic themes.

His play, called *Murder in the Cathedral*, was the first to reveal his remarkable powers. His new drama, called *The Family Reunion*, representing a tragedy of moral conscience, carries forward still further his development as a great writer of drama. There is a majestic and solemn dignity in what he has recently written, which gives us hope of even greater dramatic work still to be fulfilled. More and more it becomes evident, that he stands in the true line of the classical tradition.

All the waves of human sorrow have

passed over him and yet he has maintained his faith in God and Man. He has sounded also in his thoughts the horrors of human sin and guilt, yet without despair. He faces, as none have done since Shakespeare, the darkest moods of the soul.

It is noticeable that T. S. Eliot, in his latest dramas, has brought back the part of the chorus, which used to be such an effective instrument in the hands of the Greek tragedians, Aeschylus and Sophocles, representing in their unity of action that sad, low undertone of our common human nature as it rises from time to time up to the surface from the region of the Unconscious.

## VI

I have purposely left to the end of these scattered notes and comments the two earlier figures of Robert Bridges and Thomas Hardy, who seem to stand between the old world and the new. Their two greatest poems, *The "Testament of Beauty"* and *"The Dynasts,"* have a grandeur which was missing in much of recent modern poetry.

The *"Testament of Beauty"* has told in a strikingly original form the inner history of our mortal race as it seeks to rise above the level of the brute. But its sphere is sorely limited by the narrow boundaries of the western world wherein it moves. There is no trace in it of another hemisphere of human thought in the East, which lies far beyond the boundary of Judea, Greece and Rome. The Indian tradition of ancient wisdom, which has a singular beauty of its own, does not come within its ken.

Nevertheless, within these limits, which the poet himself has imposed, *"The Testament of Beauty"* has sought to trace that divine impress upon the human spirit which has raised mankind from the dust. The poem is calm and serene in the midst of a troubled world.

## VII

It has lain chiefly with a young Bengali writer, Dr. Arzuya Chandra Chakravarty, who has studied under Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan and also at Balliol College, Oxford, to bring back to the memory of the West and East alike the profound note of tragedy and pity which runs through the whole of Thomas Hardy's *Dynasts*.

This young Bengali author has given us the result of his reading and thinking in a fine book which has been published by the Oxford University Press. He has called it *The*



*Dynasts and the Post-War Age in Poetry.* His book has been very timely in its publication; for we are passing through another short-lived victory of brute force such as Hardy pictured as happening in the Era of Napoleon more than a hundred years ago. Hardy seems, subconsciously, to have reached in a remarkable way,

"the prophetic soul of the wide world  
Dreaming of things to come,"

and to have foretold much of that which we are witnessing today. The Spirit Sinister and the Unconscious Will are at work again, but so also are the Pities and Fair Compassion.

Writes Dr. Chakravarty :

"Hardy had not to see the strange belated appearance of the dictators, though he had to suffer the terrible shock of a World War, when, after having written the *Dynasts*, he thought that he chronicled a more or less antiquated order of things . . . . Pure intelligence in Hardy's poem, speaking through the Spirit of the Years, shows up Napoleon's vain and petty thoughts as hollow mockery.

Such men as thou, who wade across the world  
To make an epoch, bless, confuse, appal,  
Are in the elemental ages' chart  
Like meanest insects on obscure leaves,  
But incidents and grooves of Earth's unfolding;  
Or as the barren rod that stirs the fire  
Because it must."

With such a picture of Napoleon before us, we are able to consider the dictators of our own age with calmer eyes. We can also see from the whole tone of Hardy's epic both the horror and the futility of war.

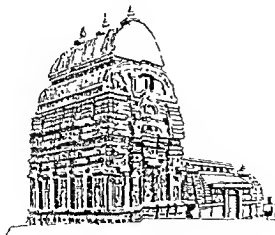
Dr. Chakravarty's interpretation and criti-

cism are at their best when he is drawing this analogy between the vast background of world forces in *The Dynasts*—to the conscious and sub-conscious—and the tragic crisis through which we are now passing.

One further point may be noticed in conclusion. This new book helps to rescue the name of Hardy from the charge of blank pessimism, which has been too lightly brought against him. For it shows how he truly believed in the 'Soul of goodness in things evil.' Nevertheless, like the greatest of the classical writers of all ages, he did not shrink from sounding the depths of the abyss of human misery.

It has surely been one of the most remarkable literary achievements of our own times that a young writer, born in Bengal and brought up in the school and tradition of Rabindranath Tagore, should have thus penetrated so deeply into Thomas Hardy's mind and rescued his greatest work from being overlooked in the confusion of our modern age.

To Mrs. Hardy herself, who cherishes her husband's memory with devotion, the satisfaction must be great indeed, that this task has been now fulfilled with such striking results. The mood of praise, which Dr. Chakravarty has won, has proved to the world at large that there is a true kinship between India and Britain whenever the deeper levels of the soul are reached. The discovery of these underlying harmonies, which Dr. Chakravarty has made, serves to bind mankind together.



## PRESERVATION OF BOOKS AND RECORDS AGAINST INSECT ATTACK

By G. C. KAPUR

*Punjab University Library, Lahore*

THE book worm, the termite or white-ant and the cockroach are foremost of the animate foes of books, particularly, in the tropics. The book worm has several names and several species, which have been discussed in considerable detail by Mr. Blades, more recently by Sir A. E. Shipley and T. M. Liams and in the various standard works on entomology. Important among these are the silver fish, the Lepismas, the Anobium Paniceum and the book lice.

### *Silver Fish*

They are wingless creatures, possessing soft flexible bodies and are known by a variety of common names, e.g., "Silver Moth," "Sugar Louse," "Sugar Fish," "Fish Moth," "Shicker," "Bristle Tire" and "Fire-brat." They are shy and fond of dark moist basements where they grow rapidly during warm weather, especially if the buildings remain closed for a long time. Owing to their love for darkness, they are very often not noticed till they become very numerous.

They are cosmopolitan in their diet, some species like animal and the others vegetable food, which they derive principally from the starch, glue and various kinds of material used in sizing paper and bindings.

The common Silver Fish is silver-gray in colour with a darker line down either side of the middle. It is about one-third of an inch long and the body tapers from the head to the tail.

### *Book Lice (Corrodentia)*

It is a small soft-bodied insect measuring 1/25th to 1/16th of an inch in length, finding a cosy repose in old books and paper stored in warm damp rooms, which are seldom disturbed. It commonly preys upon the binding of books on account of the paste or glue which forms its food. Straw matting or rugs furnish it with ideal quarters.

Some of the Book Lice are reported to make a ticking sound like that of the watch, which is audible at night when all is quiet. The sound is often called "the death watch" and is heard as a faint rapidly repeated tick-tick-tick, which

in all probability is the call of the insect to its mate. But Imms says:

"It is difficult, however, to understand how so small and soft-bodied an animal can produce a sound audible to man."

### *Termite or White Ant*

It is a most insidious pest which besets libraries and dwellings, containing wood or articles of wooden origin in their structure. The term White Ant appears to be a misnomer for the Termite differs from the ant almost in every respect, "principally in development, in conformation and in diet." The Termite is purely vegetarian, the "ants are carnivorous and omnivorous and the Termite's deadliest enemy."

It exhibits remarkable intelligence and has a well-defined division of duties among its 'castes.' There is the worker, the soldier, the winged Termite and the male and female nymphs, all of whom excepting the last ones (who become "Kings" and "Queens") are sexless and blind.

The worker feeds the community, builds and looks after the repairs of the Termitaries and is responsible for the water supply. The soldier is a protector of the family. The queen Termite is known for her prodigious fecundity hatching an egg every second.

The Termite works in the dark and always inside the structure invaded, eating away the interior until nothing but a thin outside skin remains which crumbles on the slightest touch or pressure. It moves in large colonies and travels long distances finding its way even through bricks and masonry walls and floors. By reason of their enormous numbers and their community action, these Termites are able to accomplish great havoc in a very short time.

The Lepismas and the Anobium Paniceum are other of a variety of insects that are the acknowledged tenants of libraries, and an ever present danger for the Librarian.

"Doreotome Bibliographum" is the exclusive type of the book pest which has been mentioned by Sir Arthur Shipley in his illuminating article referred to in the bibliography.

Of singular note are the little wood boring beetles (*Anobium Pertinax* and *Anobium Striatum*) which attack books and bore through several volumes :

"In a public library, but little frequented, 27 folio volumes were perforated in a straight line by this grub . . . in such a manner that on passing a cord through the perfectly round holes made by them, these twenty-seven volumes could be raised at once."

Mr. T. M. Liams mentions of "*Sitodrepe Panicea*" as the peculiarly ferocious type of insect which infested library stacks in the United States. It ate everything that fell in its way perforating even in foil and sheet lead.

Nearly all of the book worms are nocturnal in habit and afraid of day light. They prey upon the paper, glue or paste, the cloth or leather of the books or wood of their cupboards, according to their taste. Damp and dust, sudden variations in temperatures from cold to hot and *vice versa*, and carpets, rugs, etc., offer them ideal opportunities to breed.

#### Cockroach

Though rarely found in libraries, the Cockroach, if present, is no small menace to books. It attacks bindings, particularly in black and blue cloth of American origin. Like the Silver Fish, it is very active and difficult to catch. As a safeguard against its attacks, a thin varnish composed of gum shellack dissolved in rectified spirit or methylated spirit is painted on books in two light coats.

#### Preventive measures adopted in the Punjab University Library

Partly on account of the acquisition of a valuable (but slightly infested) collection of books belonging to Professor H. M. Percival, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and partly on account of the purchase of old manuscripts which are more often than not, damaged and infested, the book worm found its way to the shelves in certain sections of the Punjab University Library.

Even the more dangerous White Ant also invaded other sections. Consequently, the authorities were considerably vexed to find out an appropriate solution of the situation.

Besides an extensive dusting programme regularly carried out by a number of *farrashes*; several repellent chemicals—powders and solutions—were tried one after the other. References were made to the Punjab Government Entomologist, the London Library Association and the Huntington Library. Advice of the Director, Punjab University Chemical Laboratories and the Keeper of the Punjab Government Records was also sought. Enquiries made

from the various quarters concurred on the effectiveness of the following preventive and curative measures.

1. Regular dusting of books.
2. Spreading of dry Neem or tobacco leaves in books and book shelves.

Only perfectly dry and clean tobacco leaves and fresh Neem leaves dried under shade must be used or the books would be badly stained.

3. Sprinkling of Phenyl dust and putting Camphor tablets in the books and shelves.
4. Exposure of books to sunlight for a short period on a dry summer day.

Eggs of most of these grubs are destroyed merely by this process.

5. Treatment of the volumes with some poisonous material destructive for insects and mould.

For this purpose several solutions were suggested by various persons and some were actually tried with more or less success. The Government Entomologist advised the recipe containing :

Corrosive sublimate	..	1 oz.
Carbolic acid	..	1 pint.
Methylated spirit	..	1 pint.

to be applied lightly (twice a year) to the covers of the books outside and inside with a brush. "This solution has been in constant use in the Library of the Imperial Department of Agriculture and the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, with a fair degree of protection to the books treated with it."

The solution is poisonous to human beings but not in the quantities in which it is applied to books. In view of its poisonous nature it was not tried in the Punjab University Library.

A readily procurable and easy of preparation formula of fit, claimed to be more effective was suggested by a Professor of Chemistry. It contained :

Pyrethrum Extract	..	1 Oz
Citronella Oil	..	1 "
Kerosene Oil	..	4 Bottles
Petrol	..	2 "

This too was used in the University Library.

#### Shell Tox

A product of the Burmah Oil Company, is claimed to be equally effective against the attacks of White Ants, Silver Fish, Cockroaches and other insects which attack paper. A specimen of this was sent for examination at the Punjab University Chemical

Laboratories and was reported to be free from any deleterious effect on leather or cloth binding, paper photographs, steel and teak-wood almirahs. The report was favourable otherwise too. It is not very costly, a tin containing 640 oz. could be had for Rs. 35 and the firm lends to its buyers a fine electric spray twice a month to effect the spraying. Shell Tox is also being used in the Punjab University Library. Another solution containing :

Rectified spirit	1 gallon
Mercury chloride	1 oz.
Phenyle	1 "

as its ingredients has been consistently used both by the Keeper of the Punjab Government Records and the Punjab University Library and found to be fairly effective.

A germicide powder suggested by Professor P. Chakravarty of the Thomson Engineering College, Roorkee, and containing the following indigenous materials has been found to be most effective. It consists of \*

1. Vach or bach (English equivalent orn root)
2. Darchini (Cinnamon)
3. Laung (Cloves)
4. Kali Mirch (Black Pepper)

Equal quantities (say  $\frac{1}{2}$  seer each) of these substances are first powdered separately, passed through a sieve, and then mixed together. This fine powder is put in 80 muslin bags to each of which is added a camphor tablet and 2 naphthalene balls. Each bag is placed in alternate shelves of the book cases. To obtain still better results one bag may be placed in each shelf.

Experiments with this germicide for the last three years in the Punjab University Library have revealed its excellent qualities as a repellent. Bare naphthalene or camphor placed on open shelves volatilises very rapidly and requires to be replaced at frequent intervals which is rather costly. But the bags are sufficiently effective for a year and being less costly may be replaced even half-yearly.

One maund (about 82 lbs.) of this germicide making 1,600 muslin bags sufficient for 1,600 shelves containing about 40,000 to 50,000 volumes would cost Rs. 80 as detailed below :

Cost of the Chemicals including grinding charges.

One maund .. ..	Rs. 30
Cost of camphor 3 seers .. ..	" 10
Cost of phenyle 120 lbs. .. ..	" 30
Muslin 2 pieces 80 yards (1½ width) .. ..	" 10
Total .. ..	Rs. 80

### Measures for White Ant

On his visit to the Punjab University Library the Entomologist, Punjab Government (now Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University) was shown round the portion attacked by the White Ant. He was of the opinion that the insect lived in the soil under the Library building and had worked its way through the walls and the joints of slabs of conglomerate floor to the wooden almirahs causing damage to the books.

According to his suggestion the almirahs and their contents were removed to a place of safety and exposed to sun. The walls and floor were re-cemented and painted with a thick coat of coal tar\* about half the height of the book cases. Parts of the almirahs and backs next to the walls which were affected by the worms were replaced forthwith, though they were advised to be covered with thin metal sheets in addition. The affected books were treated liberally with flit. Bags of the above mentioned germicide powder were placed in each shelf. This brought the insect under speedy control.

The following other recommendations of the Government Entomologist were not carried out owing to the speedy control of the pest :

1 Changing of the floor and the thorough drenching of the new cement slabs with some stomach poison such as Soda Arsenic mixture before they were actually laid over; or pouring such poison in the walls and the floor by drilling holes.

2 So to arrange the almirahs, that no joints between the cemented slabs come under them.

3 Protecting the lower surface of the almirahs with thin metal sheets.

4 Storing of books in steel almirahs.

Howsoever difficult it may be, it is not impossible for the insect to cross the steel racks to reach its cherished food *via*, books. And if once it reaches there, it is sure to work greater havoc, for in the absence of the wooden racks books alone are his chief prey.

### Other remedies for the Termites

According to Sir A. E. Shipley†, a mixture of 100 c.c. of methylated spirit, 20 grams of Bichloride of Mercury and 15 c.c. of Phenic Acid with enough Shellac to produce a certain adhesive quality is an effective safeguard against the attacks of Termites.

\* Another cheap substance for such a use is gas refuse.

† In his "Enemies of Books." *Tropical Agriculture*, 1925.

The same writer mentions that the Imperial Library, Calcutta, protects its shelves from the Termite "by resting their supports in metal pans or basins which are kept full of a mixture of a quart of Kerosine, a quart of Phenol added to a bucket of water."

The addition of the following chemicals to the pulp at the time of the manufacture of paper are reported to be effective in preventing attacks by Termites.

Crude Carbolic at the rate of 1 gallon per thousand square feet, Bichloride of Mercury of Copper Sulphate at the rate of 0.049 or 0.113 ounce per square foot respectively.

#### Insecticides used in other libraries

In the Agricultural Department, Fip, books are treated with solutions (a) and (b) as follows:

Solution (a) consisting of one ounce Corrosive Sublimite, 1½ oz. Carbolic Acid and a quart of methylated spirit containing pyridine as one of its denaturing agent is painted with a brush on to the covers of books both in and outside. It dries immediately and solution (b) containing 1 oz. of Shellac dissolved in 8 oz. of methylated spirit to which is added 3 drams of Creosote oil, is painted on them in a similar manner. The book shelves are treated alike with these solutions, and porcelain dishes containing paradichlorobenzene are placed there at regular intervals.

The composition of the following solution and the method of its preparation as developed by Prof. R. R. Hall of Harrison College, Barberos, are taken from the *Agricultural News*, Vol. 1, 1902.

Dissolve 12 grams of White Arsenic or Arsenious Acid in the smallest possible quantity of Ammonia solution, by boiling or digesting over, or in a water bath. At least 300 c.c. or ½ pint of the liquid will be required to effect the solution. The Arsenic should be moistened with a few drops of Alcohol, two fluid ounces of strong Ammonia solution and four fluid ounces of water are then added and the mixture boiled till complete solution is obtained, stirring vigorously while heating up to boiling. This solution is diluted with Alcohol to make two quarts of book solution.

This solution is applied with a flat varnish brush to the inside and outside of the book and the angles of the binding. The solution is very poisonous but Prof. Hall reports that it has been found very effective.

A solution consisting of :

Corrosive Sublimite	..	50 drachms
Creosote	..	60 drops
Rectified spirit	..	2 lbs.

may be profitably applied with a brush in the joints and between every six or seven pages of books. It is also useful to add a little of it to the glue or paste used in binding.

#### Special Creosote bottles for storage boxes

As already mentioned Naphthelene volatilis rapidly with the heat of the tropics and has to be renewed frequently. Moreover it has no control on Fungi which are more destructive than the insects. Creosote liquid safeguards against both. Mr. M. E. MacGregor in his article mentioned at the end gives details of making special Creosote bottles.

Benzene may be used to cure books and furniture affected by the insects. A vessel containing this chemical will destroy worms in the books or cupboards provided the room is kept closed for a certain time.

Equal parts of finely chopped tobacco and a little fine pepper or camphor to which has been added Keating's insect powder, may be sprinkled on the shelves every few months.

#### Pyrethrum Powders and extracts

The insect-killing power of this insecticide depends on an oil which volatilises more rapidly at a high temperature. It should therefore be used in tight containers. It is too expensive to be used on a large scale.

#### Other remedial measures. 1. Fumigation

When the insect trouble is in the form of an epidemic, invaded buildings have to be fumigated under proper safeguards. The most commonly used fumigants are Hydrocyanic acid; Carbon Disulphide and Formaldehyde. These are highly poisonous to human beings and are quite inflammable. Fumigation with such substances should be conducted only by an expert. Vacuum Fumigation is more perfect, as it is said to destroy even the microscopic eggs and the larvae of the insects. A fumigator 5 feet in diameter by 10 feet long is sufficient and a fumigant which is neither inflammable nor explosive at ordinary temperature is now available in the market under the trade name of "Carboxide." It is a combination of Ethylene Oxide and Carbon Dioxide in liquid form. All doors and ventilators (which should be managed to open from the outside) of the building should be carefully closed at the time of fumigation. The U. S. Bureau of Standards recommends the following fumigants as 100 per cent effective within 24 hours :

Hydrocyanic Acid Gas from one pound of Sodium Cyanide per 1000 Cubic ft. Ethylene Chloride, Carbon Tetra Chloride 14 lb/1000 Cubic ft. Carbon Disulphide 6 lb/1000 Cubic ft. Ethylene Oxide—Carbon Dioxide 30 lb/1000 Cubic ft. Methyl formate—Carbon Dioxide, 23 lb/1000 Cubic ft.

The mixed gases combined in the correct proportion can be obtained ready for use. Vacuum Chambers are desirable when large volumes of

material are to be fumigated, but are not necessary for treatment of small amounts of material which can be spread out so that the fumigants have ready access to them.

#### *Protective covering for paper*

The application of Japanese tissue or cellulose acetate foil (only 0.001 inch thick) or some other protective coating, not only makes the paper more resistant to handling but also retards the process of deterioration to an appreciable extent. The material used for protective coating should be thin so that it may not increase the bulk of the paper. It should be cheap and easy of application.

#### *Ink*

The commonly used writing ink is dead in action and has an adverse effect on the "folding endurance" of paper. As a result of the researches by the U. S. Bureau of Standards under the supervision of E. W. Zimmerman an ink has been prepared that causes practically no loss of "folding endurance" of paper inked with it.

#### *Books as carriers of diseases*

There is little danger for the propagation of disease through the medium of books. Seldom has the origin of contagion been traced to a library book. Nonetheless certain small libraries have tried experiments on disinfection, "the usual process being to place them (books) overnight in a tight receptacle with a generator of Formaldehyde gas. Another method has been mentioned in which the books are immersed in a solution of gasoline containing 5 per cent of Carbolic acid.

It would be only fit to conclude this paper with the words of Sir A. E. Shipley:

"The real remedy to keep books fresh and free from damage is to have the library in a building in which the temperature and (relative) humidity can be regulated. Such a building exists in the shell filling factory at Dum-

Dam, but its cost would probably be prohibitive in the rather starved libraries . . . in the tropics."

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# TASHER DESH OR KINGDOM OF CARDS

A Lyrical Farce

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

## INTRODUCTION

[THIS daring and delightful comedy, originally conceived and written as a short story, was first dramatised for the stage in 1933 and successfully produced that year both in Calcutta and in Bombay. The present translation is of the dramatic version, as revised by the author this year for another performance on the Calcutta stage. One whole scene and several new songs and dances have been added. The play must be seen on the stage to be properly appreciated, for the contrast between the two rhythms of human behaviour, one dominated by custom and tradition, the other breaking free as the first fresh impulses of life tempt it, —which is the *motif* of the play—is only imperfectly conveyed by words, with their necessarily limited meanings. The songs, dances and costumes suggest what the words fail to convey. The present translation therefore aims at no more than merely acquainting the English reader with the story of the play. To enjoy the sparkling wit of the dialogue, the reader must read the original Bengali version, and to measure its full possibilities as a play, he must reserve his judgment till he has seen its representation on the stage.]

One feels tempted to call the play a lyrical farce, for its tone is so light, its mood so playful and its fancy so free that one does not know how else to call it. On the other hand, it seems unjust to call the play a farce when its motive is so serious and its message so genuine. Perhaps if the play conformed to any set canons of literary or dramatic technique, it would be untrue to its theme, which may be described as a dream of anarchy.

The story centres round the experiences of the traditional adventurers of Indian folklore, the Prince and the Merchant who are shipwrecked and stranded on a strange island, which bears the name of the play. The inhabitants lead lives whose every side is bound by custom and whose every motion is prescribed by convention. Their watch-word is *niyam*, by convention. They sit, rise and move according to a strict code of rules which none dare break. For obedience to it is the only virtue; infringement of it, the only sin. They are

classified, labelled and accorded their status in life, which is sacred because it is prescribed. One is Five, another Six, another Ten; one is Diamonds, one is Hearts, one is Spades; and so on.

The inhabitants are scandalised at the behaviour of the Strangers who actually laugh and, what is worse, unashamedly sing of an unknown quest. They angrily reprimand them for their utter lack of propriety and solemnly remind them that whilst life may move in rules, it must not advance, lest in advancing it may be waylaid. They proudly declare that their wares have colour, but no passion; code of contest, but no strife; results, but no conquests; pageantry, but no weapons.

The whole scene, with its playful and pungent dialogue, is a delicious satire on our own conventionalised lives which are bound on all sides by *niyam* or propriety. Though our ordered existences move in routine and ritual, life has ceased to grow in us. Like a pack of cards, we are coloured, designed, labelled, and shuffled and dealt, according to an unchanging code of rules that have method but no meaning, pedantry but no purpose. What is "in order" is sacred, and what is "not in order" is sinful. We know no happiness save in obedience to system and convention, no fear save of falling from them. We laugh at the Fives and Sixes without realizing that we are laughing at ourselves; the Fives and Sixes only parody our own inbecillities.

To go back to the story. The Strangers bring with them the breath of bursting youth. They sing the song of freedom. They dance the dance of anarchy. They stretch their arms to where the unknown lures. The stale and heavy atmosphere of the Kingdom of Cards is agitated. The young princesses become restless. Yearnings, unfelt before, wake in their virgin hearts. Nature speaks to them. Clouds beckon them to the unknown spaces beyond the horizon. The dancing rivulets coax them to set their hair to the rhythm of their ripples. Flowers implore them to let them adorn their ringlets. Birds sing to them of the forest groves where love waits in hiding. Age-old yearnings are thus released and every heart

cries for its fulfilment. Desire drives all fear away. Timid ones become bold and fling all convention to the winds. The new rhythm that has been discovered at last finds its cry in the song of Free Choice.

The play bears striking testimony to the still amazing intellectual vitality of the aged Poet. It is good to know that at the age of seventy-seven the Poet's faith in the value of liberty for the individual is undiminished, his

enthusiasm for the adventurous impulses of defiant youth unabated. It is refreshing to see the noblest interpreter of the classic India make merciless fun of culture and tradition (*Krishna* and *niyama*) in whose names social tyranny would stifle every fresh impulse of life. Live freshly is still his cry, for that alone is living truly; and if that is inseparable from living dangerously, then live dangerously.

K. R. KRIPALANI

## KINGDOM OF CARDS

### PROLOGUE

[*Prince* is sitting pensively by himself  
Enter *Merchant*]

*Prince*. Friend, it is hard to bear

*Merchant*. Whatever has happened to you  
*Prince*, that you are as restless as an anchored boat tossed by the flood-tide?

*Prince* (sings)

My unquiet spirit  
yearns for the unexplored,  
the bird of the alien nest  
goes crossing the hazy horizon  
and my thoughts are driven by the troubled wind  
rushing from a far-away sea  
my dream spreads its wings  
while I remain chained in a golden cage

(Enter *Patralekhā*\*)

*Merchant*. *Patralekhā*, our *Prince* seems to have some secret which gives him no peace  
You may know it.

*Patralekhā* (sings)

Your secret is shadowed in your eyes, my love,  
it flickers on your lips,  
it lends its tinge to your smile  
you cannot hide it.

The bees are humming,  
the *ashoka* opens its heart to the sun,  
and your secret, like a lotus in the morning,  
is bathed in a glow of love:  
you cannot hide it.

*Prince*. No, I will never hide it. It will be disclosed when I start for the unknown  
Too long have I brooded by the sea-shore idly watching the waves.

*Merchant*. But where would you go friend?

\* In Sanskrit classical drama, the female confidante of the Prince.

*Prince* (sings)

I will venture to court the delight of Danger,  
seeking the New.

If I miss my luck

I shall proudly claim  
the splendour of failure.

Sailing to my boat of ten hundred oars,  
I may meet some precious surprise  
across mysterious waters.

I refuse to bury my days in this barren golden sand

*Merchant*. Who is there in that land for whose sake, O friend, you would give up everything and undertake such hazards?

*Prince*. *Nabinā*, *Nabinā*!

*Merchant*. Indeed, now I understand. But who is this *Nabinā* of yours?

*Prince*. She is a captive in the castle of an ancient tyrant. She must be rescued.

(Sings)

O *Nabinā*,

Your face is obscured by the dust of daily traffic;

We only hear your whisper in the spring breeze  
and your waking murmur in the early dawn.

We feel you only in dreams  
and find your vision in the garden of the gods,  
dressing your hair with the flowers of paradise  
and striking up in your vina-strings chorons unknown

(Enter *Queen-mother*)

*Merchant*. *Queen-mother*, the *Prince* wants to go in search of fairyland.

*Queen*. How's that? Do you want to be a child again?

*Prince*. Yes mother, I feel suffocated in this world, oppressed by old men's maxims.



*Queen.* I understand, my child. Nothing really is the matter with you. You have no wants and that is why your mind is so restless. You need something to yearn for.

(*Song*)

I dearly wish to want,  
to want what is in the beyond,  
and this is my cry.  
In the heart of my hoarded acquisitions  
there is a hidden pain for what is not.  
I yearn for losing my all in love to gain  
myself,  
as the vanished evening star wakes up  
in the star of the morning.

*Queen.* My child, by binding you to me,  
I shall only miss you. You cannot endure the  
meshes of pleasure, of the tender care that  
chains you for itself. Let me not attract all  
omen through my timid doubts at the moment  
of parting. I will place on your forehead the  
auspicious mark of white sandal-paste, and  
fasten in your diadem a bunch of oleander. I  
go now to attend to the service of the deity.  
At dusk I shall line your eyelids with the stain  
of the sacrificial lamp that your sight may have  
freedom of vision.

(*Exeunt Queen-mother*)

*Prince* (sings)

The sea raves and rages,  
the lightning rends the clouds in the sunset  
sky,  
below roars the foaming fury of the  
water  
What matters if we reach not the shore,  
but fathom the deep?  
Away with this drooping dejection,  
the burden of wearisome hours!  
Ah, for the freedom of loneliness  
on the bosom of the boundless sea,  
and the mystery of the untold treasure  
lost in forlorn lands!

SCENE I

(*Enter Prince and Merchant*)

*Prince.* So at last the ship-wreck has cast  
us on the shore. We are the offering the  
tempest has made to this island.

*Merchant.* It seems the Chariot of Death  
has carried us backwards!

*Prince.* We bring with us to this land the  
call of the tempest.

*Merchant.* Was it so very necessary?

*Prince.* Of course, it was. Do you not  
see, the people here know neither how to live  
nor even how to die.

*Merchant.* Indeed, I was amazed to see  
them in the morning. They seemed to be  
doing nothing at all, with great ceremony, their  
movements strangely angular. They were not  
asleep nor completely awake.

*Prince.* They seem to have one dimension  
missing. They walk and yet do not advance.  
They look as though Providence forgot to pump  
into them any air to make their limbs nimble.

*Merchant.* They seem not to be aware of  
life's hazards. And you call this island of the  
living dead the New Land. The is neither new  
nor ancient.

*Prince.* Do not despair, my friend. This  
is a people whose mind is drowsy with the  
magic of a vanished age. When the covering  
is lifted, the new form of their life will be  
revealed. We have still to cross the dead sea  
of their habit which never stirs. But wait.  
The tempest will come; and when it comes, the  
boat to the New Land will defy its anchor.

(sings)

On the wreck of the old boat we have floated  
to the New Land,  
where the stranger's tongue will whisper to us  
of hopes unfelt before.  
They will weave anew the web of our fate with  
unfamiliar threads,  
in the colour of an undefined pain.  
And the nameless darling of our dreams will  
come  
with the garland of unnamed flowers  
to crown us.

(*Prince bursts into a fit of laughter*)

*Merchant.* What is the matter?

*Prince.* Just look! What a sight! Some  
with red caps, some with black, they seem  
made-up on every side. See how they rise and  
sit, turn this way and that, walk in and out—  
their each motion marked with such deep  
gravity as though it alone mattered. How  
very funny! Ha, ha, ha, ha.

(*Enter a group of card-inhabitants*)

*Mr. Six.* What sight is this! Laughter!

*Mr. Five.* Have you no sense of shame?  
Laughing!

*Mr. Six.* Have you no sense of propriety?  
Laughing!

*Prince.* Our laughter has some meaning,  
at least. But what meaning can that farce  
have, when you were conducting there with  
such solemnity?

*Mr. Six.* Meaning! Why should conduct  
have meaning? Propriety. Is not propriety  
enough? Are you crazy to question that?

# KINGDOM OF CARDS



Scene I. Queen. No! No banishment.



Scene II. Princesses of the Kingdom of Cards



Scene III "All life is a Dance of Will"



Scene III "Break the bar, break the barrier"

[These photographs were taken by Mr. S. Saha during a recent performance of the drama at Calcutta]

*Prince.* It is not so easy to determine which of us is really crazy. How would you decide?

*Mr. Five.* By your behaviour.

*Prince.* Well, what was it you noticed about our behaviour?

*Mr. Six.* We noticed you people had only movement, no manners.

*Merchant.* While you seem to have only manners, no movement.

*Mr. Five.* Don't you know that manners are ancient and sacred, whilst this moving-on is a modern craze?

*Mr. Six.* How utterly uninstructed you are! No one seems to have explained to you how on the road-side there are pit-falls that gape to swallow, thorns that pierce and stones that bruise. Calamity hangs over each step.

*Merchant.* There seems to be no dearth of instructors in this place. Perhaps we too may be instructed anew.

*Mr. Six.* Let us first know who and what you are.

*Merchant.* We are foreigners.

*Mr. Five.* Enough. No more need be said. It means you have no caste, no clan, no creed, no community, no lineage, no family, no status.

*Prince.* We have nothing. Nothing. Only that which may remain when all these have been denied. But let us know who and what you are.

*Mr. Six.* We come of the world-renowned community of the Cards. I am the Honourable Mr. Six.

*Mr. Five.* And I am the Honourable Mr. Five.

*Prince.* And those two who are standing apart as though in deference?

*Mr. Six.* The one in black is Mr. Three; the other in red is Mr. Two.

*Merchant.* And what, pray, is the genesis of your race?

*Mr. Six.* When Brahmā, the four-headed Creator, at the end of his task felt languid, he yawned a *high-i*\* in the weary evening. From that holy *high-i* was our race born.

*Mr. Five.* Because of our such noble origin, in many a foreign tongue we are spoken of as the High-born.

*Merchant.* How strange!

*Mr. Six.* At the auspicious hour of the setting of the sun, the Great Grand-father Brahmā drew four *high-i*'s from his four sacred mouths.

*Merchant.* Fancy that! And the issue?

*Mr. Six.* Out came the Diamonds, the Hearts, the Spades and the Clubs. Honoured be their names (*All bow*).

*Prince.* All of them high-caste?

*Mr. Six.* Of course, high-caste *Mukhya†* caste. For they were born of the holy mouths of the Creator. Our first great poet, the reverend Tas-ranga-nidhi, who passed his days in stupor, composed the first metre in the delirium of a dream. It is in that holy metre that our thirty-seven-and-half sacred verses are composed.

*Prince.* May we hear them recited?

*Mr. Five.* In that case, turn your faces the other way. Brother Six, chant the *Thoong Mantra* and blow the rhythm in their ears.

*Prince.* Why?

*Mr. Six.* It is the rule

(*All sing with folded hands*)

High-i, High-i, High High!

Let us all languorous lie.

High-i, High-i, High High!

Let the day in dreaming die.

High-i, High-i, High High!

*Prince.* I can't bear this any more. Let us flee them.

*Mr. Five.* Ah! You have broken the spell. A little more and we would have fallen asleep.

*Prince.* We can see that. But tell me, what were you doing in groups on that bank over there?

*Mr. Six.* We were engaged in battle.

*Prince.* Battle! You call that battle!

*Mr. Five.* Of course! Waged according to the strictest propriety—conducted according to the ancient rules of the Community of Cards.

(*Song*)

Our painted lives so wondrous pure!  
In frames of sanctity secure!

*Merchant.* Be that as it may. But what is battle without passion?

*Mr. Six.* Our passion is in our colour.

(*Song*)

Our battles boast no bloody aim:  
Our soldiers civil, meek and tame.

*Merchant.* Well, well, let it be. Nevertheless there should be a flourish of musket and sword.

(*Song*)

Our grenadiers are weaponless.  
Save for the pageantry of dress.

† Pun on the word *Mukhya*, which means *high* as well as *belonging to the mouth*.

\* *High-i* is Bengali for yawn.

Prince. But can you have war without some grievance on either side?

(Song)

We stay to propriety glued,  
Unmoved by friendship or by feud.

Mr. Five. I say, foreigners, your sacred texts too must have given you some account of your genesis.

Merchant. Indeed, they have. At the very beginning of Creation, as Father Brabmā was charging the sun on the whetstone, a spark therefrom strayed into his nostril. A sneeze escaped him. Of that sneeze, were we born.

Mr. Six. That explains your inordinate restlessness.

Prince. We cannot stay quiet. We burst out, as it were.

Mr. Five. Hardly commendable!

Merchant. Hardly! Even here we are unable to quieten this ancient agitation.

Mr. Six. We can foresee at least one good result of it. The impulse of that primeval sneeze will soon force you out of this island of ours. Your stay here cannot be long.

Merchant. Staying here is indeed difficult.

Mr. Five. How are your battles conducted?

Merchant. After the manner of the sneezes of rival nostrils.

Mr. Six. You too must have some sacred verses by your first poet?

Merchant. Indeed, we have

(Song)

Sneeze away! Sneeze away!  
So drive the craven fear away  
Sneeze away! Sneeze away!  
So scare the sluggard ease away.  
Sneeze away! Sneeze away!

Mr. Six. I say, Brother Five these creatures are outrageously foreign. What may be your caste?

Merchant. We are the Agitators. Born of the agitation of the Primeval Sneeze.

Mr. Five. Doesn't sound like a high-caste name.

Merchant. You people were blown high by the breath of the Yawn; we were driven down earthward by the bursting of the Sneeze.

Mr. Six. It was when the Original Father lost control over his nose that you were born.

No wonder you are so strange.

Prince. No wonder.

(Song)

We are the messengers of New Youth,  
Restless and not to be defined.

We break all barriers,

We are steeped in the intoxication of the wilderness.

We are the lightning that pierces through all vapours.

[Mr. Five and Mr. Six gape at one another]

This will not do. This will never do.

Prince. We are for doing what will not do.

Mr. Six. What of the rules?

Prince. Only by breaking the rule of the barrier, can you realise the rule of the open road. Otherwise how would you advance?

Mr. Five. Advance! What are they saying! How brazen-faced is their talk of advancing!

Prince. Why do people move at all, if not to advance?

Mr. Six. Move! Why should you move? Custom carries us along.

(Song)

Be by custom bound:

Nor ever strain your neck

For the distant prospect's sake

Where dangers may abound.

Be by horizon bound:

Why stray away from here,

Where the age-old path is clear

And safety circles round.

Mr. Five. Look! Here come their Majesties. Today the court will be held here. Hold you these twigs, one each. 'Face' north east. See that you don't turn windward.

Merchant. Why?

Mr. Six. Custom. Can't you understand?

[Enter King, Queen, Princesses and several card-courtiers, all moving in prescribed style]

Prince. I say, why not win over the King by welcoming him with a song of praise! You wave these twigs while I sing.

Merchant. Let us try.

(Song)

Hail to the Scion of the Race of Cards!

Royal swan floating in the lake of idle play!

Dweller on the shore of lassitude!

[All throw up their hands in despair, crying:  
"Misdeal! Misdeal! Oh, the barbarians—to break the auspicious assembly before time!"]

*King.* Silence ! Stop that noise ! Who be these ?

*Mr. Sir.* Foreigners, Your Majesty.

*King.* In that case rules do not apply. However, let all of you change your places once. That will redress the impropriety, if any. But first of all, let there be the Royal Anthem of the House of Cards.

(Song)

Victory to the descendants of the race of  
cards!

Behold the Hearts and Diamonds and  
Spades,

Dancing to the ancient, unchanging rhythm!  
Some rise, some sit some never move :  
Some close their lives in shells of sleep.

They never laugh

They have nought to say They only follow  
what is ahead of them.

Their ancient code is bound in chains :  
They know no shift, they know no change.

*Prince.* Your Majesty !

*King.* Who are you ?

*Prince.* We are messengers from beyond  
the sea.

*Mr. Knave.* Have you brought any offering ?

*Prince.* That which is most rare in this  
land.

*Mr. Knave.* Let us hear what it is.

*Prince.* Agitation !

*Mr. Sir.* Did your Majesty hear what they said ? They actually want to advance. Your Majesty will not believe it : they actually laugh ! Within a couple of days they will make light the atmosphere of this place.

*Mr. Knave.* There is no place in the world which can boast of an atmosphere so dense and so immobile as ours. Not even Indra's lightning shafts can rend it.

*All.* Not even Indra's lightning shafts !

*Editor.* But what will happen if these light-hearted foreigners succeed in making our atmosphere frivolous ?

*King.* That merits consideration

*All.* Merits consideration.

*Editor.* A light atmosphere invites tempests.

*Priest.* The tempest will blow down the fixed poles of our propriety. Then our citizens will get so impudent as to declare before their priests that they would advance.

*Mr. Five.* Not only that, but, God forbid, laughter, like an infectious disease, might flow from one to another.

*King.* Knave of Spades !

*Mr. Knave.* Yes, Your Majesty !

*King.* You are the Editor ?

*Editor.* Yes, Your Majesty, I am Editor in the celebrated Island of Cards.

*King.* The culture of this holy land is in charge of your pen.

*All.* Culture ! Culture ! Culture ! He is the vehicle of the culture of this holy land. He is also its nourisher.

*King.* You wield two leading columns in your paper ?

*Editor.* Two big columns, Your Majesty.

*King.* Then strike terror in the hearts of all by the thunder of those columns. We will not let the atmosphere of this land be made light.

*Editor.* To that end, Your Majesty, we want our rules to be made safe by special ordinance, lest an alien culture corrupt them.

*King.* Foreigners ! Have you anything to say ?

*Prince.* Yes, we have. But not to you.

*King.* To whom then ?

*Prince.* To these princesses.

*King.* Speak on

*Prince* (sings)

O lovely forms, placid as stones,  
let our own passion catch fire in your hearts.  
Come, steal away to the open sky,  
that your desires be rosy with the tint of  
the rising dawn.

*Queen.* How improper ! How preposterous !

*Mr. Five.* Banishment for them ! O King, banish them !

*King.* Banishment ! What say you, Queen ! Why are you silent ? Don't you hear what I say ? Say something. Shall I banish them ?

*Queen.* No ! No banishment.

*Princesses* (one by one). No ! No banishment.

*Editor.* Remember, O Queen and O Princesses, I wield two editorial columns.

*All.* Culture ! Culture ! Culture of the Island of Cards ! Protect that Culture !

*Editor.* Promulgate the dictatorial Ordinances.

*Queen.* We too are used to promulgating ordinances behind the curtain. We shall see who banishes whom.

*Princesses.* We shall promulgate the all-upsetting anarchy.

*Editor.* What are things coming to ! Alas for Culture ! Culture ! Culture !

*King.* Let the Court adjourn. Let all

move away from this place, lest a calamity befall.

[*Exeunt all. Princesses hesitate and look back*]  
*Prince* (sings)

Why this vacillation, my Honeysuckle,  
 when the spirit of Spring is rampant?  
 Do you not read the message in the newly-  
 budded leaves?

Do you not hear the knock at the gate  
 that startles the jasmine into waking?  
 Look, the *Bakula* has freed its heart,  
 the *Karabi* is eager,  
 the *Shirish* shivers in delight  
 at the sight of the guest coming near

## SCENE II

[*Enter Prince and Merchant*]

*Merchant*. Friend, this place is becoming intolerable. These are not human beings but puppets. How are we to live here? What if we too became like them?

*Prince*. Don't you see that even in these puppets life is beginning to stir? I am not going to move from here till I have set it fully in motion.

*Merchant*. Indeed, so it seems. See how Mr. Spades has stretched himself under that tree, gazing upwards, quite oblivious of the rules!

*Prince*. Perhaps listening for the footsteps of Miss Clubs

*Merchant*. Then it has begun  
*Prince*. Let us move aside and watch their drama.

[*Enter Miss Spades and Miss Diamonds*]

*Miss Spades*. How strange everything has turned since these foreigners brought in the contagion of their wildness! How strangely my mind is agitated!

*Miss Diamonds*. Who could have imagined that the Kingdom of Cards would come to this! So vulgarly human!

*Miss Spades*. It is this Miss Hearts who is the chief culprit. Haven't you noticed how she walks and takes her seat, as though there wasn't any such thing as propriety? It's a scandal.

[*Enter Miss Clubs*]

*Miss Clubs*. Hallo Miss Diamonds! I hear you are very active these days spreading all sorts of rumours, accusing me of all manner of inproprieties.

*Miss Diamonds*. Why should we not say what is true? Look at those cheeks of yours and those eyes—were such blushes and such

wistfulness ever witnessed in this society before? You seem to think we are all blind, don't you?

*Miss Clubs*. And you sitting in the jasmine bower, whispering confidences to your friend—do you think that is in line with our scriptures? Just look at that poor Knave there moaning for his mate!

*Miss Spades*. Enough of your airs! Look rather at your feet, dyed with the *Chinarose*! Such immodesty!

*Miss Clubs*. Well, what of it? I am not afraid of any one. Nor do I care to act surreptitiously like you people. That day when the Editor's wife was being sarcastic, I told her to her face that it was better to be improperly human than to be properly puppet-like.

*Miss Spades*. Don't be so conceited. Do you know there's a talk of excommunicating you?

*Miss Clubs*. From your community? I shall be glad to be rid of it. Don't you imagine you are frightening me.

(*Exeunt*)

*Miss Spades*. How perfectly awful! Never heard such impudence before. Come, let us move away, lest we get caught in such scandalous company

(*Exeunt*)

[*Enter Miss Hearts singing*]

Indeed I know not what has guided me to this garden.

It is not to gather flowers,  
 it is to lose myself in my thoughts,  
 thoughts that bring tears to my eyes.

[*Enter Mr. Diamonds*]

*Mr. Diamonds*. You here, Miss Hearts! I have been looking for you.

*Miss Hearts*. Why? What has happened?

*Mr. Diamonds*. You are wanted at the Court.

*Miss Hearts*. Go and tell them, I am lost.

*Mr. Diamonds*. Lost!

*Miss Hearts*. Yes, lost. She whom you are looking for is lost beyond finding.

*Mr. Diamonds*. How strange! How daring! And you coming alone to the forest! Don't you know this is not permitted by the rules!

*Miss Hearts*. Indeed, it is not. But what rigid rule has let loose this strange bewilderment over this dry desert of an isle! As I got up this morning I saw that, of a sudden, dark clouds had gathered in the sky. The peacocks of our land that so long have only practised

steps according to rules, I saw them today spread their wings and cast off all restraint from their dance.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Gathering flowers! How ever did such an unheard-of pursuit enter your head?

*Miss Hearts.* Suddenly it struck me that I was a flower-maid, that I used to gather flowers in some other life. Today the eastern breeze brought me a whiff of fragrance from that life's garden. From the woodland of that life came the bee to hum in my mind those memories.

(Song)

It comes with the news of the jasmine that trembles with  
a new life in the morning of a distant sky.  
How can I remain tied to a mute life counting  
the slow steps of the listless hours?

*Mr. Diamonds.* Am I to presume that the other ladies too . . .

*Miss Hearts.* Yes, they too are over there under the tree on the river's bank.

*Mr. Diamonds.* What could they be doing?

*Miss Hearts.* Trying a new mode of dress—even as I have done. How does it look? Do you approve it?

*Mr. Diamonds.* It springs upon me like a surprise—as when clouds release the moon from their shadow.

*Miss Hearts.* Better go and have a look at your Sixes and Fives and see what has become of those who came to call us to account.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Why? What's happened?

*Miss Hearts.* Like lunatics they wander about, distracted. Sudden songs break from them. Indeed, they are even humming tunes.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Humming tunes! What are you saying? Mr Five and Mr Six singing!

*Miss Hearts.* If not in tune, then out of tune. I was at that time dressing my hair and therefore had to move away.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Dressing your hair? And what may that be? Who taught you that strange art?

*Miss Hearts.* No one. Look, how the yonder waterfall breaks into wreaths, and how they wind themselves into braids! Who taught them this art?

*Mr. Diamonds.* I am puzzled. Miss Hearts, let me take your casket and pick flowers for you!

*Miss Hearts.* Come with me, and I will take you where the Fives and Sixes are singing.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Whom to blame? Even I feel like singing.

*Miss Hearts.* But see that the Editor does not hear it. He'll drag you into his column. I saw him out on the watch in this forest.

*Mr. Diamonds.* My fear is fled. Why, I know not. Let me prove it by doing something desperate for you. Command me.

*Miss Hearts.* Do anything you like, but don't sing. Bring me one of those China-roses blooming there.

*Mr. Diamonds.* What will you do with it?

*Miss Hearts.* I shall dye the soles of my feet with their juice.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Shall I confess it? When I woke this morning I had a strange feeling that I had been dreaming all my life and had only just awakened. And my first experience of reality was the vision of a previous life which seemed floating towards me, as it were, on the morning breeze. Its long hushed voice seems to speak to me even now and its forgotten songs are ringing in my ears.

*Miss Hearts.* I too felt in my heart, that forgotten song coming to me like a lost bird to its nest. Strange, how familiar the song seems, even though it is new.

*Mr. Diamonds.* Listen! How the heavens resound with that ancient song.

(Song)

Let the flowers of my heart yield their colour to  
paint your feet!

Let my song tremble in your ear like a jewelled  
ear-ring!

Let my soul weave a garland for you with its  
rubies of passion!

*Miss Hearts.* And you made this song for me? How did you learn to set it to rhythm?

*Mr. Diamonds.* As you learnt to fashion your hair.

*Miss Hearts.* Do you remember how once—in some far-off life—I had danced to your music?

*Mr. Diamonds.* Remember? How could I help it? What seems strange is that I should have forgotten it so long.

(Song)

How my song-boat rocks in the wave of your  
dance!

If the helm is shattered, the moorings lost,  
The waters bounce and bluster.

We fear no fury, we'll ride over the storm.



call prison the father-in-law's house.

*King.* Silence !

*Another Courtier.* They call riddles Scriptures.

*King.* Silence !

*Another Courtier.* They call the dumb a saint.

*King.* Silence !

*Another Courtier.* They call the block-head a savant.

*King.* Silence !

*Another Courtier.* They call death life.

*King.* Silence !

*Another Courtier.* They call the cage heaven.

*King.* Silence !

*Queen.* And they call heaven a crime. Come, shout, Victory to Will !

*All.* Long live Will !

*King.* Queen, you are exiled !

*Queen.* And thus saved !

(*Queen is about to leave*)

*King.* What, Queen, are you really going? Whither ?

*Queen.* To exile.

*King.* And leaving me behind all alone ?

*Queen.* Why should I leave you behind ?

*King.* What then ?

*Queen.* I shall take you along with me

*King.* Whither ?

*Queen.* To exile

*King.* And these my subjects ?

*All.* We will all join in exile.

*King.* What say you, Rev. Ten ?

*Rev. Ten.* I think exile is best for us.

*King.* And your scriptures ?

*Rev. Ten.* I'll throw them into the water.

*King.* And the Law ?

*Rev. Ten.* That will not work.

*All.* Will not work, will not work.

*Queen.* Where are those two humans ?

*Prince.* Here we are !

*Queen.* Can we too ever become human ?

*Prince.* Certainly, you can.

*King.* I say, foreigner, can I also become human ?

*Prince.* I have my doubt. But the Queen is there to help you. Long live the Queen !

*All.* Long live the Queen !

(*Song and Dance*)

Break the bar, break the barrier !

Let the captive mind be freed.

Let life with its boisterous laughter

flood the dry river bed,

sweeping away the dead and the dying.

We have heard the call of the New,

We shall storm the castle of the Unknown.

{ *This translation from the 'original Bengali' by Mr. K. R. Kripalani is reprinted here from THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY by kind permission of the Editor. }*

## GREETINGS

Though I know, my friend, that we are different  
my mind refuses to own it  
For we two woke up in the same sleepless night  
while the birds sang,  
and the same spell of the spring  
entered our hearts

Though your face is towards the light  
and mine in the shade  
the delight of our meeting is sweet and secret,  
for the flood of youth in its eddying dance  
has drawn us close.

With your glory and grace you conquer the world  
my face is pale.  
But a magnanimous breath of life  
has carried me to your side  
and the dark line of our difference  
is aglow with the radiance of a dawn

RAMINDRANATH TAGORE

## BROKEN PLEDGES

By MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

AT THE moment of writing of course we do not know what Herr Hitler may say in reply to President Roosevelt's message. It came at a very opportune time and gave the chance of world peace for at least ten years—which would have given a breathing space during which time economic and other questions might have been discussed and settled round a table instead of at the point of a gun.

There is no doubt that the position of the Dictators is rapidly becoming less secure even amongst their own people. Hitler was very clever in the way he went about the recovery of German-speaking territories. Even the *Anschluss* with Austria lent itself to very plausible arguments. The annexation of the Sudetenland first made people pause. But the annexation of Czechoslovakia was, from Hitler's point of view, a blunder of the first magnitude. More than anything else it antagonised practically the whole world. Hitler no longer has the excuse that he is merely trying to bring all Germans into the Reich. He has now taken in an alien people who may well prove to be for him the heel of Achilles.

Hitler's chance of making war with any possibility of success has gone, as he must be well aware. The increase in the momentum of British preparations must be as well known to him as it is to us and although the terrific expense on armaments all over the world will of necessity cause a fall in the standard of living, my personal considered view is that, though crisis may follow crisis there will be no major war.

Has there ever been a time when our leading Government statesmen, with all the diplomatic intelligence, information and resources at their command, have been so consistently wrong in their outlook, speeches and actions? Mr Eden, with the full support of his Foreign Office advisers refused to accept any longer the pledges of the Dictators. The time had come, he felt, for specific performance. But he and the Foreign Office advisers were dropped, and Mr Chamberlain, scornful of professional advice, took his own way. He was wrong, they were right. Mr Duff-Cooper, with his advisers, could not accept as genuine the pledge Herr Hitler gave at Munich and he

in turn was dropped. He also has been proved to have been right and the Prime Minister again tragically in the wrong. As Dr Hugh Dalton asked in the House of Commons.

"Have these events taken the Government by surprise? If they have, it is a very great reflection on the efficiency of the Government Service. If, on the other hand, the Government did know beforehand, it is a great reflection on them."

A year ago Mr. Chamberlain asked us to be patient until the Anglo-Italian Agreement was published.

"and then, if you do not believe that it is not the Prime Minister who has been fooled, but the Socialists and Liberals who have been fooled themselves, I will be prepared to eat my hat."

Again on 2nd May 1938 in the House of Commons the Prime Minister, during the debate on that Agreement, spoke witheringly of the Opposition's reference to Italy's "illusory promises" in the Agreement and said that

"His Majesty's Government accept them as being given in good faith, and believe that the Italian Government intend to keep them in the spirit as well as in the letter."

Every single Clause of that Anglo-Italian Agreement has been torn to shreds by Mussolini—and the eating of the hat is overdue.

Mr. Chamberlain, in spite of all protests and advice to the contrary, maintained the same facile optimism with regard to Spain. When it was pointed out to him that, by aiding Franco, he was playing into the hands of the Dictators, he said in the Commons debate on 16th March 1938 that "the Government had never taken that view." On 2nd November he deplored the "eternal tendency to suspicion" of Germany and Italy and the view that they had designs of permanently establishing themselves in Spain and the belief that "Spain itself will presently be setting up a Fascist State." He believed both views to be "entirely unfounded." He added:

"When I was at Munich I spoke on the subject of the future of Spain with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, and both of them assured me most definitely that they had no territorial ambitions whatever in Spain."

And on 21st January 1939, again in the House, he said:

"Only the other day when we were in Rome we received again fresh, repeated assurances from Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano confirming what they had already told us, that they had nothing to ask of Spain after the war was over; and, of course, I had similar assurances from Herr Hitler."

Mr. Chamberlain has again been proved to be wrong and the "assurances", on which he relied, have been shown to be worthless. Spain is now a Fascist State, a signatory of the Anti-Comintern Pact, and its harbours are at the disposal of Germany and Italy in the event of war. Mr. Churchill, writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (20th April 1939), points out that the British Conservative right wing, who have given Franco such passionate support, must now be the prey to many misgivings.

Five days before the German troops entered Prague on 15th March—that exact date having been published ten days before in a London newspaper and also announced officially in Paris—Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, assured the country that we were in for an unprecedented era of peace and prosperity—a "Golden Age." Only a day or two had to pass to show that instead we were on the brink of a world catastrophe.

For eight years the National Government have been in charge of the affairs of this country. They have neglected and poohpoohed the warnings given them. They have led the country to the brink of war, incurred an unprecedented load of debt, and then ask us to be grateful that they have kept us from the actual outbreak of war involving this country. Now they are making bi-lateral pacts with separate nations, instead of having the strong collective security of many nations which they might have had when they took office—and which they would have had if they had been true to their election pledges. They have had no policy—nothing but drift. Never was such a mess made of the country's affairs. The only self-re-pecting thing that Mr. Chamberlain and his Government could do—after having been shown to be so wrong in their outlooks and estimates—is to resign and make way for others more competent. But when one sees a majority of "Yes" men in the House of Commons, ready to go into the lobbies to support whatever policy Mr. Chamberlain for the moment puts forward, we are inclined to ask whether we in this country, under the leadership of Mr. Chamberlain, are gradually becoming a Fascist State. Again I quote Mr. Churchill writing in the *Daily Telegraph*:

"There never has been in England such a one man Government as that under which we have dwelt for the

last year. He (Mr. Chamberlain) has taken the whole burden upon himself, and we can only trust that he will not be found unequal to it."

What is the chief element in the Fascist form of government? Is it not that a country under that form of government is simply under the control of one man? Are we not in England coming very close to that form of government? The present Prime Minister, and indeed all of his supporters, were elected to this Parliament as supporters of and believers in collective security. They had to profess such a belief to the electors otherwise they would never have been returned to office, as the feeling in the country for collective security was so strong—as had been shown by the ballot taken by the League of Nations Union not long before the election. It was not long however before Mr. Chamberlain himself described collective security as "mid-summer madness". His followers, who had never believed in collective security, were only too glad to come out into the open and, whenever a chance occurred, to sneer at the League of Nations and all it stood for.

Mr. Chamberlain went to Germany. He believed in the word of Herr Hitler in spite of that gentleman having broken every pledge he had given up to that date. Mr. Chamberlain went to Italy and drank toasts to the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. He believed that he had formed ties of friendship with Signor Mussolini and arranged that the Anglo-Italian Pact should come into force. Signor Mussolini, on his part, underlook to withdraw all the Italian soldiers and war material from Spain as soon as the so-called Civil War there was ended. Mussolini, also, has proved that his promises are like piecrust, made to be broken.

Mr. Chamberlain has now been driven back to collective security as the only security for this country. From his point of view it is not a big all-embracing policy for the peace of the world, but a selfish policy for Great Britain, and on that ground he is prepared to adopt it. But the interesting thing is that just as he swings from one policy to another so do his followers in Parliament take up the policy which he declares to be his. In a democracy it is the people who adopt a policy and they who choose leaders to carry out that policy. Under Fascism it is the leader who chooses a policy and compels his people to follow it whether they like it or not. The Conservatives follow exactly on Fascist lines. They obey their leader and follow him whatever way the wind blows. It is the individual and not the

policy that the Conservatives follow and therefore lies the danger to this country and to the other nations who may put their faith in this country's following any decided policy

Lord Halifax informed the House of Lords ten days ago that Sir Neville Henderson, our Ambassador in Germany, had reported and was now having a vacation. Sir Neville Henderson of course had been recalled to report after the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany. Lord Halifax stated that the Ambassador might return to Germany early in May, but without any public intimation, he returned to Germany within a day or two of Lord Halifax's statement. When questioned in the House of Commons Mr Chamberlain assured the House that the return was "in the normal course of events" and "without any special significance." It is widely reported, however, that the Ambassador took back to Germany a special message from Mr Chamberlain to the German Fuehrer embodied in a memorandum dealing comprehensively, with Great Britain's attitude to the present European situation.

The Ambassador on his return immediately asked for an interview with Herr von Ribbentrop, Germany's Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was, however, put off with the curt answer that Herr von Ribbentrop had so many other engagements that he was unable to see him. In point of fact the interview has not yet taken place. This is an almost unheard of rebuff to the Ambassador of a great power. In many quarters in this country it is regarded as another exhibition of Mr. Chamberlain's weakness of his kowtowing to Germany, that the Ambassador should have returned at this time—and the German rebuff shows exactly how much value is attached by Herr Hitler to friendship with Britain. Sir Neville Henderson's return to Berlin has been widely taken as an attempt on the part of Mr. Chamberlain to again try the discredited policy of appeasement. Sir Neville is well known as one of the chief authors of that policy and an admirer of the Nazi regime. He ought never to have been sent back as ambassador to continue a policy proved to be impossible.

With regard to Italy, Mr. Chamberlain says it is "not yet decided" whether the annexation of Albania is to be recognised or not. The *Times* last week suggested that Lord Perth, our Ambassador who has just retired from Rome, may have made it plain to the Italian Government that Great Britain would

recognise the annexation of Albania if Italy were prepared to carry out the terms of the Anglo-Italian Agreement in spirit as well as in letter. In other words, we are prepared to bribe Italy to carry out her pledged word by recognising as legitimate her rape of Albania.

It is all a very sad commentary on the depths to which British diplomacy and prestige have fallen under the present Government.

The more one thinks of the mess into which the world has fallen today, the more one realises the imperative necessity of having a League of Nations—a League not of sovereign States who insist on retaining the whole of their sovereignty intact, but of States that will recognise the over-riding authority of the League. We have advanced through the stages of tribal, clan and local government to the idea of nation-wide government with no tariff or other barriers within the nation. It may be looking a long way ahead, but it certainly must come sooner or later, that there will be evolved a world government of free peoples each controlling their own destiny within their national boundaries but subject in external affairs to the super-national government. Only so will tariffs really be done away with, trade will be free; and co-operation will take the place of cut-throat competition. It is a view that, in the world today, seems almost impossible of achievement. But it can never be achieved unless and until some with vision see the possibilities and, as missionaries in a war-ravaged world, try to spread the light that is in them amongst the darkness with which they are surrounded.

Since the above was written the Government have suddenly introduced Conscription. They have done so without consulting the leaders of the Opposition or the Trade Unions and in flat contradiction of their pledge, given only five weeks ago that there would be no Conscription in time of peace. The Prime Minister attempts to justify this pledge-breaking by arguing that at the present time peace cannot be said to exist in any real sense of the word—or, alternatively, that the pledge not to introduce Conscription in time of peace was a pledge given to the House of Commons and the House of Commons can release him from it. But what new doctrine is this? When did a pledge given by the Prime Minister to the House of Commons cease to be a pledge given to the country?

But Mr. Chamberlain's arguments are detrimental not merely to our liberties but to

the general good faith. Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, as we all know have set a new low standard in the matter of giving and breaking pledges. Must we add our vote? As Mr. Attlee remarked in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister gave a pledge and in these days "there were far too many people who held that pledges were given under a certain set of circumstances and could be disregarded if circumstances changed."

It is, of course, the case that it is not so much the matter of Conscription as the manner of its introduction which has roused the Opposition (although Labour leaders cannot forget that in France it was by using conscripts that the Government was able to break strikes. In this country too they see that if labour should strike against unjust conditions of work, this Government would have no hesitation in using men conscripted into the Army in order to break the strike). It is rather too bad that Conscription has to be introduced in a hurry, without consulting the Opposition, because Mr. Chamberlain has discovered, within the last five weeks, that there is not in any real sense a state of peace in Europe. The Opposition have been telling him this for the last two and a half years. Mr. Chamberlain says that a measure of Conscription was absolutely essential if opinion on the continent was to be convinced that we were really in earnest in our determination to resist aggression. But if the continent is sceptical whose fault is that but Mr. Chamberlain's? It was Mr. Chamberlain who threw over Mr. Eden, and with him the League of Nations, in order to flirt with Signor Mussolini. It was Mr. Chamberlain who visited Italy and "raised his glass to the Emperor of Ethiopia." It was Mr. Chamberlain who at Munich decided the fate of the Czechs, who were not allowed to join in the discussions, and came home trustfully waving a paper in which it was proclaimed that England and Germany would never again make war on one another. Indeed the truth is that Mr. Chamberlain is the type of politician, not unknown on the continent but new to this country, who finds it easier to believe his country's enemies than his country's friends.

Even now, is it quite certain that Mr. Chamberlain has given up his policy of Appeasement? Conscription, he said, was necessary to convince opinion abroad. But while he offered Conscription with one hand, with the other he made a friendly gesture to Herr Hitler by sending back to Germany as our Ambassador the notorious Neville Hender-

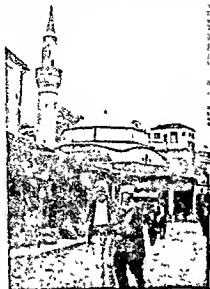
son. Even if our Ambassador in Germany were not a well-known Naziophile, he should be dismissed his post. Who but he, during all these years of deterioration, should have had his ear to the ground and have warned his Government of what was to be expected? As *Time and Tide* comments in an editorial this week:

"The worst flaw in the process of consolidation against the Axis Powers is the return of Sir Neville Henderson to Berlin. . . . He is pro-Nazi and makes no pretence that he is not. He has shown no insight into German affairs and has helped to encourage the optimism that made the British Government pursue the policy of 'appeasement' long after 'appeasement' had become dangerous, an optimism, moreover, that caused appreciable delays in the preparations for war and for civilian defence. Now that peace and war hang in the balance, it is scandalous that Great Britain should be represented in Berlin by Sir Neville Henderson."

No, if the Government were really in earnest they would be less equivocating. They would have consulted the Opposition leaders before introducing Conscription. They would have dispensed with Sir Neville Henderson. And, braving the Nazi ban, they would have taken heart of grace and made Mr. Winston Churchill the new Minister of Supply.

Last but not least the acid test of this Government's sincerity in resisting the challenge of the Axis Powers will be found in their relations with Russia. Even at this eleventh hour they are more circumspect in their dealings with Germany than they are with the absolutely indispensable Russia. Even at this eleventh hour, they thereby suggest, they still hanker after Appeasement—hanker, that is after the hope that some way may be found of inducing Poland to give way just a little bit to Germany. In his attitude towards Czechoslovakia the Prime Minister showed that he was a willing victim of German propaganda. Does he, one wonders, accept any of the German propaganda about the so-called "corridor"? (Which never was an artificial corridor, but has always been part of Poland. East Prussia lies the other side of the corridor not because she was cut off from Germany, but because she was never in reality a part of Germany. She was the first German colony. The Peace Treaties did not carve out a wrong here, they merely restored the former status quo.) At all events it is clear from Herr Hitler's speech, which has just come through, that he hopes to separate England from the new Polish Alliance. He denounces the German-Polish Non-Aggression Treaty. Plainly Poland is to be the next move. And though he denounces also the Anglo-German Naval

found the flame of patriotism burning stronger than elsewhere in the hearts of the people, a patriotism mingled with sadness at the backward conditions of the peasants and with an impotent hatred of the Italians whose hands



The bazar and the mosque of Elbasan the oldest town of Albania

poor. Passing the Mosque they said : " We have a fine Mosque and a beautiful bank opposite, but no comfort in our homes. Our situation is incredibly bad, Foreigners, Italians and Yugoslavs, are employed in preference to the Albanese, all are fascists and all are spies. A young man from Scutari who had been in America to study and become an Engineer was unable to find a situation, while many foreigners who had not his qualifications, were engaged every day. Whenever we are employed our wages are much less than those of the foreigners. A foreign professor earns 30 Napoleons a month (about Rs. 450) an Albanese with the same degree 7 Napoleons. An Italian workman is paid 6 Napoleons, an Albanese 1 to 2 Napoleons. In Vlone in the south where they extract oil the Albanese population has been driven away to give place to an Italian colony "

From Scutari we went to Tirane, the capital, still under construction. Big avenues with no buildings, huge gardens with no trees or flowers, a few cafes on the French style, nothing of any special interest except the ever picture-que crowd

From there we plunged into the Albanian mountains with their distant blue ranges, their



A quaint old street of Elbasan

unbridged. In the evenings we would pitch our tent preferably near a village and the peasants would come and have a look at us. They would come riding and very solemnly

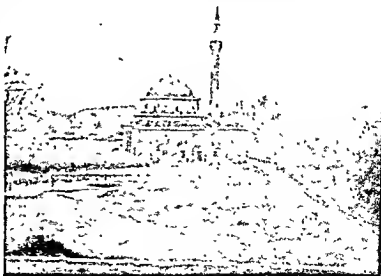


Our camp in the bush

show us their horses, their guns and ammunition. The horses were sometimes fine beasts, the guns were old Turkish rifles. Now and again we would meet a youth having learnt French at school and able to translate for us. They were all extremely astonished that we had no weapons. In Albania every man worth the name carried weapons. I especially remember a youth sitting one night in our tent showing us his revolver. "But did you also carry it today in the bazar?" we asked remembering the bazar where we had ourselves innocently bought bread and eggs. "Of course," answered the youth. "Just imagine if anybody was to smack my face, I could not live with such an insult unretenged." "Oh!" said we and had another look at him, he was small, dark, carrying his head proudly and with flaming black eyes. He had helped us well, he knew how to arrange things, he knew how to take decisions. Another day as we were cycling along far from everything a youth stepped forward and said: "Do you speak English?" We said, we did, and got off our bicycles and started talking with him. He spoke good and fluent English. When he heard we came from Paris his eyes grew dreamy and he said: "How can one leave Paris to come to Albania! I am dying to go to Paris, but

I must live here, without instruction, without the books I want, without art, without exchanging my ideas with anybody. You cannot imagine what isolation that is." We were surprised to hear that he possessed quite a small library where Fourier, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, Marx and Lenin were together with Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and so on. "Why do you read all that?" we asked. "I hope things may change one day and that my country and the world may need me."

"Where did you learn English?" we asked and now came the most amazing answer: "I learnt it all alone from books." We were deeply impressed by this intellectual striving and ardour, think what courage it takes to educate yourself amidst uneducation, to be energetic when nobody else is, to look high for your ideals when you are all alone to do it. Throughout Albania we met many youths having absorbed Western literature to an amazing degree. It was a pleasure to speak to them and we wonder how they feel now, when all they love will be still more downtrodden than it was when we were there. It is strange and rather sad how people in eastern Europe still look on the French republic as the heir of the great revolution of 1789 and they hope that



The ancient mosque near the lake, Sautari

some help will come sooner or later from the land of liberty. Poor fellows, if they only realized how things are today!

A few days later the brakes of our bicycles refused to work any longer on the Albanian road; it was impossible to repair

them and when the last one broke my wife had a bad fall and suddenly found herself on the road with face and both hands bleeding abundantly. Happily a lorry came by and took us for some two hours on incredible roads to a small town where we at once asked for the doctor. But the doctor was not to be

the killing for generations. And this state of things familiarises the Albanian with war and death, he is not afraid and the first thing in the world for him is his honour. So I can only think that whatever may happen in the towns, the Italians will have a very bad time in the mountains. The Albanian flag is red and black, strangely dark and violent colours. You see the peasants riding about with solemn, fierce faces, and in that Europe, where every peasant will give you a kind greeting when met far in the country, the Albanian just looks at you with his proud black eyes and no feature of his moves on crossing the stranger in the wilderness. Strange people. On the other hand wonderfully hospitable. You can take shelter in the poorest peasant's house, he will welcome you gladly and share his simple food with you.

The Albanian towns have nothing European about them, they are oriental, the shops are bazars where you see the various articles being made by hand and where you hear the incessant song of the hammers. No doubt it has been an irresistible call of the East to the "Islam-loving" Italians, but still one wonders what can be the use of a military expedition in a country where you already possess all that is worth having.

Mahe,

April 12, 1939



Lesh, a small harbour near Durazzo and its inhabitants

had, we heard he was gone on a fortnight's ride on horse-back into the mountains where one Albanian had been shot by another in a family strife of that kind Italians call *vendetta*. That is a thing always going on in the Albanian mountains, insulting and killing and revenging

## THE WAR-PSYCHOLOGY

By PROF. DR. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D. Phil.

Formerly of *Vishva-Bharati, Santiniketan*

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY ago the world was in the grip of a deadly war. It terminated after a long four years' term. Its horrors found poignant expression in the writings of eminent men of all the countries. Its recurrence was unthinkable in 1920. Fascinating schemes were formulated to put a stop to wars in future. And still they come. Today there is a whisper in the wind—war is coming. All the nations of the world are rearming.

What are the causes of this pugnacity in man? Various explanations have been suggested to account for this complex mental phenomenon. We shall discuss here some of the more important theories.

One way of explaining it is that men fight (and kill each other) because they have a

natural craving for it, that is, because they love a fight every now and then. This may mean either of two things. In the first place, it may mean that men fight because they feel a physical necessity for it, just as a healthy man is in need of physical exercise. Against this contention it may be argued that no animal likes to kill its species for the mere pleasure of it and man is certainly not an exception to this. It is true that man in primitive times was more inclined to come to blows with the members of his own species than he is today, but he did so under painful compulsion, because in a primitive social organisation (or in the absence of any social organisation) there was no other means of securing justice for one's self than by taking the law into one's



a nobler idealism than those hitherto inculcated on the narrower platform of national-patriotism and prejudiced race-arrogance. But such teachings to be fruitful must be commenced under auspicious world-conditions and the most essential of those conditions is the disappearance of weakness from those ethnic and cultural units which aspire to be the torch-bearers of this new idealism, because the helpless hermit-nations offer themselves as the most attractive

victims upon which the aggressive powers can satisfy their ignoble greed. A disarmed India and a disunited China may serve as the most potent explosives to ignite a world-conflagration. Under these tragic conditions it follows that a disarmament conference can be only successful when all the major nations of the world acquire more or less equal strength in the military and moral sense. Only then will the worldwide war-suspicion begin to fade away.

## A CHALLENGE OF TRIPURI TO CHRISTIANS

By CYRIL MODAK

IN 1885 the Indian National Congress met in Bombay for the first time. W. C. Bonnerjee was the President. The Congress then was a small body of Indian patriots, who felt it their moral responsibility to articulate the National aspirations of the Indian intelligentsia. What strides the Congress has made in half-a-century! Today it articulates with fearless determination the aspirations of the vast majority of the Indian population. Today it is the National organization through which the *kisan* and the *bhumijan* no less than the educated, women no less than men, carry on the sacred fight for freedom. The pageant of these fifty-two years was aptly symbolized in the Presidential procession, led by fifty-two elephants decked in royal trappings, bearing large portraits of national leaders. Indeed, few countries have had such a succession of heroic leaders as India has during the last half-a-century. If India has yet not achieved complete independence it is not because of the dearth of high-calibre leadership but because of the fatal conspiracy between illiteracy and religionists. But India is on the march. Reactionary forces are doomed.

The Tripuri Session of the Indian National Congress is considered by some to have been a sorry failure. Others think it was a great success. We have all read the speeches made by Rightists and Leftists in support of or in opposition to the various resolutions. There is no need for another report of the happenings at Tripuri. Let us rather try to understand the significance of those happenings, pleasant or unpleasant as they were, and the bearings of those incidents on the Christian community. At Tripuri the glittering curtain was mercilessly

torn down. It became amply clear that under the Rightist banner have assembled people of various shades of political and moral opinion, self-sacrificing Gandhianists, astute Patelites, autocratic Ramrajists, and ambitious politicians of vacillating convictions, while on the side of the Leftists are those who belong to the Congress Socialist Party, Royists, some extremists, and a few who have grievances against some pontifical ruling of Vallabhbhai Patel.

The Leftists made it quite plain that they welcomed a united front but would compromise none of the essentials of their creed. With uncanny insight the Leftists discovered the reactionary forces in the Rightist camp. Their challenge to these forces was unmistakable. The Rightists were exerting all their energy to safeguard their conservatism and check a progressive revolutionary movement. The clash revealed that what used to be a vague Socialist tendency has become a vigorous Socialist movement. And it is bound to grow. Opposition is sure to help it to gather strength. Criticism will certainly spur it on to clearer definitions. The fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru failed to bring about a compromise shows that the Leftists have sufficient faith in their programme and erred to be willing to part company with the powerful Rightists and Nehru himself if need be. As a matter of fact, the chief complaint against the Rightists is that they have no programme of action commensurate with the desperate needs of the country.

It is wrong to believe that even the most extreme among the Leftists minimize the extent of the progress made so far or the value of the Gandhian philosophy. They rejoice in the

wonderful progress made. But they are not sentimental enough to interpret the present stand-still as progress. They honour Gandhi and his heroic efforts. But they are not blind to the fact that great as its achievements have been in the past, Gandhianism needs to be tempered in the fire of socialism if it is to be an effective instrument for the next phase of the battle for freedom. On the other hand one could not return from Tripuri without feeling that the Rightists have been using the magic of Gandhiji's name for small ends. Did the highest interests of the country inspire the ohduracy that the Rightists manifested? Did the best welfare of the nation dictate the resolution apparently expressing confidence in Gandhiji and in the ex-Working Committee? Was it really for the sake of Indian independence that the Rightists gave resolute battle to the Leftists? It would be extremely difficult to find satisfactory answers to these questions. It is evident, however, that what used to be the progressive phalanx of the nationalist movement is now the conservative, for a new and more radical phalanx has arisen and is striving to make its influence felt. The Radicals (or Leftists) are using no magical *mantram* to gain mastery. They are arousing mass-consciousness on the one hand and implementing consolidation, and on the other hand loosening the preps from under the imperialist and capitalist structure. They are convinced, and make no secret of their conviction that cultural, social and economic reconstruction must accompany political emancipation if that emancipation is to be permanent and worthwhile. Do the Rightists share this conviction?

Harold J. Laski, Professor of Politics at the London University, said in a message to the Tripuri Congress:

The younger generation of the Congress seems to have anticipated such a message. They are definitely socialistically minded.

The national situation today has a tremendous challenge for the Christian community. We have long kept aloof under various pretexts from the fighting line. We have long deluded ourselves with all kinds of sophistry. Of course, there have been exceptions, but few and far between. The time has come when Indian Christians must get free from the inhibitions of a century and take their stand alongside of their non-Christian brothers and sisters, and fight shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the Motherland. Especially all Christian realists, all those whose hearts beat fast at the challenge of radical Christianity, must not lose this opportunity of raising themselves against the exploitation of the weak, against the perpetuation of un-Christian distinctions, against phariseism of all kinds, against cowardly compromise. In Jesus Christ, whom we profess to follow, we have the champion of the economically disinherited, of the physically disinherited, of the politically and socially disinherited, and of the morally and spiritually disinherited. Will we be true to Him and bravely meet the Cross for the sake of liberating the oppressed, setting free the captives, ensuring that the poor have the same rights as the rich? Or, will we shrink and justify by chicanery our disloyalty to Christ?

It is sometimes said that Christianity has nothing to do with politics—a very convenient doctrine for the politician. When the early Christians threatened to revolutionise society on the principles of Jesus, they were beheaded; now they are simply told that they are being un-Christian. The exploitation of that tremendous, explosive, revolutionary thing, the Gospel, in the interests of the *status quo* reminds one of Kingsley's remark that the Bible was being turned by the opponents of social reform in his day into "a mere special constable's handbook—an opium-dose for keeping beasts of burden patient while they were being overloaded."

## EDUCATION OF THE HARIJANS IN U. P.

By A HARIJAN SEVAK, Delhi

A COMPARATIVE study of the work done by Provincial Governments for the educational advancement of Harijans in the three major Congress provinces of U. P., Madras and Bombay will reveal the sad picture of the educational condition of U. P. Harijans. We all agree that the problem is an immense one and needs long time, patience and large funds before it can be completely solved. But within our own possibilities have we been able to carry out our responsibilities to our down-trodden brethren? It is a sad truth that we have very little to our credit in this matter. So let us awake and fulfil our long-neglected duty.

With all the show and profession by the past Governments, and even the present Congress Government in U. P., of their anxiety for the amelioration of the condition of the ignorant Harijans, very little substantial work has been done to implement this. The population of Harijans in U. P., according to the Census of 1931, is 113 lacs out of a total of 494 lacs, which comes to 23%. This is a stupendously large figure of a crore and 13 lacs consisting of:

Chamars	..	63 lacs
Pas s	..	14 1/2 "
Koris	..	91 "
Dhobis	..	61 "
Bhangis	..	5 "
Shulpkars	..	3 "
Khatiks	..	2 "
Others	..	91 "

and the percentage to the total population also is the biggest of all Provinces. It may also be noted here that among the Harijans of various provinces in the country, U. P. Harijans stand the lowest in literacy. The following table brings out the fact clearly:

Percentage of Literacy of Harijans in different States and Provinces

Travancore	..	14.9
Baroda	..	10.3
Cochin	..	4.8
Bengal	..	5.0
Assam	..	3.1
Bombay	..	2.8
Madras	..	1.5
Bihar & Orissa	..	0.6
U. P.	..	0.5

So, naturally the U. P. Government should have earmarked large sums for the uplift work

of Harijans, even considering only the population basis, letting alone the greater and more urgent needs of the very ignorant Harijans. Madras and Bombay Governments, with their much lesser populations, have progressed much more than the U. P. Government in the Educational uplift of Harijans. The population of Harijans in Madras, according to 1931 Census, is 72 lacs in a total of 467 lacs, which comes to 15% only. In Bombay, including Sind, the Harijans number 18 lacs in a total population of 219 lacs, which means a percentage of 8 only. From the above figures, it is quite clear that the needs of Harijans are much more in U. P. than in Madras or in Bombay. The Harijan population in U. P. as compared with its total population is greater by 7 1/2% than that in Madras and by 15% than that in Bombay. Let us see what the comparative figures, of special expenditure on the education work for Harijans, are in the three provinces under consideration.

The Madras Government spent Rs. 6,93,200 or nearly 7 lacs in the year 1937-38 on the special education of Harijans alone. For the same purpose the budget estimate for 1938-39 was Rs. 7,59,000. But in U. P., the amount spent on the education of Harijans was in 1936-37 only Rs. 2,36,328 and in the year 1937-38 Rs. 2,41,328, i.e., Rs. 5,000 more than in the previous year. The Harijan population of U. P. is greater than that in Madras by 41 lacs, but the expenditure on Harijan uplift in U. P. is less by about five lacs of rupees. It can thus be calculated that while the Madras Government spent 18 pias per head of its Harijan population, the U. P. Government spent only four pias. The comparison is a strong criticism of the half-hearted work done by the U. P. Government, who seem to be rather not as sympathetic as they ought to be. It is no wonder then that we hear sometimes loud complaints about the extreme slowness of the U. P. Government in this matter. Some people go to the extent of even saying that the Government is rather deliberately neglecting their duty to Harijans. This is no doubt an unfair criticism. But at the same time we have to admit that Harijan uplift work in U. P. has not been as swift as

it ought to have been. The figures of literacy, rather illiteracy of U. P. Harijans given above and of the very low (less than 1/4 of Madras) expenditure per head incurred by the U. P. Government for them bear eloquent testimony to this statement.

Neglect itself is a bad thing, and wilful neglect, if at all, more so. If, as some say, the U. P. Government is rather wilfully neglecting—which we certainly do not vouch for—then there is danger ahead of us. If we wholeheartedly desire that Harijans should feel that they are part and parcel of our nation, and if we are true in our profession that we are wedded to the removal of social disabilities of Harijans and to their uplift, then let us march ahead swiftly. The sooner we push forward our Harijan brethren educationally, the better for our nation. The U. P. Government would, therefore, do well to follow the example of the Madras and Bombay Governments in this matter.

#### SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS

The Labour Department in Madras, which is in charge of the welfare-work for Harijans, was started as early as 1919, while in U. P. the Special Department for this work was constituted only in 1934. In Bombay also the Backward Class Department was formed in 1934, but Bombay had made much progress both in its policy and the amount of work done, before the Special Department was created. The Special Department in U. P. has a very inadequate staff, consisting of one Special Officer and his Assistant at the top and one supervisor for each of the 48 districts of the Province and a few municipal towns. The supervisors are a low-paid body on the grade of only Rs 30/- to Rs. 60/-. Besides this, they are all under non-pensionable service and 28 of them are still temporary. For such a meagre salary and under such unsafe conditions of service we cannot get efficient staff. Hence it is no wonder that the Special Department has not been able to fulfil the expectations it inspired. A lowly-paid and ill-equipped official in charge of Special work of a district is in most cases a waste and burdeon on the Government. If he possesses missionary zeal, the case is different. A missionary would work on even starvation wage, and he would do much better work than even a handsomely-paid official entrusted with such work. So the supervising staff in the special department has not shown good result so far. If the U. P. Government pins its faith

to cheapness, and to its meagre efforts, it can never accomplish its stupendous task of the removal of illiteracy of lacs and millions of Harijans.

The Special Department in Madras is a much better one than this. At the top of the Labour (or Harijan) Department is the Labour Commissioner, a senior I.C.S. officer, and he is assisted by a personal assistant, a manager and a staff of 20 clerks. The Collectors of districts are directly in charge of the uplift work in their areas and they are assisted by Labour Officers of the grade of Deputy Tahsildars each of whom in turn is assisted by a staff of clerks for office work and special revenue inspectors and special overseers for executive work. There are 14 such Labour Officers stationed in different districts of the Province. But in U. P. the lower staff of the Special Department works under the control of the Local Boards, which, we all know, have not been specially favourable to Harijan education. The Bombay Backward Class Department consists of a senior I.C.S. Officer and his three Divisional Assistants are Senior Tahsildars, and the Department takes the help of missionary bodies like the H. S. Sanghs and makes them agents of the Government for this uplift work.

#### SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR HARIJANS

In the D. P. I.'s report for 1937-38 we find on page 53 that 'in keeping with the policy of the Government to do away with the segregated schools for the Depressed Classes in course of time, the number of primary schools (special schools) should have gone down still further' than the decrease of schools in 1937-38 from the previous year's number. In 1936-37 there were in U. P. 667 special primary schools, but only 655 in 1937-38 showing a decrease of 12, and for which the D. P. I. is joyous.

Before commenting upon this statement of the D. P. I., let us consider how far the so-called "segregated schools" are really segregated. In 1936-37 there were as many as 8,702 non-Harijan children attending these special schools, out of a total strength of 27,792, which comes to 31 per cent of the total. In 1937-38 there were 9,806 non-Harijan children out of 28,251, which is over 34 per cent of the total. So when more than 34 per cent of the scholars are non-Harijans and are taking advantage of these "special" schools, how are we justified in calling these "segregated schools"? Is it not more correct to call them Common Schools,

only situated in places convenient to the Harijans and close to their hamlets?

Supposing they are segregated schools for Harijans only, is the need for such segregated schools not existing at the present time? I think the D. P. I. seems to be too much optimistic, when he says that the need is not a strong one. Of course special schools are not permanently needed by Harijans. They are only preparatory ones established to attract the Harijan children and give them special attention and staff that is necessary to encourage them and to lead them on. These schools do not at present develop any unhealthy rivalry or separatist mentality. The D. P. I. seems rather harsh when he remarks that "the desire of the people to have schools which they could call their own and with which they measure their strength in comparison to other communities could not be resisted." The depressed class people are in truth nowhere in a position to compete with other sections of the community, as is indicated in the above statement. It looks like a cruel joke on a very ignorant and woefully backward section. We will be more correct if we say that they aspire to rise to equality and to mingle freely with other sections of the community, rather than seek separatism from them. But their desire to have schools in their own hamlets during the interim period, when they are trying to come up to the high level of other castes in the Society is a healthy and legitimate desire. The Harijan children at present need special schools, special facilities and special attention in existing schools.

Again when we take into consideration the rural areas, we have to confess that the prejudice against the Harijans is still strong there. It may be "fast disappearing," as the D. P. I. writes, in urban areas, but certainly not in rural parts, where the great bulk of the population resides. A great deal of propaganda still remains to be done in those areas. Hence it is necessary to have, for some years more, a large number of special schools for Harijans in their hamlets and to very much increase their present small number at school. "To do away" with such schools will be an unwise step.

#### SCHOLARSHIP

With regard to scholarships awarded to Harijan students, conditions in U. P. are not very encouraging. A very large majority of these scholarships numbering about 8,000 are given to students in the primary schools, and are of the small value of 6 to 12 annas. The

number of scholarships given for secondary education is only 480, only 10 per district. The total amount spent for this in the U. P. in 1937-38 was 91,500/-. In Madras, with Harijan population, which is less than two-thirds of U. P. Harijan population, we have Rs. 1,09,800/- spent in 1937-38 for scholarships and boarding grants. The Madras and Bombay Governments help much larger numbers of Harijan scholars receiving higher and technical education. Also in these two provinces, these scholarships are being given for a very long time, while the U. P. Government is just beginning to give even this meagre help.

#### GIRL'S EDUCATION

Another point to be noted is that the Harijan girl scholars are very, very few in number, and we find that scholarships were instituted for them for the first time only in 1937-38. The total number of Harijan girl students in all kinds of schools in the U. P. are only 8,000 out of a mixed strength of 1,66,000. The ratio of boy-scholars to girl scholars among Harijans in U. P. therefore works out at 21 to 1, a very depressing fact to know of. The ratio for boys and girls of other Hindus is about 5 to 1 and so we see that the ratio for Harijan girls to Harijan boys at school is disappointingly low.

I quote here one instance of how the Harijan girls in Madras are encouraged in education. "Ten residential scholarships each of the value of Rs. 150 per annum are granted to Scheduled Class girls in the boarding home of the Madras Seva Sadan." There are many more such instances. Besides such scholarships, there are Government and Government-aided boardings for girls as well as boys, which are extremely rare in U. P. At any rate there is no mention of such Special free hostels for Harijan boys and girls anywhere in the D. P. I.'s Report.

#### COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

About compulsory primary education that is said to have been existing for a long time in the U. P., it is enough if we read the following lines from the D. P. I.'s report for 1937-1938, (page 31). "At present compulsory primary education is giving practically no return for the money spent on it." This is a very strong indictment on the local bodies set up by the Government itself. Another equally revealing statement is as follows: "It is depressing to learn from the reports of all the Inspectors that no efforts are being made by

## ROMANCE OF SADHBELLA

An Island-Retreat At Sukkur

By G. K. HARJANI

It would not be an exaggeration to state that in the entire Province of Sind, there is hardly a temple or place of pilgrimage which occupies such a picturesque site, or which appeals so much to the imagination and to the devotional instinct of the Hindus, as the magnificent Island Temple of Sri Sadhbella at Sukkur. Situated on the Moanak Mountain and washed on all sides by the gurgling water of the Indus, Sadhbella commands an unique position and a magnificent view. The rays of the morning and the evening sun, reflected from the surface of the rippling waters, make a wonderful sight. Many a visitor to Sukkur and Rohri has been struck by the strange beauty of the soft and glowing tints. Thus Sadhbella is transformed into a fairyland at dawn and twilight. With its arches of snowy marble and shimmering silver doors it is in a way superior to the Taj at Agra for the latter is situated on the banks of the river Junna while Sadhbella is in the midst of

that is, a retreat for saints, sages and seers. By this it does not mean that only monks and Sadhus are most welcome there, but it is open to all irrespective of caste, colour and creed. In 1896, when the great plague broke out at



Marble figures of twentyfour Incarnations sculptured on the walls of the Temple

Sukkur, and the towns of Sukkur and Rohri were almost depopulated, about two hundred and fifty men found a refuge in Sadhbella and every one of them was lodged, fed and provided with comforts by the exertions of Sadhbella authorities. So also during the great famine in 1899 when people from Merwar and Gujarat were dying of starvation, about a thousand Marwaris found there way to Sadhbella, and Swamiji sheltered and fed them all for full six months, till it became possible for them to find some means of livelihood.

### FOUNDING OF SADHBELLA

The founder of this "Islet of Delight", with its magic scenes, white temples and flowers



The arches of snowy marble and shimmering silver doors of the Island Temple of Sadhbella

the broad Indus, forming an island retreat where thousands pour in as pilgrims and visitors. Sadhbella is a compound word. Bella means a forest. Hence Sadhbella is a forest for Sadhus,



His Holiness Harnamda-yi Maharaj the present  
Head of Sadhbella

boarding and lodging. School hours are from 8 to 11 in the morning and 3 to 6 in the evening.

(i) The library contains the Four Vedas, the 18 Puranas, 24 Smritis, all authoritative and well known texts and Shastras as well as

commentaries on the Vedanta, and also books on Logic, Astrology, Music, Poetry, Lexicography, Literature, Philosophy, Ethics, etc. It possesses a number of manuscripts, some of which have not yet been published.

(ii) *Little Sadhbella*: Adjacent to the big Sadhbella there are the Samarain temple, the Shiva temple and several Samadhis of departed saints. Formerly, this spot was not connected with the major Sadhbella, for during the hot season water would rush in between two Sadhbellas. Since the stone embankment was constructed the two sites have been connected and one can go easily from one part to the other at any time of the year.

(iii) *Clifton (Havai Bunder)*: This is an open spot situated in the south-east of Sadhbella. The cool pleasant breeze which blows here acts as a tonic to the body and restorative to the jaded brains. Marble seats have been provided which are wonderfully cool places to sit upon even in the hottest part of the year. This place is much fancied during the summer season reminding men of the Clifton at Karachi. There are many other beautiful spots like the Tapoban and Rishukesh, and a garden.

Where million roses, pink and red,  
Their fragrance sweet and lustre shed,  
And doves all day make music sweet  
And fan tailed peacocks eyes do meet

Pictures of all Hindu deities are to be found in the temple. There are also beautiful and curious carvings on the walls of the temple.





Day and night a Laotian theravada kept watch near the Bo sprout

the convent for Buddhist Mahayanist nuns. At Vinh they were invited to visit different Mahayanist temples and then proceeded to Luang-

Prabang by motor car on the new Astrid Road.

In Luang-Prabang great festivals were held in honour of the delegation of the Buddhist



Annamite nuns, Itue

Institute and of the sprout of the sacred Bo tree, the first to be brought in this remote kingdom

In Phnom-Penh, Cambodia, at the end of March, the other sprout of the sacred Bo tree was presented to the King, and it was the occasion of a big procession round the Khmèr capital.

## INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

By G. M. YAHYA, B.A.

I HAVE studied the I. C. S. Examiner's Report published on the 17th December, 1938, by the *United Press of India*, Calcutta.

It is mentioned in the Report that candidates offer subjects other than those studied by them for their degrees. It is added that this is done especially by Mathematics or Science candidates. It is to be considered seriously by the Government of India, the Service Commission, the Universities and the public leaders and to be investigated as to the nature of the defect either in the system of the examination or in the candidate.

But the candidates have arrived at the conclusion that the defect lies with the examination. They are of opinion that no justice is done by the authorities to Science or Mathematics subjects. They provide more facility to History, Economics and Literature graduates. For the degree, a graduate of Arts might have studied subjects which he can offer for his I. C. S. Examination as his optional subjects to cover up 800 marks obligatory for each candidate without any need of offering any new one. Whereas it is not the same case with a Science graduate. A Science or





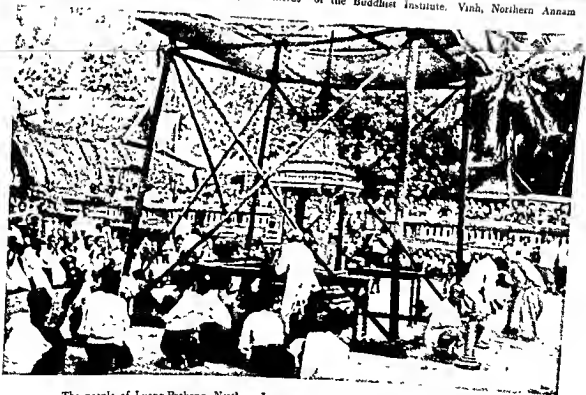
Young Annamite Mahayanist Buddhist Monks paying homage to the *theras* from Cambodia and Ceylon Hue



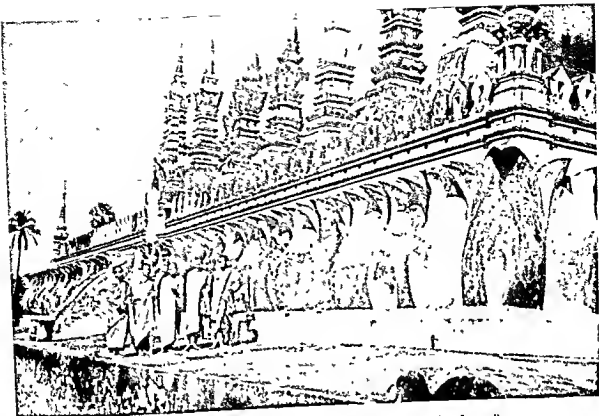
Mahayanist Buddhist Nuns listen to the *preaching* of a *thera* from the Buddhist Institute. Hue, Annam



A Mahayanist Annamite priest receiving the *thetas* of the Buddhist Institute. Vinh, Northern Annam



The people of Luang-Prabang, Northern Laos, coming to pay respect to the sacred sprout



A visit to the sacred monument of Vientiane Laos the "That Luang"



The Sinhalese priest in Luang Prabang begging his rice



5) Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal and others at Sodepur on the eve of the A I C C Meeting at Calcutta



President Subhas Chandra Bose among Press representatives

Photographs by Satyendranath Bisi

Mathematics graduate might have studied for his degree, subjects, which in most cases cover up only 400 marks and for the rest of the 400 marks he must study some new subjects.

It is to be borne in mind that History, Economics and Literature have been made easier than Science or Mathematics. History is classed as Indian, British and European. Indian History is divided into 3 periods, British into 3 and European into 2 and 100 marks are allotted for each period. Similarly, Economics is classed into General Economics (allotted 200 marks), Economics History (100), Public Economics (100). A graduate in Economics besides offering the said subjects, can offer Political Theory, (100), Political Organisation (100), and some History periods which he would have studied for his degree. He can as well offer all History periods covering up thereby 600 and any Economic part for the remaining 200. It is easier, therefore, for a graduate of History or Economics to offer only those subjects which he studied for his degree. He need not strain his mind by studying new subjects without instruction and guidance. He can as well devote more attention to compulsory subjects and the *viva voce*. Whereas a Science graduate, say a Physics B.A. Hons. or M.A. graduate, can offer only Higher Physics and Lower Physics and to cover up the remaining 400 marks he invades History, Economics or Literature, which is in fact easier for self-study than any Science subject, such as Chemistry, etc., which requires a costly laboratory and an able professor to clear his doubts and to solve the difficult problems of the subjects to proceed further. Even for B.Sc. Hons. or M.Sc. graduate it is difficult though not so difficult as for B.A. Hons. or M.A. graduate to offer the studied subjects as his optional subjects in the I.C.S. Examination. Great is the difficulty with a Mathematics candidate. If he is a B.A. Hons. or M.A. he can offer only Lower Mathematics (Pure and Applied) and either Higher Mathematics Pure or Higher Mathematics Applied, since both Higher Mathematics, Pure and Applied, cannot be taught in any University owing to the great field each of them covers. One more discrepancy in Higher Pure is that in M.A. or B.A. Hons. the candidate would have studied only any two of these options, Theory of Differential Equations, Complex Variables, Differential Geometry, etc.—whereas the I.C.S. Examiners expect from him a detailed knowledge of each of these subjects which is difficult for him to get in a short

course even in any one subject. He, therefore, offers subjects which require no laboratory work and no regular schooling. I.C.S. Examination is a puzzle for an ordinary Mathematics B.A. The only paper he can offer is the Lower Mathematics, Pure and Applied (200). The Lower Pure Paper is generally of a standard much higher than that of any B.A. standard of any Indian or British University. Since he is required to study Analysis, Pure Geometry and Analytical Geometry of 2 and 3 dimensions, etc. for his I.C.S. Examination. In fact, the Lower Pure Paper is of the same standard, as M.A. Similar is the case with the Lower applied.

In order to obviate these difficulties and to encourage Science or Mathematics candidates, the Government or the Commission would do well to invite the opinion of able scholars and experts, not ignoring the opinion of an I.C.S. candidate, who in fact is the person to go through the ordeal and consequently is a better judge. It is desirable and essential, I think, that each Science subject should be divided into different parts as in the case of History and English Literature and 100 marks should be fixed for each. For instance, Higher Mathematics or Pure should be separated into Analysis and Calculus, Algebra and Trigonometry; Geometries; Complex Variables; Theory of Differential Equations; and Differential Geometry. Similarly, Higher Applied should be divided into Dynamics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, etc. Such groups or parts of subject facilitate the candidate to concentrate his attention on the particular part at the time of the examination and naturally do better. But the Commission, if it so desires, can make it a condition that a candidate can offer not more than 400 or 500 marks in any particular subject as they do in the case of English Literature. But this need not be any necessary condition in any opinion. The present mode of setting questions in some parts of the subject in the first paper and setting again in the same parts of it in the second, candidates greatly dislike. The Lower Mathematics Pure Paper should be exclusively of the B.A. standard so that a candidate with B.A. may offer and devote his attention to new subjects of his choice and not waste his energies over self-study without the help of the University professors. If not, the Universities should be asked to raise the standard of B.A. in Mathematics, etc., to that of the I.C.S. Lower Mathematics Paper, etc. The end in view of the authorities should be to restrict the portion and to raise its standard, thereby testing the

intelligence of the candidate rather than his ignorance.

It is reported further that only a few candidates of the Punjab, U P and Bihar do well in the viva voce. The reasons for this may be some of those I mentioned above. The next reason may be geographical and economic. It is therefore advisable to select different centres

of examination as it is done in the Survey Examination, in the vast sub continent of India. What is true of the I C S Examination is also true of the other competitive examinations. The Government of India, and the Provincial or State Governments should consider this seriously and try to rectify the defects of the present system.

## INDIAN LAWS OF INHERITANCE—AN IMPEDIMENT TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS

By NIRMAL CHANDRA PAL, M.A., B.L.

*Lecturer, Dacca University*

THE most urgent and pressing problem which faces the Government and the public of our country at the present time is the economic improvement of our people. Since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy—Provincial Governments are vying with each other to devise measures calculated to ameliorate the condition of the masses as it has been realised that the welfare of society as a whole is closely linked with the economic wellbeing of the agriculturists who constitute the backbone of the body politic. No theme which has any bearing on this all important problem should be neglected by us. We therefore propose to discuss in the paper how the laws of inheritance prevailing in India are proving a stumbling block to the economic improvement of our people.

During the last quarter of a century notable investigations have been made into the economic condition of rural India and we possess a number of valuable studies on the subject. Mr Kestings and Mr Mann have conducted important surveys of rural conditions in Bombay. Mr Darling and Mr Calcutt have not only enriched agricultural economic by their own works in the Punjab but have inspired others to follow them. Late Mr Jell of the Indian Civil Service in his famous book *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* and two professors of the Dacca University Prof S G Panandekar and Dr K B Shaha have ably analysed the causes which have kept the Bengal riyot in poverty and misery. Lastly, the Royal Commission on Agriculture have made a comprehensive survey of the problems of rural India and made recommendations for

solving them. All the above investigations have shown that too many men in India are already depending on land for their subsistence, and necessarily there has been an undue irritable subdivision and fragmentation of agricultural holdings. To minimise the evil effects of fragmentation attempts for consolidation of holdings are being made in the Punjab with the help of the Co operative Department and in C P and U P by legislation. But no attempt has up to now been made in any part of India to prevent subdivision of holdings. Subdivision is explained in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture as the distribution of the land of a common ancestor amongst his successors in interest in accordance with the laws of inheritance. Thus a man holding twelve acres and having four sons may be succeeded by the four sons each holding three acres if each of these sons leave two sons the next generation may show eight grandsons each holding one and half acres only.

Agricultural holdings all over India have been reduced to such a size that profitable agriculture has become almost impossible and the average holding so small that its produce is insufficient for maintaining a cultivator with any family for the whole year. Complete figures for the size of holdings all over India are not available but figures for the Punjab are available as the result of a special enquiry into 2400 villages scattered throughout the province. This disclosed that 17.9 per cent of the holdings were under one acre 25.5 per cent were between one and three acres 14.9 per cent between 3 and 5 acres and 18 per cent

between 5 and 10 acres.<sup>1</sup> Density of population per square mile being 646 in Bengal as compared to 238 in the Punjab—conditions in this province seem to be much worse as will appear from the size of an average ryoti holding given in the Settlement Reports of the following districts :<sup>2</sup>

District	Size of the average ryoti holding a/c.
Bankura .. .. .	1.85 acres.
Midnapore .. .. .	1.29 "
Jessore .. .. .	1.78 "
Backerganj .. .. .	2.51 "
Faridpur .. .. .	1.39 "
Dacca .. .. .	1.52 "
Mymensingh .. .. .	2.67 "
Rajshahi .. .. .	2.20 "
Noakhali .. .. .	2.30 "
Tipperah .. .. .	1.90 "

The average size of a ryoti holding in Bengal is therefore 1.94 acres. According to the Census Report of Bengal of 1931 there are in the province 32.5 million cultivators including dependents. Taking 5 persons as constituting an average family, the total number of families of cultivators becomes 6.5 millions. As the cultivated area is about 24 millions acres there are about 3.7 acres of cultivated land per family. It is interesting to compare with this area the size of the average agricultural holding in foreign countries

In England the average size of a holding is	62 acres
In Germany .. .. .	21.5 "
In France .. .. .	20.23 "
In Denmark .. .. .	40.0 "
In Belgium .. .. .	14.5 "
In Holland .. .. .	26.00 "
In U S A .. .. .	133 acres

In all the western countries mentioned above the average holding is many times as large as in this province. That a holding of 3.7 acres or less is entirely insufficient in size to attain in any appreciable degree the economies of modern agricultural methods specially in the production of crops like rice, pulse, jute and sugarcane—will hardly be denied by anybody. The area of the average holding in Bengal is not only uneconomical even under the present primitive methods of cultivation but insufficient to provide a living to the cultivator with a family.

Dr. Shaha of the University of Dacca has calculated how the produce of even 4 acres of

land under present conditions is insufficient to meet the requirements of the family of the cultivator in Bengal throughout the year. He says :

"Taking 4 acres as the area of the average holding the normal yield in a year will be about 60 maunds of paddy. The average family of agriculturists may be taken to consist of 5 persons—two adults and three children. An adult person of this class consumes 1/3 of a seer of rice a day. At this rate he will consume in a year 273 srs. of rice. A maund of paddy yields about 27 seers of cleaned rice, so that the annual consumption of an adult will be about 10 mds of paddy. The children will consume less. Supposing that they require half of this amount, the total consumption of the family in a year will be about 35 maunds of paddy. Thus out of 60 mds, 35 mds will be required for the consumption of the cultivator's family, and there will remain a balance of 25 mds. to be applied to other purposes. This quantity when sold in the market will bring Rs. 100. He also may have another Rs. 20 for the cultivation of a second crop in the double cropped area in his holding so that he has a surplus of about Rs. 120. Deducting from this the rent that he has to pay and also the expenses he has to incur for the purchase of seed, implements, labour and also for the maintenance of his cattle, the surplus that remains is hardly sufficient to procure to the cultivator the other necessities of life."

It is abundantly clear from what has been said above that the average holding in India is already insufficient to maintain the family of the cultivator and any further sub-division would mean starvation for him. If the causes of such deplorable sub-division be analysed it would be seen that law of inheritance have been mainly instrumental in bringing it about. Hindu Law of Inheritance was intended for a society where there was virtually no pressure upon land and Mahomedan Law according to Wilson, the well-known author of *Anglo-Mahomedan Law*, for a society which was pastoral. Now, what are the provisions of the Hindu and the Mahomedan Laws of Inheritance according to which land in India is passing from one generation of cultivators to another. According to the Hindu Law of Succession prior to 1937 the property of a Hindu used to be divided on his death equally among his sons only, but on the initiative of a zealous social reformer anxious to improve the legal rights of Hindu women—Hindu Women's Right to Property Act of 1937 has been passed which provides that the property of a deceased Hindu shall be divided among all the sons as well as the widow in equal shares. The Act may be highly desirable from the point of view of justice to woman but so far as the agriculturist is concerned it has provided for a greater subdivision of his holding. The Mahomedan Law goes further and divides the

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 132.

2. Quoted from Dr. Shaha's *Economics of Rural Bengal*, page 116.

3. Khan Bahadur S. A. Latif's article in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, July, 1927. Quoted in Dr. Shaha's *Economics of Rural Bengal*.

4. Dr. Shaha's *Economics of Rural Bengal*, page 120.

property amongst the widow, sons and daughters—the widow getting  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole property and each son getting double the share of each daughter. Thus, with the advent of each successive generation the holdings are being sub-divided and are gradually diminishing in size due to the application of Hindu Law and Mahomedan Law, until at the present time they have become so small as to afford not even a bare subsistence in a large number of cases. The rate of sub-division can be estimated from the figures which are available regarding the Canal colonies in the Punjab. When the settlements were first made in those areas, the average size of a holding was about 30 acres, but in course of about 25 years i.e., one generation, the size has been reduced to 18 acres only.

Intensive cultivation, planned agriculture, better facilities for marketing and similar other measures for improvement in other directions will no doubt temporarily improve the condition of the ryot, but until further sub-division is effectively prevented by legislation permanent improvement of his economic position is impossible. The Royal Commission on Agriculture arrived at the same conclusion and considered a number of proposals made by different witnesses for preventing sub-division in this country without directly changing the laws of inheritance but rejected them all as ineffective and unpractical. One of these suggestions made by the Director of Agriculture, Bombay, was a notable one. He suggested legislation to the following effect. Any holder of land might apply to the Collector under the provisions of this law for registering his holding as an economic holding. The collector after making careful enquiry and ascertaining the willingness of all persons interested in the land, may register it as an economic holding. Thereafter the holder shall not be allowed to divide the holding or dispose of a part of it but might sell, mortgage or otherwise dispose of it as an entire unit. On the death of the holder it is to devolve upon a single person. The holder is also given the right to get the registration cancelled under certain circumstances. The proposed legislation was purely of a permissive character and merely enabled those who were willing to adopt a law of primogeniture to do so. A law on the above model was adopted in certain Indian States for preventing subdivision of holdings but unfortunately the number of cultivators who took advantage of it was extremely meagre and so it failed to fulfil its purpose.

As none of the suggested remedies seem to

be effective, the question that awaits our decision is: Should we retain our laws of inheritance as they are and allow our cultivators to become poorer and poorer until they pass out of existence or should we change our law of inheritance in such a way that further sub-division of holdings may be effectively checked?

Laws of inheritance being the personal laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans and supposed to be based upon their scriptures, the initiative for reform will never come from the Government which is committed to a strict principle of neutrality. And it is for this reason that the Royal Commission on Agriculture though convinced that a change in the laws of inheritance is urgently necessary refrained from making any such recommendation. The initiative for such a reform must come from the people. But, in this unfortunate land of ours, it is difficult to find many public men who would openly take their stand against long-standing customs and traditions specially if they are in any way connected with the religious beliefs of the people. On the contrary a class of politicians has, in the name of safe-guarding the interests of the minorities, begun of late to agitate that personal laws should not be allowed to be changed by the majority votes of the legislatures. This attitude will make any reform in our personal laws extremely difficult however unsuitable they may be for the present condition of society.

Law has been described by a well-known jurist as an everlasting malady of mankind as it always lags behind the society. Sir Henry Maine expresses the same view in his *Ancient Law* when he says that

"Social necessities and social opinion are always more or less in advance of Law. We may come indefinitely near to the closing of the gap between them, but it has a perpetual tendency to reopen. Law is stable; the societies are progressing. The greater or less happiness of a people depends on the degree of promptitude with which the gulf is narrowed."

No right-thinking man will dispute the truth of the above statement. Unfortunately, in this country eminent public men are not hesitating to declare openly in legislatures that their personal laws being derived from their scriptures are suitable for all conditions of society and for all ages.

Personal laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans in India virtually include laws of marriage and succession. All other branches of law have been secularised. The time has



come when both the Hindu and the Mahomedan public should seriously consider if they should not agree to a revision of their laws of inheritance and thereby save the masses from sure ruin. After the passing of the Freedom of Religion Act of 1850, which has provided that a son converted into another religion shall have equal rights in the matter of inheritance with sons who have not undergone such conversion, no Hindu or Mahomedan ought to be under any delusion that their laws of inheritance are still based on their scriptures.

Recently Hindus have agreed to several important changes in their law of inheritance. By the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act (XII of 1928), they have accepted, except in Bengal, as heirs all persons who are born blind, deaf or dumb or devoid of any limb or organ, though it is provided in Sloka 201 Chapter IX of the Institutes of Manu that eunuchs and outcasts, persons born blind or deaf, mad men, idiots, the dumb and such as have lost the use of a limb are excluded from the share of a heritage. Similarly, by the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act (II of 1929) son's daughter and daughter's daughter, and by the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (XVIII of 1937) widow along with the sons and the son's widow have been recognised as heirs. These changes are not in accordance with the provisions of their scriptures.

In Western Countries, laws have at the present time been completely secularised and are administered by secular courts. Church Law and Ecclesiastical Courts have ceased to exist after the Middle Ages. Even in oriental countries like Japan, Turkey and Iran laws have nothing to do with religion. But in India, though laws are administered by secular courts only, personal laws are supposed to be based on religion. Is it impossible to do in India what has been done in Turkey and Iran, namely, to separate law from religion?

It may be pointed out in this connection that sometime back Egypt was also faced with the evil of subdivision of agricultural holdings. The Egyptians got over the difficulty by modifying the laws of inheritance in such a way that the land of a deceased person was nominally divided amongst the heirs but actually left in the hands of only one to cultivate on behalf of all. Such a device would hardly be of any use in India as the holdings are already so small that they are not sufficient for maintaining even the present holders. The time has come

in India when we must be prepared, in the interest of the teeming millions who work in the field from sunrise to sunset but cannot get two full meals a day, to accept a new law of inheritance limiting the succession to a single heir.

If the Indian ryot is to be saved from ruin a law of primogeniture must be adopted discarding the present Hindu and Mahomedan laws of inheritance. Unless we are prepared for such a drastic change there is no means of checking the gradual impoverishment of the agriculturist.

It may be asked: Is not primogeniture an anachronism in the modern age? Do we not everywhere hear a cry for equality? Many will consider adoption of primogeniture to be a retrograde step and against all canons of social justice. While legal philosophers have been pleading for equal distribution of the properties of a deceased person among all the members of his family including the widow, sons and daughters, there is no doubt that primogeniture, i.e., limiting succession to one heir only, will appear inequitable. But law is not mere logic. It deals with life and cannot be based on abstract theories only. It must take into account the realities of life. If it were not so, how could we have at the present day acts like the Punjab Land Alienation Act and Bengal Agricultural Debtor's Act which contravened some of the fundamental principles of Jurisprudence? It was only in 1922 that the Law of Property Act (12 and 13 Geo. 5, C. 16) popularly known as Lord Birkenhead's Act was passed abolishing the law of primogeniture in England although 150 years ago Bentham had enunciated the principle of equal division of the properties of a deceased person among his wife and children.

Law of equal distribution is suitable for a country which has been industrialised to such an extent that most of its wealth consists of properties other than land such as stocks and shares. So long as a country depends mainly on agriculture and subdivision of land has been carried to a point where it is already inadequate for the maintenance of its owner and his family, equal division is sure to have a disastrous effect on the society. Professor Vinogradoff in his famous *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* views primogeniture as the effect of the necessity of keeping up organic units of an economic nature and thinks that it originated in the requirements of the economic situation. If the above view be true, as we think it to be, it must be admitted that the economic situation has arisen in India in which

adoption of primogeniture has become a necessity.

Some Indian Economists hold that the introduction of the law of primogeniture into this country would create a large landless proletariat for whom there would be no employment in our country. These economists forget that already more men are depending on land in this country than can get a bare living from it. As the population will gradually grow it will be absolutely necessary to divert the surplus population from the land to industries. And to meet this situation both cottage and large scale industries must be developed so that there may be employment for men thrown out from the land. If industries are not developed in the country and more men have got to depend on land for subsistence, the condition of our people in such a contingency can better be imagined than described. Knowing the nature of the Bengal agriculturists as we do, it must be admitted by all that it is necessary to force the surplus population to leave the land, and it can only be done by adopting a law of primogeniture. Even now we find that though a large number of the agriculturists in Bengal are living in a very miserable condition on account of the insufficiency of the land they possess, very few of them are willing to go to industrial centres to work in the factories. The great majority of the workers in organised industries in this province consists of immigrants from other provinces. So that if economic conditions in Bengal are taken into consideration there is no doubt that a law of primogeniture should be introduced at least for succession to agricultural holdings.

It is well known that upto 1925 properties in England were divided into two kinds—Real and Personal, i.e., landed property and other kinds of property. Primogeniture was the rule of succession in the case of Real property and

equal division in the case of Personal property. When England became so industrialised that only 22 per cent of the people depended on agriculture and wealth consisted mostly of industrial property, the distinction between real property and personal property was done away with and a uniform rule of equal division was adopted.

In Germany there exists even at the present day an institution known as 'hofrecht' intended to facilitate the undivided transmission of rural property. In certain parts of Germany, notably Hanover, the farm (hoff) is not divided among the descendants, it is given as a whole to a favoured heir called "anerbe". Certain Laws give the father the right to designate this heir, others leave the choice to the children, most laws expressly name the eldest son, a few, on the other hand, favour the youngest. The German Civil Code has allowed these local peculiarities to survive in the law of rural inheritance.

If the people of the country are really anxious to improve the economic condition of the agriculturists it seems that a change in the law of inheritance is an imperative necessity. And we suggest that properties in India should be divided at least for the present, into agricultural and non-agricultural. Law of primogeniture should be adopted for succession to agricultural properties and rule of equal division among wife and children for non-agricultural properties. This will effectively check further subdivision of agricultural holdings and gradual impoverishment of the Indian cultivator.

The National Planning Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress have been investigating the problem of improving the economic life of this country. May we hope that this aspect of the question, namely, how the Laws of inheritance prevailing in India are operating as an impediment to the economic improvement of the agriculturist, will not fail to attract their notice.\*

7. The Law of Property Act, 1925 (15 Geo. 5, c 20) repealing Lord Birkenhead's Act, came into operation on the 1st of January, 1926.

\* A paper read before the Dacca Rotary Club on March 27, 1939.



# Book Reviews

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

--Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

LEAGUE OF NATIONS INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, AND THE UNITED STATES: *By a Group of Americans in Geneva* 66 pages. Price \$0.40 or 175 Swiss francs. Geneva Research Centre, 14, Avenue de France, Geneva, Switzerland.

This is the ninth annual report, published by the Geneva Research Centre, on the subject of the co-operation of the United States with the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization. The introduction summarizes briefly the developments of the past two decades and points out that the year 1933 was especially interesting in giving a clear cut cross section of the stage of which this co-operation has reached. An appraisal of what has been done and what remains to be done is valuable at this time.

This study explains in detail the various phases of the collaboration of the United States with the League in its economic, financial and disarmament work and as a "full Member" of the Social Committee.

A full account is given of the co-operation of the United States with the International Labour Organization.

The League's first participation in an international exhibition, the New York World's Fair, will provide an opportunity for the general public to receive an objective and impartial picture of its manifold activities. The authorities responsible for the conception of this exhibit have placed over the door President Roosevelt's words, "In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for it cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, HIS PERSONALITY AND WORK: *By Professor V. Lesny (in Czech), and translated into English by Guy McKee Phillips, with a Foreword by C. F. Andrews.* George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 3s. 6d. net.

The book is particularly recommended to those who do not know Bengali, though Bengalis, too, will find it valuable. The Poet himself has enriched it with his appreciation.

It is the only book that we know which tells how the Poet began to write in English for publication.

X.

THE UNITARIAN CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS IN ENGLAND: *By Raymond V. Holt, M.A., B.Litt (Oxon).* Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London 1933. Pages 364. Price 10s. 6d.

The appearance and publication of several books dealing with this most formative period of British History and describing the long-drawn struggle for freedom in all the spheres of life points to the need for vigilance to safeguard the sacred trust which has come down to us. In enjoying the fruits of the struggle for liberty, the rising generation should strive to purify much that requires purging in our social life.

This book is more than a list of warriors in the army of liberators. It does indeed contain the names of many well known figures in philosophical tradition and in social and political developments. But its lasting value lies in the penetrating examination of the influences at work, of the environment in which the development takes place and of the strength and weakness of the cause. The book is not a panegyric oration but a sober scrutiny of the personalities and of the causes they upheld.

It is a pity that the word "Unitarian" has not been substituted for another with less theological colour and bias. The author does recognize the looseness in which the word is used.

"In this book the word 'Unitarian' is used to include all the different shades of opinion which resulted from rapidly changing thought, but is applied particularly to those members of the English dissenting congregations who developed heretical views after the middle of the eighteenth century, and, of course, to members of those congregations founded later which were Unitarian from the outset" (p. 13.) This would include practically all religious bodies which have separated themselves from the Church of England.



the laws and constitution of India, and as such the Regulation of 1793 confirmed the rights of Landlords without creating them. They did not introduce foreign ideas so far as the notion of ownership were concerned, and that "the capital and initiative which had transformed the exhausted, deserted and uncultivated Bengal into rich, populated and cultivated plains within half a century came from the Landlords, and that this miracle was the work of the Landlords under the boon of the Permanent Settlement." And thus, by various citations and allusions to facts the Association has tried to prove that the Permanent Settlement has not only benefited the Zemindars, but also all classes of people in Bengal; and that the apparent loss of the State on account of the "Ryot" assets, not coming direct to the State is more than recompensed by the general welfare of the people, their increased purchasing power, which enables the Government to collect larger Custom Duties, larger Stamp Revenue and Court Fee and also in various other indirect ways.

As the question overlaps, the Association in its replies has often had to reiterate; and the Association has also pointed out the fallacious assumptions in many of the questions, the framing of some of them betokening no honest and unprejudiced inquisitive mind. The answer to question No. 83, 112, about the possibility of co-operative organisation, is also interesting, and clearly indicates that the Association has taken some pains to study the problem as a whole seriously. But whatever they be, the joint Hon. Secretaries are not unmindful of the difficulties of the situation; they admit that the "time spirit is working to the prejudice of the Landlord-Tenant System which is being worked in a backward ground of hostility and indifference. The system is criticised not necessarily for its defects but in pursuance of an ideology, hostile to, and subversive of, the given basis of class relations."

The answers as a whole are well written and dignified, and we were somewhat surprised to find that they lack even the heat of an advocate, which the Association could with justice amply for, it is well known and remarkable, that most of those who wish the destruction of the Zemindars and want to undo the Permanent Settlement, do not desire to put the matter to its true logical sequence and undo all the rent-receiving classes by whatever name and style they might pass, and place the State in direct relationship with the actual cultivator of the soil, who again logically can not possibly have any heritable and transferable interest in the plot of all land that he might be for the time being cultivating, all interest being vested in the State, representing the entire populace, present and future.

However, we congratulate the Association on its "Replies", although the ideology has begun to differ and we differ from the Association in some of its reasons and conclusions.

BINAYENDRA PRASAD BAGCHI

**SYMPOSIUM ON PROBLEMS OF POWER SUPPLY IN INDIA:** Published by the Council of the National Academy of Sciences, Allahabad, India, 1932. Pp 100. Price Rs. 2 (Indian), Rs. 2.5 (Foreign).

That the poverty problem in India can not be solved without progress of industrialisation and that a cheap and abundant supply of power is the essential prerequisite of industrial efficiency has taken a long time to be realised in this country. Even now orthodox Congressmen and others of the old school are obsessed with the idea that India will ever remain predominantly agricultural and development of cottage industries will serve as a universal panacea for poverty in the country. Since the

recent Industrial Planning Committee was appointed at the instance of the Congress these votaries of small scale industrialisation have even raised the clamour that large scale industrialisation will ruin our handicrafts. But these are mostly imaginary fears, as an expansion in our large scale industries will mainly replace foreign imported products.

Sometime ago Sir M. Visvesvaraya pointed out that not even 2.5% of the total power resources of India have so far been developed and this explains the extreme industrial backwardness of the country. It is a happy sign, however, that leaders in political thought, in industries and in science as well, have seriously taken up the consideration of the problem of development of India's natural power resources for the benefit of her teeming millions. The National Academy of Sciences, India, have recently held a symposium on Problems of Power Supply in India, and have published an account of the same in the form of a brochure. The symposium was opened by Prof. M. N. Saha who summarised the poverty problem of India in the following words: "The total output of work per capita per year in India is only 90 units, of which the major part is from manual labour, and only 7 units from electrical power derived from coal or running water, while in the advanced countries of the West, the total output is nearly 1800 units, of which not more than 60 units are from manual labour, and the rest is all derived from forces of Nature." Papers were read by A. N. Tandon, N. N. Godbole and G. R. Toshniwal dealing with electric supply in the United Provinces, in Japan and in Soviet Russia respectively. Dr. Tandon in criticising the U. P. Hydro-electric scheme raises the important point that for the success of schemes for the supply of electricity to agriculturists, it will not do to have agricultural load alone which consumes power during certain part of the year only, but there must be a much larger industrial load. In his interesting paper "On the Need for beneficent electricity legislation on India" Dr. B. P. Adarkar of Allahabad points out that nationalization and rationalization of the power resources of the country should be the first essential step and there must be appreciation of the principle that power resources belong to the nation and must be utilized for the good and prosperity of its people and not for profit making of a few monopolists. Even in the United Kingdom where the outlook of the ruling class is predominantly capitalistic, there has been, as pointed out by Dr. Saha in his opening address, an entire change in the attitude towards production and distribution of electricity and the public today are not kept at the mercy of the capitalistic concerns. If quick and proper development of power resources in India is to be effected, the Congress Governments must take a bold and forward step in this direction.

Dr. N. G. Chatterji read an interesting paper in which he has discussed the possibility of utilizing molasses for manufacture of power alcohol. In view of the extreme poverty of India regarding the output of petroleum, Dr. Chatterji's suggestion regarding the production of other forms of liquid fuel which can replace petrol to some extent has got to be seriously considered.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who presided over the deliberations, insisted in the manner of a practical politician, that the Government before undertaking any scheme must have definite proposals put in a concrete form. The National Academy of Sciences has accordingly passed a number of resolutions urging upon the Government the necessity of undertaking a survey of natural power resources existing in the United Provinces and also of passing necessary legislation for nationalization of electricity.

SUSOBHAN DATTA

**HOW TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE:** By Dale Carnegie. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 301. Price Rupees Two and annas eight only.

Ways of winning people to your way of thinking have ever remained elusive to the average man, for the simple reason that "compared to what we ought to be, we are only half awake. We are making use of only a small part of our physical and mental resources. Stating the thing broadly, the human individual thus lives far within his limits. He possesses powers of various sorts which he habitually fails to use." This book is intended to help the average man to discover and develop these unused powers and will serve that purpose eminently; this book scintillates with ideas and hints which may seem platitudinous to the born leader of men but will be immensely useful to the common man.

PULINBEHARI SEN

**DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT SCHEME: ECONOMIC PROGRESS BY FORCED MARCHES.** By Sir M. Vivesvaraya, K.C.I.E., LL.D. Published by the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, Pp. 63.

The great economic crisis which has played havoc in every sphere of civilization for the last few years has at least done this service to humanity that it has given a rude shock to economic fatalism. It has set nations to a serious thinking, planning and reconstructing the old edifice that is a misfit in the welter of modern economies. The economic paralysis that has seized India under the depression has stimulated discussions by people of light and leading which has considerably aroused economic consciousness in the people. Those few intellectuals who have given the subject to serious thoughts, the name of Sir M. Vivesvaraya, comes to the forefront. His has been an attempt to approach the problems from objective and practical point of view. In the brochure under reference, the author presents a well thought-out scheme which he tentatively calls—"District Development Scheme—Economic Progress by forced marches." It aims at making an intensive effort to increase production by persuading the people to work harder and in a disciplined way with the co-operation of the people and Government, so as to reach a minimum approved standard of living. It is admitted that the present is an opportune time for introducing and operating such a scheme when Rural Development has caught the popular imagination and that the administrative powers have recently been vested in the hands of the peoples' own representatives. The scheme has been worked out in minutest details and it may be hoped that the Provincial Governments will find Sir Vivesvaraya's scheme worth to be given a fair trial.

religions. This leads us to the Theory of Progressive Revelation. It means that God has been revealing Himself to peoples at different levels of culture and progress in different ways; and that there is a fundamental agreement among the religions of the world in many essentials.

To orthodox Christianity, "the ideas of Trine Godhead, of an Incarnate Saviour, of the Virgin Birth, of the Second Advent, of the Sacraments, of the Communion of Saints," were the special and distinctive marks of a superior religion. But the author of the book under review holds that "the modern study of primitive religion shows that every one of these beliefs is, or has been, held in some part or other of the pagan world quite independently of Christian influence" (p. 7).

It is a bold theory but quite appropriate. If accepted, it will certainly liberalise religious bigotry and exclusiveness. It may thus bring about a much-needed reform in the outlook of religious men of a particular type.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**ZEITA GRAMATA.** In dedication to Fifty years of Creative activity of Nicholas Roerich and the First Balne Congress of Roerich Societies 10-X-1937. Riga, 1933.

**NICHOLAS ROERICH.** A master of the Mountains. By Barnett D. Conlan. Flannua, Inc. Association for Advancement of Culture.

The first book contains a few coloured reproductions of Roerich's paintings as well as appreciations of his creative activity by writers and artists from all over the world. The second book depicts him as a messiah of the coming age and tells us how he stands in comparison with the great artists of the past. This book has been written with enthusiasm, but has failed to convince us because of its subtle propaganda motivation.

**SUVARNA-DWIPA (SUMATRA):** By Swami Sadananda. 13, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. iv+33 + 8 plates.

The author has been to Sumatra, and the first 16 pages of the book give us an account of the people of Sumatra while the rest is a brief history of India's connections with the island. The style is too learned for a book of this kind where one expects more details gathered from actual observation.

ing the filing of a complaint in a Poona Sub-Judge Court against Shankar Rao Dev, President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, as the Congress resolution held that the Act of 1935 is "designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the public of India." This document which serves as an appendix gives a clue to the mind and method of the author of this book.

BHARADVAJA

**WHISPERING STARS:** By A. L. Kathib. Plate Limited, Colombo. Price Re 1.

The stray thoughts of the promising poet, as we find them scattered in the "Whispering Stars" come definitely within the scope of poetry but not all of them are poems.

A sweet and refreshing melody, a poetic imagination and a mystic touch here and there—these are the notable characteristics of the "Whispering Stars."

**IMAGE-BREAKERS:** By D. M. Borgeankar, M.A., New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.

From the dramatic point of view, the book cannot be called a success. The characters of the play are all talking-machines, not persons of flesh and blood. No one, having any knowledge of life would talk and act in the way they did.

**THE PSALM OF PEACE.** By Teja Singh, M.A. Published by Oxford University Press, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

Professor Teja Singh has laid the English reading public under a debt of gratitude by his beautiful translation of Guru Arjun's 'Sukhmani.' It is no small achievement on the part of Prof. Singh that at many places, 'The Psalm of Peace' reads like an original creation, not at all like a translation.

'The Psalm of Peace' cannot fail to touch the gentle chords of human hearts. The great Guru's 'message of love and peace' will always inspire mankind with hope and cheerfulness.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

**APAROKSHANUBHUTI OF SRI SANKARACHARYA** (With Text, English Translation and Comments): By Swami Vimuktananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayabati, Almora. Price Re. 1.

Aparokshanubhuti occupies a unique position among the minor treatises on Sankara Vedanta; so much so that Vidyanaraya himself thought it fit to write a commentary on it. The present edition of the book will therefore be appreciated even by readers who cannot read it to the original.

JEAN CHANDRA RAY

### BENGALI

**CHANDALIKA, A DANCE DRAMA, WITH MUSICAL NOTATION OF THE SONGS:** First edition. The play by Rabindranath Tagore. The Musical Notation by Salarajyan Majumdar. Visva bhawan Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

The full significance and emotional appeal of this play can only be realized if it be witnessed as acted with dance and music. The addition of the musical notation in this edition will make it somewhat easier for amateur players to stage it, though without the Poet's own direction and training it would be difficult to perform the dances as they should be performed. However, for those

who want simply to sing the songs, the notations will be a great help.

The story is brief and simple. The Chandals are an "untouchable" caste. The Chandai maiden Prakriti wishes to buy some curds. But the itinerant curd-seller is warned by a neighbour girl not to sell her any, as she is "untouchable." Next, she wants to buy some glass-bangles of a bangles-vendor. He, too, is warned by some neighbour girls not to touch her. Feeling deeply insulted, she resolves not to worship the god who has thrown her into this dark dungeon of humiliation. She feels utter indifference to her daily round of domestic duties.

Travel-worn and thirsty, Ananda, a disciple of Buddha, passes by and asks her to give him some water from her well to drink. As she is an "untouchable" girl, she refuses to give him water. Ananda replies: "Maiden, you belong to the same human species to which I belong. That water is sacred which allays the thirst of the thirsty. Do give me water, maiden." Prakriti complies. All the gloom of her dejection is dispelled at once and the feeling that she is unclean disappears. She realizes that Ananda and she are akin. She wants to have him, to bind him in the bonds of earthly love. Her mother Maya tries to bring him to her by means of her potent incantations. Before Ananda comes, Prakriti realizes her mistake. She understands that it was wrong to try to bring him down from the holy spiritual plane to the level of earthly love with its physical attractions and joys. She asks her mother to desert and to take back her spells.

At long last Ananda comes. She exhorts him to raise her to the sacred spiritual plane. He blesses her and says "May all that is good be yours."

The story may be allegorically interpreted, as the proper names Ananda, Maya, and Prakriti means Bliss, Illusion, and Nature, respectively.

**AKASH PRADIP** A book of poems by Rabindranath Tagore. First edition. Visva bhawan Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Re 1-8.

In the month of Kartik Hindus light a lamp raised on a pole in the air. It has a religious meaning. It is called *Akas-Pradip* ("Ak" lamp"). The poet gives this name to his book.

That the poet does not repeat himself even in his seventy-ninth year shows how inexhaustible is the fountain from which his poetry flows. Many poems in this volume read like transcripts of chapters of his inner autobiography. Many seem like pictures which his imagination drew in childhood, adolescence, or youth.

Superficial critics may say that he wrote for a generation that is gone, that his genius can no longer keep pace with the times. That is not true. His reply to such criticism is to be found in the poem *Samay kara*, which may be translated as "Behind the Times," or "Belated." He says there that he has received earnest money in advance to make poems for coming ages. That in fact is what Prof. Leisy says in his book on his personality and works when he writes that Tagore writes for the sons and grandsons of his country—not merely for his own generation.

One poem, interpreting two lines of a nursery rhyme as faint echoes of abductions of women in ages past, strikes a poignant note of deep pathos.

D.

**KSHANA-LEKHA:** By Dr. Surendramath Das-Gupta, Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

The author of this volume of poems is known to the public through his monumental works on Indian Philosophy written in English. Few of his admirers outside Bengal, would suspect however that, for years, he is a

to pass that way tried to cheer him up, and to make good the loss by a munificent reward provided he carried out the instructions he would receive. The Brahmin wanted immediate payment in advance, and at once received a bag full of gold coins. Elated at this windfall, he wanted to know about the nature of his commission and was told that he must kill Chandidas. The proposal, as might be expected, simply staggered him and he refused point-blank to lend his hand to any such nefarious scheme; what! to kill such a soul, the soul of a poet, one who was bubbling over with love for all—a scholar and saint, whose days were devoted to the worship of God, without any idea of creature comforts! Ugh! It was an offer which stunk. "Why not do it yourself?" He turned round on his tempter. But the stranger declared it was quite easy to discomfit Chandidas if the leaders of the local community could bring him to book for his bad associations and hypocrisy. If the poor Brahmin would help in getting up a tribunal from the village, the stranger (he called himself Siddheswar, a "Brahmin") would be there, and the rest might be left to him.

The arrangement apparently satisfied both the parties and soon the prevailing discontent against Chandidas gathered strength. Kenduh was an old village and, as has been already pointed out, hallowed by the tradition of Jaydev; a new poet would find it very difficult to get admirers there, for the first impulse of the villager towards him would be to think of him as a *parvenu*. Sriharsha, who had put up Chandidas and his party at his own place, also came in for general abuse, was not Chandidas accompanied by a woman and did he not remain "a saint" in spite of everything? Thus it came about that Sriharsha was boycotted, and his friend, Kanta, Jaydev's descendant and like him a physician by caste and profession, was forbidden by the local magnates to call on Chandidas or to step into Sriharsha's residence on pain of being similarly boycotted; social ostracism would tell heavily on his profession. Kamalakanta, one of the local magnates and an influential leader of the opposition, had to consult the physician at this juncture because his only son fell seriously ill. The physician, on examining his patient, advised Kamalakanta's wife to seek the favour of Chandidas as nothing else, no rational treatment nor routine method, would do him any good now. The hint proved repugnant to the visitors who chanced to be present then, and they left in disgust at the suggestion; but Kamalakanta declared he would brave the wrath of the community and follow

the suggestion, for it was a matter of life and death for his only son. The mother and the wife of the young patient immediately visited Sriharsha's place and just when Chandidas was giving them his blessing, news was brought in that the boy had died!

Did the Saint's blessings then mean nothing at all? Was he an impostor, after all? He had prided in truth being the basis of his life and religion; and his whole career depended on the truth of his predictions which were in the nature of realisations of truth. Chandidas at once started for the cremation ground where the dead body was being placed on the pyre. He took it down and began to meditate over it, but they shouted at him, for what they thought to be an act of sacrilege, had him bound, and, after replacing the body on the pyre they set fire to it according to custom. Just then the whole atmosphere changed; there were frequent thunder-claps and rain poured down in torrents. They all ran away and Chandidas found himself alone with the dead body and he tried again to bring the dead back to life. This time he was successful; and the young man, regaining consciousness, learnt from Chandidas how he came to be there, and he was advised to go home.

Meanwhile, the people who had deserted the body had run to the village and spread the report that the Saint was nothing but a monster who had eaten up the corpse, and who knew but he would not eat men alive! The best course therefore was to kill him outright. They got up a crowd and it rushed towards the cremation ground to kill him. Whom should it meet on its way but the son of Kamalakanta who had been placed on the funeral pyre just a short while ago? Had he returned to life or was it only a ghost? If the former supposition was right, certainly Chandidas was absolved from all charges Kamalakanta's son, advancing with a smile on his lips, dispelled all their doubts and reassured them that he was alive and that the Saint was still in a state of contemplation.

The time had now come for testing Chandidas, was he really a saint, after all? Or, only a hypocrite? The idea was troubling the crowd, and as it came near a big banyan tree in an uncertain mood, it came across a stranger there (it was our old acquaintance, Siddheswar) who introduced himself as a great scholar, who though young in age had defeated veterans in argument, and who was now eager to meet Chandidas and test his scholarship. The crowd at once realised that he was its man, and if he could be persuaded to enter the lists against



and everybody wished her well. The morning after the marriage, however, people found her in tears. Five soldiers had entered her house overnight and had taken her husband away by force. She forgot to ask him his name, and there could be no enquiries. Thus it seemed she was doomed to live practically like a widow, and the blessing of Chandidas sounded to her like an ironical remark, rather than an expression of sincere good-will as it undoubtedly was.

This account troubled Chandidas; for he knew, though she did not, that it was the prince of Jamkudi that had met and married her; and he knew further that he had been imprisoned by Jahnavi, the Rani of the Mallas who was acting as the Regent now that Gopal, her husband and the Raja of the Mallas, had died and his Rani, the mother of the young King, had committed *Suttee*. The Prince of Jamkudi felt he had the right to the throne, and thinking the time opportune he attacked the capital, only to meet with a repulse; and then, as he was going to Pandua to seek the Nawab's aid, he fell in with Kalyani, married her and, taken by surprise by the Rani's men at the wedding night, he was carried away a prisoner. The Rani had him brought to her presence every morning and ordered a hundred stripes every day.

Chandidas knew all this; and he carefully considered his campaign, determined to save the Prince and make Kalyani happy. Rudramali would try methods of conciliation, the girl would meet Jahnavi and crush her pride, Ram would set the Prince free, and for war he would get the aid of the goddess Basali. With this plan before them they set out for the capital of the Mallas.

Jahnavi, while ordering the usual number of lashes to the Prince, found unexpected opposition and grave remonstrance from her Minister: after all, the Prince had just claims to the throne, and for the internal turmoils of the kingdom he was not to blame, so the punishment was unjustifiable and too severe. The Rani resented the interference and would have asked him to resign but that the relations between the Minister and herself were not those of an employer and an employee, they were more like a father and a daughter. He therefore prevailed upon her in revoking the penal measure of daily lashes. She accepted the suggestion but ordered instead the beheading of the Prince. That was too severe a measure, and might bring on the country (it was suggested to her) the dire vengeance of the gods. But she was not afraid of any reverses; was not Madanmohan

the guardian deity of Bishnupur? Surely they would rely on the god for help. But the Minister explained to her the strength of her enemies. The Prince was surprised on his marriage night when he had laid down his arms and retired for the night; and the bride would have effected a rescue, but that she felt anxious if some harm might befall the prisoner her husband if she attacked the party. She followed them on foot but they rode off. Then she stayed at her home in Kenduli, and Chandidas, on learning her plight, had promised to rescue the prisoner and restore him to his wife. Therefore the Rani must beware how she dealt with him.

The Prince was brought before her and he came, erect and of haughty bearing. The Rani stormed and stamped her foot, but he did not quail before her. "And why should I bow down to you as if you owned the country? I still hold strongly that you have no right to it; your husband did not inherit it rightly but the fact is, when my uncle died childless my father could not gain the throne because your husband influenced the people by his liberal bribes and clever intrigues I have been trying to get it back ever since I came of age. Kill me quick, or give my kingdom back; there is no alternative left for you." When this exchange of words was passing on between the Rani and the prisoner, news was brought to her that the trenches, which had been so long filled with water, all on a sudden went dry. Smelling danger from unexpected quarters she ordered them to be quickly refilled and at the same time, so great was her spite, she asked that the Prince might be beheaded at once.

But then, there was strange intervention. They found the god Siva standing before them and asking them to cease from wrangling. He advised the Rani to desist from her murderous wrath, to get reconciled to the Prince, and to give him a *perganna* or group of villages as an expression of her good-will. But the proposal proved unacceptable to both the parties; the Rani would not hear of making any gift to her enemy, nor would the Prince agree to forego his rights. Unable to effect the desired reconciliation, the god left them to their fate and went away. If the truth must be told, it was not the god Siva or Rudra really, but our old friend Rudramali commissioned by Chandidas for the purpose in arranging the plan of campaign. Discomfited, Rudramali went and reported himself to his master who then ordered a messenger to go and approach the young King, the Rani's step-son, to open negotiations in the matter. That messenger, mindful of the prophecies, saw him at Court and prayed to him

surrender to Kalyani which she did. They marched on to the prison but Chandidas met them on the way. They bowed to him and the Rani, smarting under the disgrace of her defeat, asked him why, in spite of the great attention lavished on him by the late Raja and the royal family, why he had deserted them and brought them to such a pass, because she understood Chandidas was at the root of all this matter. "If gods desert, why pray to them at all?"

she asked. Chandidas consoled her in her great grief, reconciled her to her fate, which he showed to be quite just and logical, and then persuaded the young Raja to make a gift of a group of villages in favour of the Prince of Jamkudi who would thenceforth live peacefully with Kalyani, his wife. The young King obeyed, and all were satisfied with the turn of the affairs.

*(To be concluded.)*

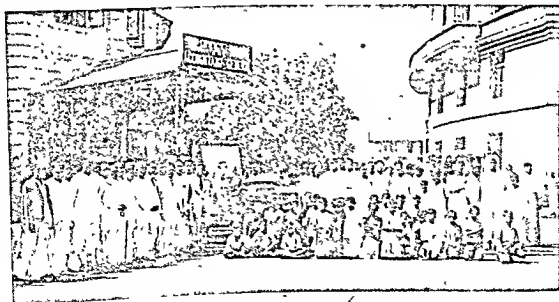
## RANGOON CELEBRATION OF SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE ANNIVERSARY

Under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Burmah Branch) was celebrated in Rangoon the first death anniversary of Sarat-Chandra Chatterjee, the novelist of Bengal.

At 7.30 a.m. on Sunday, the 2nd April, 1939, friends and admirers of the novelist, including the Hon'ble Saw Po Chit, Minister for Education and U Tin Tut, I.C.S., the Finance Secretary, assembled in large number on the southern side of the Secretariat compound and went to some important places in Rangoon associated with his

engagement. A large portrait of the novelist, kindly lent by the Non-Gazetted Civil Accounts Association of A-G's Office, for the occasion was placed on the car of Mr J R Chowdhury, Advocate of the High Court, Rangoon, and brought to the place.

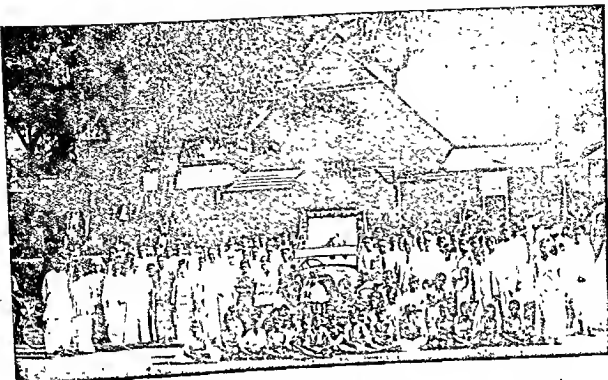
The procession then went to the office of the Minister for Land and Revenue on the groundfloor of the southern wing of the Secretariat Building. Mr. N. C. Dutta, the Registrar, cordially received them at the entrance to the office. Inside this office, a photograph of the novelist



The procession, with Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's portrait on a car, in front of the Office of the Accountant General, Rangoon

memory. The Hon'ble U Tun, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, sent a letter expressing his regret for not being able to join the function on account of a previous

engagement. A large portrait of the novelist, kindly lent by the Non-Gazetted Civil Accounts Association of A-G's Office, for the occasion was placed on the car of Mr J R Chowdhury, Advocate of the High Court, Rangoon, and brought to the place.



This procession in front of the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, where Sarat Chandra Chatterjee used to pursue his studies

Mr. B. N. Das, M.H.R., President, Bangya Sahitya Parishat (Burma Branch), garlanded the photograph. The Education Minister and the Finance Secretary stood in front of the photograph in an attitude of respect.

Mr. K. K. Kar, the Honorary Secretary of the Parishat, then gave a brief description as to how the novelist worked in the office, how his office superiors always liked him in spite of his many lapses and how he passed his jolly life there along with his friends and how in intervals of office work he used to write.

The assembled persons then left in a procession on foot and proceeded along Spark Street, Fraser Street, Sule Pagoda Road and Montgomery Street to the Bernard Free Library.

The Librarian and Mr. Cassim, Professor of Pali, University College, Rangoon, and Secretary to the Board of Trustees of the Library and U Tin Aung, M.A., a Lecturer, Rangoon University, and the Librarian and the staff and Mr. K. N. Dangala, one of the Trustees, met the procession at the gate and conducted the visitors to the Reading Room.

Mr. K. K. Kar, the Honorary Secretary of the Parishat, then placed a photograph of the novelist on a reading table and garlanded it and addressed the gathering, which consisted of many readers, the authorities and staff of the Library, and described the very important and intimate connection Sarat Chandra had with this Library. He said that Sarat Chandra used to go to this Library very often. He had free access to everything in this library. He knew almost all the important books in this Library and also knew the particular almirah in which the book or books he wanted were to be found. He used to sit in a corner unnoticed and absorbed in study. Among others, he used to read the works of Tolstoy most.

He was all praise for the

that nowhere else would he find a Library in which he felt perfectly at home and could pursue his studies at ease. When he left Rangoon for good, he regretted having to leave the Library. He may be said to be a product of this Library.

Mr. Cassim on behalf of the Trustees felt glad that while people generally adversely criticised the shortcomings of the Library, there is at least one famous writer who appreciated the benefit of the Library afforded him.

From the Library, the procession wended its way along Montgomery Street, Sule Pagoda Road, Dalhousie Street and Barr Street to the north western gate of the Accountant General's Office, where they were received by Mr. S. M. Banerjee, the Assistant Accountant General and Mr. J. N. Chatterjee, the Establishment Officer and some of the staff and conducted to the room on the second floor where the novelist actually sat and worked. A photograph of the novelist was placed on a table kept on the exact spot where he used to sit. Mr. Kar described many reminiscence of those days. Mr. Kar also graphically described how the novelist behaved when in office a sudden inspiration came to him and he began to write. He also said that he was standing before the novelist when he began his famous work *Sreechanta* in office, and described what talk he had with the writer. He also mentioned about his discussions with the novelist about his work *Palli Samaj*.

The party was then conducted to the Reading Room of the Office Association, when the photograph of the novelist was garlanded by U Tin Tut, the Finance Secretary. In this room the office Association has kept a seven feet portrait of the novelist which was unveiled by Mr. C. V. S. Rao, the Accountant-General, Burma, after his death.

After thanking the organisers of the function, U Tin

Tut said that his action in garlanding the photograph will be taken as a token of tribute of Burma and the Burmese to the merits of a great people of a great country. He also said that he was very pleased in being associated in the pleasant function. In his official life, he had come across many Bengali friends and always appreciated their high level of intellect. There was not much difference, he said, between a Bengali and a Burman in thought. He said further that the Honorary Secretary of the Parishat, who was privileged to be associated with the novelist in his early days, has stated that Dr. Chatterjee benefited a great deal and took his inspiration from studies in the Bernard Free Library and began writing many of his famous works. He was glad that the great writer was associated with Burma and that he established a connection between Burma and the great country of Bengal. He hoped that this bond which binds Bengal and Burma will be everlasting.

Mr. Kar thanked U Tin Tut for very kindly associating himself with the function amid his multifarious preoccupation, especially during a strenuous Budget session.

A public meeting was held at the Bengal Academy at 6 p.m. to solemnise the first death anniversary of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. The Hon'ble U Htoon Aung Gyaw, Finance Minister, was voted to the Chair. Among those present were:

(1) Swami Shyamasananda, (2) U Tin Tut, Finance Secretary, (3) Mr. C. V. S. Rao, Accountant General, Burma, (4) Mr. R. G. Hyengar, M.H.R., Advocate, (5) Mr. Malik Ram, Advocate and Municipal Councillor, (6) Mr. K. N. Dargahi, Advocate, Municipal Councillor, (7) Mr. J. R. Chowdhury, Advocate, (8) Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Advocate, (9) Professor R. P. Chowdhury, (10) Professor N. C. Das and (11) Mr. S. M. Banerjee, Assistant Accountant General.

After the Chairman had been garlanded by the Honorary Secretary, he delivered a short speech in which he thanked the Parishat for giving him an opportunity to

honour the great writer of Bengal. He was glad that he was associated with Burma, which fact accounted for a new outlook on life and its social problems.

Mr. S. M. Banerjee, Assistant Accountant-General, then read a learned paper, detailing the distinctive characteristics of the novelist and quoted many remarks that eminent men have made about the novelist and his writings.

Mr. R. P. Chowdhury, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in Pali, Judson College, then read a very interesting and excellent paper giving details of his works, his style, his language and the manner of his dealing with them.

Mr. D. N. Das, President of the Parishat, then read a short paper giving the salient features of his writings and especially the new angle from which he looked at Womanhood and how he bestowed the highest praise on Burmese Womanhood.

U Tin Tut made a nice speech, saying how the novelist was an exponent of the thoughts and ideals of the great Bengali people and how glad he felt to be associated with this function.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Kar, then delivered an interesting speech, pointing out how the writings of the novelist directly touched the heart of his readers and made a direct appeal to their emotion and sentiment. He appealed to some of the administrative officers of the Government, who were present at the meeting, to do something by which the intellectual and cultural contact between the Durmans and the Bengalis could be placed on a permanent basis. He hoped that early steps would be taken for the purpose.

Mr. K. N. Dargahi offered a vote of thanks to the Chairman for being able to preside at the meeting amid his multifarious duties during a busy session and to U Tin Tut for joining the procession and walking all the way from the Secretariat to the Bernard Free Library, and also thanked one and all who helped to make the function a success.



## INDIA FACES EAST

By ALBERT E. KANE, Ph.D., LL.B.

Few people have realized the significant role that India, consciously or unconsciously, is playing, and may continue to play in the drama of the Far East. She may prove to be the determining factor in the solution of the problem of bringing order out of chaos and restoring peace to the embattled peoples of the Orient. Their own problem being not such a different one, the attitude of India's teeming millions towards the combatants is clear. "There is no section of the Indian people," recently said Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "which does not feel keenly and profoundly with the Chinese nation at present engaged in a life and death struggle for the sake of national independence." The question is whether this feeling can or will be translated into effective action in support of her neighbor. In order properly to consider this, we must first analyze some historical and geographical facts concerning China.

John Hay, in an attempt to save China from dismemberment and to prevent the closure and restriction of Chinese Markets thereto for open to all, startled the world in 1899 with his "Open Door" notes. His policy was then adopted by the Great Powers and formed the basis on which they co-operated to open China to trade. But the entrance to that vast potential Oriental market was then through the "Front Door," the easily accessible seacoast. In that era, it was quite convenient to come that way where a welcome was more or less to be found. Very few of the "Trades People" bothered going to the "Back Door" which was far more difficult to approach, where the welcome was not so certain and where the profits consequently were likely to be less.

A few enterprising and shrewd "firms," however, dimly foresaw the possibility of the "Front Door" jamming and had already made preparations to get in by the rear entrance where trading might still continue and might even become the more lucrative. As early as 1885, France secured a protectorate over Indo-China in order to control the Red River as an approach from the south to the far western province of Yunnan. Ten years later she obtained certain mining rights there and in May of the following year, received the first concession to construct a railway on Chinese

territory. The obvious purpose was to divert trade to Indo-China rather than allow it to go eastward to Hong Kong and Shanghai where competition with other nations would be keener.

The British, clever diplomats that they are, were not caught napping. They also wanted to build a railway line to Yunnan from Mandalay to the southwest. The French, however, had previously signed a treaty with the Burmese King obtaining the right to build a road from Mandalay to Tongking. In 1885, partly to avoid ratification of this treaty, and to prevent an extension of French influence, Great Britain created an "incident," invaded Burma with the aid of her Indian cavalry and shortly thereafter annexed it. The game at the "Rear Door" had commenced.

France in 1897 and 1898 followed up her initial steps by trying to protect Indo-China, her approach to the "Back Door," by securing from the Chinese Government a non-alienation agreement for the Island of Hainan in the Gulf of Tongking, as well as for her potential market, the Province of Yunnan itself. The British countered French action in 1912 by getting Russia to recognize Tibet in the far west as a British sphere of influence, and in 1914 forced China to agree that Outer Tibet adjoining India was to be autonomous. Along with other reasons, the British may have had their eye on the gold in not too distant Szechwan which, along with the Yangtze Valley, they also considered within their sphere of interest. Today Chinese control there has almost vanished and Tibet is almost completely under British domination.

Meanwhile, Russia approached from the North over a vast stretch of land through Outer Mongolia and gradually extended her authority in that region. In 1913, China gave Russia special privileges in that area, and by the 1915 Sino-Russian Treaty, the autonomy of Outer Mongolia was recognized. After the Russian revolution, between 1919 and 1924, Russian armed forces aided in the creation of the Mongol People's Republic, with whom they concluded a Mutual Assistance Pact. They thus dealt with this "Republic" as if it were

an independent state and even made loans to it without interest. Paradoxically, the USSR continued to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Outer Mongolia and entered into a Non-aggression Pact with China. That part of Inner Mongolia not completely under Japanese control, composed of the Chinese provinces of Ninghsia, Suiyuan and Chahar, was also susceptible to Russian influence through the Mongols of Outer Mongolia, and is connected through a "Side Door" with the south of China by rail *via* Kalgan and Suiyuan. However, Japanese proximity has neutralized this means of ingress and left open only the "Back Door" through the northwest of China by way of a long overland road which must skirt or conquer the great Gobi desert.

The complementary but selfish attempts of these three nations to get in the back way proved of more value to China than anticipated, for they provided her in the present Sino-Japanese conflict with needed lines of communication. Over the long northern route *via* Urumeli in Sinkiang and Lanchow in Kansu trekked Russian cars and supplies. This movement was slow and took about a fortnight because the distance to Southwest China was enormous and the terrain far from easy. Russia's own defense needs also somewhat limited the quantity available for Chinese consumption. A great deal of war materials probably came from the French by railway from Haiphong across the Indo-Chinese border to Kunming until Japanese threats slowed their passage. The Japanese menace to the security of Indo-China itself through the recent seizure of the Island of Hainan may have stopped them altogether. The less than a third completed Burma road seemed China's main hope of salvation and it was speedily finished with the aid of about 180,000 mostly volunteer Chinese labourers who offered their services in a spirit of patriotism. The Chinese side of this road starts at Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, and proceeds westerly 370 miles to Hsiakwan. This section was completed prior to the opening of hostilities in July, 1937. From Hsiakwan the road continues in a south-westerly direction through Yungchang and Lungling to Muse on the Burmese border, thence southerly to Lashio, where it connects up with the railroad to Mandalay, which continues on to Rangoon. The entire route by rail and truck from Rangoon to Kunming is thus 1350 miles. Compared with the years it took Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim-scholar to travel in the latter half of the seventh century from China to India, this new road is a miracle of

speed, but it still takes approximately ten days' time to complete the entire journey.

With the invasion of Eastern China by the Japanese and the spoliation and destruction of the great commercial centres and ports such as Shanghai, Canton and Hankow there has occurred a great mass exodus from these cities, not to the Northwest but to the Southwest, and principally to the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. Historians may perhaps later on call this the greatest mass migration in history. Hundreds of thousands of homeless people were forced to take their few possessions and seek a home in a remote territory hardly touched by modern civilization where many will remain even after the establishment of peace. Educational institutions moved their campuses mainly to Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan, and Kunming in Yunnan, and not all will return to the East. Over three hundred factories, including cotton mills, machine shops and chemical works moved their machinery and equipment to the West and they will also stay as the expense of again lifting up stakes will be too great. The Southwest is capable of accommodating at least six million refugee families, for it is rich in mineral resources and possesses a fine soil and good climate. Coal, antimony, manganese, lead, zinc, copper, gold, silver, tin, salt, mercury, sulphur and arsenic are present in sizeable amounts. Silk, tea, rice, sugar, hemp, cotton, tobacco, wax, varnish, indigo, timber, oranges and medicinal plants have been and will continue to be produced in great quantities. Rice, wheat, barley, oats, maize, sugarcane, fruits and vegetables will also make of this sector a vast hinterland for the rest of China. Reclamation and other projects are already being conceived and vast sums of capital will be poured into this section not only to sustain China's present armies and needs but to build it up for the future. Here will occur the great renaissance of China and here will commence the great era of reconstruction. There was no need of a Horace Greeley to orate: "Go west Young Man, Go West". The force of circumstances compelled the Chinese to look to the "Western Heavens". How startled the natives, who were probably living in the traditions of the sixth century must have been by the modern garb and customs of twentieth century Chinese youth. Yet this very intermingling of people from various sections of the country has already given great impetus to the speaking of the Mandarin official language (particularly in Yunnan where Mandarin was already spoken by the people resident there

who had formerly migrated from the North and brought that tongue with them; and developed a unity of feeling among all Chinese. Thus, while the East will undoubtedly regain some of its former importance, the disparity between the two sections of the country will no longer exist and the West will come into its own.

What influence will the Great Powers have on and in this new center of a new civilization? This will depend on many factors such as the strength and unity of China, the attitude of her people determined by the assistance or injury she has received during the conflict from various powers and the final outcome of hostilities. Certainly one of the important elements to be considered will be the means of access to this area. Formerly, along with each concession made by China to a Great Power went implications of political and economic influence. Today it is not to be doubted, if history means anything, that the Western Powers will try to utilize and improve their latest means of entry into China to further their own interests at the expense of each other, or of Japan.

Because of the Burma road which will without question be widened and improved as time goes on, and the likelihood that they will endeavour to build another road directly from India via Tibet and Tatsienlu in Sikiang to Szechwan, the British will most certainly have a strong foothold in the trade wealth of China. Whether they will be able to and how they will use these roads will thus depend in a great measure on the attitude of India.

As in a tea-pot boiling over where each little bubble affects every other, so in the world today even a seemingly insignificant happening in a remote corner may influence events in an equally distant part of the universe. What action England can or may take in Asia will naturally be determined in part by the course of events in Europe or the Near East and that in turn will be somewhat influenced by India. While a policy of delay until her rearmament program is further advanced may be the order of the moment, England's attitude towards the Fascist Powers might conceivably sooner stiffen if she were assured of the support of and safety of India, the gem of her Empire. A firmer British tone would immensely strengthen the hand of Chiang Kai-shek, because Russia would become more of a direct threat to Japan if the danger of her being simultaneously attacked from both East and West were lightened. This would really mean that Japan would have to move many of her troops to the Manchurian front, and China might

have a breathing spell in which to gird her strength for the final test. By following the lead of the United States and lending money to China and aiding her with munitions, Britain has indicated her apparent desire for the survival of an independent and strong, perhaps not too strong, China. This most likely would redound to her economic advantage and be preferable to a Japanese Empire exercising much more than a Monroe Doctrine in China and excluding and hindering the commerce and industry of other powers except in so far as it might be necessary to encourage foreign capital to take the risks Japan might not care to undertake herself. Let us then look for a moment at India.

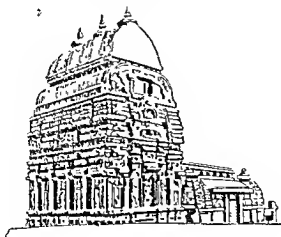
The prestige of the white man has declined in recent years. The actions of the Belgians in the Congo, and the British in India at the time of the suppression of the Sepoy rebellion and later at Amritsar, have not been much better, if at all, than those of the Japanese at Nanking. The united white front against the native has disappeared and instead Colonial troops have often been summoned to aid in European fratricidal wars. Ethiopians and Chinese have proved their courage, and, that given an equal chance with proper ammunition and guns, they are well able to take care of themselves. Nationalism has thus been on the rise amongst formerly subjugated races, and this has been true of India. The authority and influence of the Congress Party is eloquent testimony of the great strides India has been making in this direction. However, as regards China there have been two conflicting currents in Hindustan. That India as a whole is sympathetic to the Chinese cause is not only illustrated and highlighted by the controversy between the poets Yone Noguchi and Rabindranath Tagore and the latter's Sino-Indian school at Santiniketan, but by the words of Mrs. Naidu quoted at the beginning of this article. As a gesture of goodwill the Indian National Congress some time ago sent a small ambulance unit to China and the Congress President, Subhas Chandra Bose, sent a message of goodwill to the Chinese people. On the other hand the very election of Mr. Bose in preference to the candidate sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru represented the triumph of a leftist group whose thoughts are anti-imperialist and whose sympathies are certainly not pro-British. In fact, Mr. Bose's faction urges immediate mass civil disobedience. At the March All-India National Congress at Tripuri, the Right led by the absent Gandhi (whose

prestige was enhanced by his most recent political success) has returned, temporarily at least, to power. Nevertheless, events seem to indicate that in the event of any difficulty, India might attempt to strike for her own freedom and English efforts might be sabotaged in India and thus might be disadvantageous to China. Agitation for an Indian army controlled by Indians is at present very strong. England is perhaps prepared for disaffection, because although the Indian Constitution applies to Burma, that country is governed as a separate entity, and could be easily shut off from India. However, the very threat of Indian non-support might induce the British to urge the Chinese to make a treaty with the Japanese less favourable than ordinarily might have been made merely for the purpose of retaining British influence in China, on the theory that half a loaf is better than none. Japan might be very willing to make such a bargain, cultivate British good-will and use Great Britain as she did in the 1902 Anglo-Japanese alliance against Russia whom she may consider a greater menace to her interests in China than Great Britain.

In the event of trouble, even if Burma could be cut off from India and the Burma road to China kept open with little difficulty, or even if a bargain between England and Japan could be made, how much better for England if Indian co-operation could be secured. India may not relish the spread of British imperialism into China but would probably co-operate in an endeavour to save the democratic structure of that country and might, if permitted, even send troops for that purpose. During the world war munition depots were

built at various places in India and India supplied part of the munitions for England's South African and Near Eastern campaigns. How much simpler today to transport such materials over an adjoining road to China. If Britain could only be persuaded not to "muddle through", not to repeat her mistakes of the eighteenth century in America, and to grant India, if not complete independence at least Dominion status or some real measure of self-government which would satisfy Indian pride and aspirations, she would secure this most precious link in her Empire with ties of love and loyalty which are surely stronger than those of intimidation and force. Certainly India is not unmindful of the beneficent things the English have accomplished in India, and out of self-interest alone would probably prefer to be associated with England than any other Great Power if she had to be associated for self-defense or any other reason with any. If such forward-looking measures were taken, Sino-Indian political and cultural co-operation would be placed on a more solid foundation, and India would become a firm bridge on which East and West might really meet. Not only would the support of both India and China be an additional guarantee of the safety of the British Empire, but with the help of India, the "Back Door" to China will be made a "Front Door" through which may enter the salvation of democracy. Just as the light of Buddhism spread from India to China, so over the Burma road may come the dawn of a newer and yet finer Chinese civilization.

New York,  
April, 25, 1939







# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## A Critique of Current Political Philosophy

In the course of a brief survey of the current strands of political thought in *The Hindustan Review*, S. S. Raghavachari observes :

In modern political philosophy three broad streams of speculation can be easily discerned, viz., Individualism, Idealism and Socialism. Each of these has had a long history and exhibits many sub-divisions within their own fold.

As regards Individualism the writer remarks :

(a) Individualism has played a dominant role in the history of Europe. It ultimately rests upon the glorification of history of liberty which J. S. Mill so nobly attempted and so admirably executed. Mill's argument for the freedom of thought and expression is one of the imperishable contributions to human thought. No sound political theory can dispense with that part of Individualism. He based his view of the freedom of action on his analysis of all human actions into self regarding and other regarding activities. The self regarding activities can be pursued freely whereas the other regarding ones should be controlled by law. Individualism emphasizes the value and ultimacy of the individual and the indispensability of his liberty for the realization of the goal he envisages, which he should envisage as pleasure and freedom from pain. Such a freedom of different individuals is bound to culminate in an irreconcilable clash of individuals in that sphere of individual life in which the doings of one individual affect the other individuals. To allow this conflict to go on is an inexpedient waste. On the other hand, if all individuals sacrifice their freedom to an extent necessary for social compromise and agree to be bound by laws which prescribe a uniform sacrifice of a certain amount of the liberty of all so that the rest of it may be comfortably enjoyed, prudence commends it and life approves of it. This is the individualist view of law. Expediency is the ground of political obligation. Obedience to law involves a genuine loss but refusal to incur this loss involves risk of a greater loss as a consequence of an uncontrolled clash with all other individuals.

About Idealism he says :

(b) Idealist political thought takes its stand on what Professor Vaughan termed "the corporate destiny of man." The things of ultimate value to men are such that a competition in their realization is impossible. Spiritual values are essentially shareable and failure to share them is a diminution of their wealth and tending down of their potency. Man's endeavour at "soul-making" must either be in a society of persons of equal and infinite worth in themselves or be met with frustration in his efforts to become what he has in him to become. Now for such a co-operative adventure there become certain conditions of association that must be maintained without these social existence and movement are inconceivable but their maintenance is by no means the

complete fulfilment of social morality. It is where morality starts and not where it culminates. These conditions are the "negative conditions" of self-realization. They are the external and therefore enforceable conditions of the possibility of moral life, whose fulfilment by enforcement is preferable to non-fulfilment.

Morality, it is a matter of universal agreement, cannot be enforced. But the conditions whose neglect would be an obstacle to moral life can be enforced. Thus the state is a "hindrance of hindrances." The ground of political obligation is the social nature of the self-development and self-fulfilment of man, and the purpose of political action is to hinder the hindrance, to such a good life, so that law is not based on expediency but on a fundamental moral need.

He then goes on to discuss Socialism :

(c) Socialism broadly considered presents a definite interpretation of history, a scientific analysis and description of the present structure of society and the formulation of a Social ideology. It is a mighty vision of the evolution of human institutions and ideas from a particularly fruitful angle of approach. It maintains that the course of our civilization can be completely interpreted in economic terms. The economic factors control and determine human affairs in all aspects with an inevitable rigour of logic and an unflinching force of law. The doctrines of surplus and class war are offered as essential parts of the description of present social structure. It is predicted that the class-war in the modern world is bound to generate forces which will ultimately lead to the revolution of the proletariat.

Much more important than all these elements of socialism is its programme for social reconstruction :

This is so essential that even if the socialistic philosophy of history is proved to be fantastic and the socialistic doctrine of value is shown to be untenable, socialism stands or falls with the soundness of its programme. This programme is very simple. Socialism aims at a Class, a society established by the abolition of private capital and the collectivization of the agents of production. But this alteration of the economic foundations of society will not be effected by the modern state in which the holders of political power have everything to lose and nothing to gain by such a change. Evolutionary socialism ignores the huge distance between its ideology and the present state of society and the numberless and decisive ways in which the political machinery as it is, is made to subserve the interest of the capitalists surely and steadily. The holders of political power are so much the products of the capitalist order that to think of abolishing capitalism through the political machinery as at present constituted is to give up the socialist ideal on account of either impotence or hypocrisy. So political power should be seized by the proletariat in order to secure the economic democracy it seeks to realise. Such a change will treat social order in which economic



gods: more than this is a village." But as we also know from other texts, the Buddha was soon joined by men who had belonged to well-organized orders. His two first Brahmin converts, Sariputta and Moggallana, had belonged to a group of two hundred and fifty friars under Sanjaya, who offered to share the leadership of the order with them rather than have them join the new teacher. The Buddhist reform was a lay-movement, closely imitating the organization and methods of the orthodox, but heretical in its resistance to Brahmin claims, to the more rigid rules of caste and to animal sacrifice.

From the first Buddhism claimed to be not only a Middle Path but also a Twofold Path.

It offered a way between the extremes of austerity and of self-indulgence, the way of the monk, the Eightfold Path to Nirvana; for the layman, rebirth in a better state through almsgiving and morality. "The monks are the harvest field of merit," the laity in supporting them and in following the simple ethic of the Buddha may attain salvation. The way for the monk and nun is at once more direct and much more difficult—it is the way of a temperate asceticism and of difficult practices of mystical or transcendental contemplation. For the layman Buddhism offered a simple ethic such as we find in the edicts of Asoka, with occasional emphasis upon mild asceticism.

### From "Vegetable" to "Mineral" Civilization

It was only the other day that the well-known British writer, Mr. H. O. Wells, while at Bombay on his way to Australia, gave an interview to a Press representative and characterized the system under which the Indian population lives as a "Vegetable Civilization." *Science and Culture* comments editorially:

The full implication of this statement, we are afraid, has not been fully grasped. Probably Mr. Wells meant our dependence to a very large extent on agriculture, i.e., on the plant world for food, clothing, housing, and other necessities and luxuries. The Indian leaders also, by mainly emphasizing on agriculture, on rural life and on village crafts, have shown themselves incapable of understanding the way in which the world progresses. One like Mr. Wells, who surveyed the history of the world from the point of view of progress of human civilization, such views of the Indian leaders are sure to strike not only as unprogressive but suicidal in the long run. If India is to grow into a powerful world-entity like the U. S. A., Soviet Russia, and the countries of Western Europe, this growth can not be fostered by continuously harping on the supposed virtues of "Vegetable" civilization. A nation, however great its moral and spiritual qualities may be, cannot hope to win battles with bows and arrows against tanks and artillery. In this world of strife and competition, if a nation wants to survive, it must develop the latest techniques of civilized existence. And if anybody be under the illusion that under the protection of the mighty arm of the British Empire, we may hope to nurture for all eternity our spiritual "Vegetable" Civilization, leaving the fruits of the "Machine" civilization to the wicked Western nations, we may refer him to the thought provoking dynamic book, *If War Comes*, by Prof. B. P. Adarkar. A perusal of this book will probably convince him that those who believe that under the protection of the British, we are absolutely safe, will find that they are living in a fool's Paradise. And if we

do not pay attention to the alarming pictures of the future so ably drawn up by Adarkar, we may, in no distant future, find ourselves under another set of masters.

In contrast to the "Vegetable" Civilization of India, that of Western Europe may be called a "Mineral" because of the far larger use of minerals like iron, coal, copper and other materials which distinguish the West European civilization from the earlier ones.

The use of minerals has led to the present industrial age, and to the great revolutions in the standard of living, in communication, and other techniques of modern life. Even agriculture has profited immensely from the "Mineral" civilization because by the use of modern agricultural machinery, and artificial (mineral) fertilizers, one acre of land can be made to produce now four times as much as it used to do formerly. The immense increase in the production of world's cereals is due to "Mineral" civilization. About 70 years ago, the famous British scientist, Sir William Crookes, predicted a wheat famine due to alarming increase in population. Today, the population has increased, but instead of there being a wheat famine, we have such a glut in the production of wheat that sometimes it has to be burnt as chaff.

### India and the Next War

The following article by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, originally published in *The National Herald*, appears in a condensed form in *The Indian World*.

The problem of problems today, overshadowing all else is the growth and triumph of gangsterism in international affairs. The lights go out in Europe and elsewhere, the shadows increase, and in the darkness freedom is butchered and brutal violence reigns. Tragedy envelops us, heart-breaking tragedy. As we see the death of nation after nation, the vast suffering and misery of millions of people crushed by barbarian feet. From day to day we await in suspense what this dictator says or that, anxiously we wonder what the next aggression will be.

How does all this affect India? Dare we ignore these tremendous happenings in Europe? Freedom will not be worth many days' purchase if Fascism and Nazism dominate the world. Our own existence is bound up with the fate of freedom and democracy in the world. Only a union of freedom-loving peoples and their mutual co-operation can avert the common peril. For that union India must stand.

But let us not forget recent history. It is not Hitler or Mussolini who have created the present crisis in Europe. Eventually it is the policy of the British Government supported by the French Government. There is a great deal of talk of the democracies defending freedom against the onslaughts of Fascism. But it is these very so-called democracies of Western Europe that have helped and encouraged Fascism and Nazism and done to death the Spanish Republic and Czechoslovakia.

Let us not talk, therefore, of Mr. Chamberlain's Government, of Messieurs Daladier and Bonnet's Government as democracies, and, so long as these Governments or their like continue, no one will consider them the champions of democracy. They have too much blood of the free on their hands, too many betrayals to their credit, for them to pose as democrats or lovers of freedom. Even if they are forced to fight fascism, no one will trust their good faith or their motives, and they will yet again



yet does not give rise to any mystical obscurity or vagueness.

He is a poet as much of the human heart as of natural beauty.

What was Kalidasa's religion ?

The name Hinduism covers a multitude of sects and points of view. It has often been suggested that Kalidasa was a Saivite, and in a recent work by Pandit Lakshmidhar of Delhi an attempt has been made to identify Kalidasa's faith with the *pratyakhya* philosophy of Kashmir Saivism. If, however, we conquer the temptation to read between the lines, the inference is irresistible that Kalidasa is no narrow sectary or bigoted enthusiast. To the broad fundamentals of the Vedanta he appears to have subscribed: though it is not possible to say with certainty what particular school of thought he embraced. Saiva, Vishnu and Brahma alike receive his homage, and each is to him only a name and symbol of the one Supreme Reality of which all religions speak. "So far as we can judge," writes Prof. Ryder, "Kalidasa moved among the jarring sects with sympathy for all fanaticism for none."

It is perhaps not necessary to add that Kalidasa has a fine sense of humour, the result of his exquisite sense of proportion. The clowns in his plays speak more than the customary badinage. The poet's laughter does not even spare the gods.

Kalidasa's abhorrence of the senseless massacre of innocent animals in the name of sport was not due to any sickly love of sentimentalism.

Prof. Ryder writes that Kalidasa must have 'moved among men and women with a sovereign and god-like tread, neither self-indulgent nor ascetic, with mind and senses alert to every form of beauty.' If we add to these traits a true appreciation of the fundamentals in religion, philosophic and tolerant, universal sympathy and insight into the workings of the human heart, wisdom culture transcending mere learning, a love of the motherland, the loveliness of her landscape and the beauty of her flora and fauna, a sense of proportion and a keen sense of humour, a partiality for Ujjain and an abhorrence of the criminal slaughter of deer in the name of sport—we may perhaps claim to have a picture of the poet's personality which is not too vague and which yet rests on the evidence of his extant works.

### Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is a public-health problem, first of all because tuberculosis is a communicable disease, and secondly, because experience has shown that although a specific to prevent or to cure the disease is lacking, tuberculosis can be controlled, if not eradicated, through the application of the means that are now available. Writes Dr Grant Fleming in *The Oriental Watchman and the Herald of Health* :

Tuberculosis is a public health problem because organized community action is necessary to provide the

diagnosis, treatment, aftercare, and related services which are essential in the control of it.

The declining death rate from tuberculosis is one of the most striking and satisfactory health gains of the present century; nevertheless, tuberculosis remains a major public health problem because it affects large numbers, because it incapacitates many over long periods, and because it is responsible for a considerable percentage of all deaths.

Tuberculosis is particularly difficult to control because of the long period of infectivity during which the infectious person, through ignorance, indifference, or carelessness, may be a dangerous focus of disease.

Tuberculosis is an ancient malady. It is described in the early medical writings which have come down to us. It is likely that it was a common disease throughout the Roman Empire. With the fall of the Empire, the population of Europe decreased rapidly as a result of war, famine, and widespread epidemics. It would seem likely that those suffering from tuberculosis at such a time must have died off quickly.

The specific cause of tuberculosis is the tubercle bacilli leave the body of the patient with an active case of tuberculosis, usually in the sputum, as the commonest site of the disease is the lungs. It is the transfer of the germ-laden sputum, whether this be direct or indirect, that accounts for most of the cases. If there were no sputum, or if all sputum were destroyed as soon as it left the body, and if all milk were made safe by pasteurization, tuberculosis would disappear.

A considerable percentage of the entire population is infected with tuberculosis. This means that tubercle bacilli have gained entrance to and established themselves within the bodies of these persons. Of the many who become infected with tuberculosis, only a relatively small number develop the disease.

We do not know why disease develops in one individual and not in another. It is generally believed that the chances of the infection's becoming the disease are increased many times by the occurrence of any condition which reduces the general physical fitness of the infected person.

Tuberculosis is a disease which is as much a social problem as it is a medical one; its prevalence reflects the social and economic conditions of the masses. Tuberculosis is chiefly a disease of the poor, because the poor are not fed, housed, or rested in a manner to maintain a high standard of physical fitness. The first line of defence is a sound body.

Dr F. C. S. Bradbury, in his very excellent study on "Causal Factors in Tuberculosis," makes these statements :

"It is considered that the evidence submitted has sufficient statistical value to establish beyond reasonable doubt that overcrowding is a factor of definite importance in contributing to the prevalence of tuberculosis in the areas dealt with." And he adds :

"Poverty shows a marked statistical association with tuberculosis. . . . The principal means by which poverty is found to cause tuberculosis are the overcrowding and undernourishment which are the chief distinguishing features between poor and not poor families in the areas studied."



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Radio Warfare

Jacques Mueger contributes to the *Paris-Soir* an account of the radio warfare that has been going on for a few years now. We reproduce below some extracts from a translation of the account published in *The Living Age*.

The first and the most interesting front is in Central Europe; on the one side there is Germany, backed by Italy, and on the other, the U. S. S. R.

In both countries, propaganda has been put on an official basis and issues directly from the government. The methods are identical: rel. use of false views, suppression or delay of information, wrong interpretation of texts. A great deal of money has been spent on the construction of transmitters with short ultra-powerful waves. Russia has built a whole chain of them along the Western frontier.

Meanwhile, Germany defends herself against the Soviet broadcasts by 'jamming the wave bands.' She has set up radios whose only purpose is to drown out the others by records, whistling and static on the wave of the same length. This does not always succeed.

In Germany there are some phantom transmitters that broadcast against the government.

The Communist Party there has not ceased its activity. Its travelling illegal station, operating on the wave length of 29.7, has given much trouble to the German authorities. It was known that the broadcasts came from a moving car, which made any attempt to track them down extremely difficult.

A member of the Communist Party explained to us the way the broadcasts were worked. The transmitter, he explained, was in an automobile. The aerial is of the so-called 'directed' type, that is to say, it sends out waves in one direction, and by turning the aerial, which is on top of the automobile, and so changing the direction of the waves, the operators throw the pursuers completely off the track. For further safety, the automobile with the transmitter is accompanied by two other cars a few hundred feet in front and in back. Each of these cars has a small transmitter and the minute there is any sign of danger, the main car is warned by several signals, whereupon it withdraws its aerial and the three cars part company and drive off in different directions. The broadcasts are stopped for a few days and later reappear in another locality.

In Russia also, these phantom radios make themselves heard.

The broadcasts made by the stations of the so-called 'Secret Opposition' are particularly interesting. During the months of April and May of 1938, there was one very active station working on a wave length of between 25 and 31, which began every broadcast with

the words: 'Stalin, your days are numbered. Your victims will revenge themselves.'

After some time, the broadcasts stopped. When they began again, their tenor was somewhat different. 'We ask our listeners' pardon for having discontinued our broadcasts. This was due to the arrest of several of our comrades. Their trial will be another proof of Stalin's cowardice. Cease your murders, Stalin, before it is too late.'

The broadcasts come not only from land but also from the sea. Many of them come from the boats navigating in the North, the Baltic, the Mediterranean and Black Seas. There, too, the discovery of the 'gangster of the air' is made practically impossible by the mobility of the broadcasting station. One of the broadcasts coming from the Baltic Sea contained the following words: 'Soldiers of the Red Army, point your guns at the official platform during the next review before the Kremlin. Your action will put an end to the sufferings of the Russian people.' This came from the direction of Lithuania.

Not only anti-Communist propaganda, however, comes from this region.

The second front of radio warfare is in Asia Minor and in Africa, where the enemies are Great Britain and Italy.

Italy has found the strained relations between England and Palestine very advantageous in her aim to wean the Near East away from Great Britain. She is now constructing seven new short-wave stations to be used for propaganda in Africa and in Palestine. With these, the number of Italian stations used to spread Fascist propaganda in the Mediterranean will come up to thirty. In retaliation, Britain last January began regular broadcasts from London to the Near East and Africa, in Arabic, and went so far as to distribute hundreds of free radio-sets throughout Islam. Under the Anglo-Italian Agreement formulated last April, Britain and Italy agreed not to use 'invidious propaganda' against each other, but this has not substantially affected the violent tenor of these broadcasts in Arabic.

Japan and the U. S. S. R. are carrying on war on another front, in the Far East.

The Japanese have been putting considerable effort into their propaganda, which comes from Tokyo, Nagasaki, Dairen, Shunkyo and other cities. It finds only feeble opposition in Siam, Indo-China and the Dutch Indies. In China, however, Russia is putting up considerable resistance. Japanese broadcasts are made under the slogan of 'Asia for the Asiatics.' Russia answers with 'Fight for freedom! Don't allow yourself to be overwhelmed by greedy and ambitious Japan.'

A great obstacle to the spread of radio propaganda in the Far Eastern countries is the poverty of the inhabitants, few of whom can afford to have radios. Recently, the following satisfying solution has been arrived at. Soviet and Japanese agents have installed receiving sets in the public buildings of principal cities. In this way, hundreds of passersby are exposed to the

Communist doctrine, or the Japanese ideas. Of course, Soviet radio propaganda, which was not very effective before the "loc dent," enjoys a much greater favor now with the majority of the Chinese population.

The last front is in South America, whose markets have long been the object of the ambitions of Germany and of the United States.

Every day, carefully arranged programs from both sides are broadcast in the Latin American countries. Germany's attitude has caused the United States, apart from current efforts in this direction, to consider further the possibility of constructing a State-owned transmitter, whose task will be to combat German propaganda in South America. With that act, the United States will officially enter into radio warfare with Germany.

### Axis v. Axis

Walter Kerr has contributed to the *New York Herald-Tribune* a study of the relative power of the Rome-Berlin and Paris-London axes, from which the following extracts are made.

It is the opinion of most military observers that the French Army, considering the man power and resources of the country, is the most powerful fighting force in the world today. It has 650,000 men on active duty and within a few months will have 750,000 to 800,000. It has 5,500,000 trained reserves who have had one or two years of military service. In support are a good navy, which is being strengthened by four 35,000-ton battle-ships now under construction, and a comparatively weak air force that is being improved by the purchase of the most modern American military planes.

Much has been written about the Maginot Line, about its underground forts, concealed artillery and concealed machine gunners. It may not be impregnable, but to break through it would take an almost suicidal effort in men and munitions, and in the meantime all France would be mobilized.

On sea France and Great Britain should be able to take care of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and thus control communications with their colonies and with the United States. In the air they should be able to put at least equal forces into action many observers believe, now that France is obtaining planes from the United States. Thus the two western democracies should have the staying power that wins, as they did in the World War, for it's men, money and munitions that count, and plenty of them.

The doubtful factor will be the allied armies, and it is about these armies that controversies rage today, even after the power of the French Army and the defensive strength of the Maginot Line are conceded. For a country can only put so many men in the field, and France, with a population of 42,000,000 (less a Germany of 80,000,000 and an Italy of 43,000,000). To be sure, France can draw native troops from the "black reservoir" in Africa, but only a few hundred thousands, and they may be kept busy for a while defending the North African colonies and protectorates.

So France, it would seem, must have more power from Great Britain, and a lot of it.

Germany is said to possess the largest standing army in Western Europe.

Independent opinion in Paris, however, is inclined to say that it is not the most powerful army in the world today. Although larger than the French Army and

capable of calling more men to the colours, it lacks what the French Army enjoys: trained reserves and the artillery to fire them.

But observers believe time can overcome these difficulties if German leaders can solve the country's economic problems and break down the door to the world's raw materials and food supplies, lack of which strangled the Second Reich in 1917 and 1918.

The world has seen many military changes in Germany within the last year.

Speaking at Nuremberg in September, Chancellor Adolf Hitler, Fuehrer and Supreme War Lord, admitted he had been building fortifications on the western frontier for two years. He said 278,000 men had worked on this Siegfried Line for that period and that the preceding spring he had put 184,000 more men on the job. It would be finished, he said, "before this winter."

The fact is this line, facing the French Maginot Line, is apparently not finished, but probably will be before next autumn—a continuous line running from Switzerland along the Rhine, to Saarbrücken and up through Aix la Chapelle on the Belgian border. It is composed of two, three and sometimes four strings of forts, sometimes as deep as nine miles. And behind it is an air defence line, varying in width up to forty miles, of anti-aircraft guns, searchlight batteries, airdromes, balloon and kite barrages.

It is extremely doubtful that the French will ever be able to erase this line, and it is highly improbable that the Germans can penetrate the French line. Consequently, a stalemate on "the western front" is anticipated.

On August 25, Hitler sent through the streets of Berlin what foreign military observers said was "the biggest piece of mobile field artillery possessed by any army." It was a mystery gun and photographs of it were not allowed to be sent from Germany. Experts who saw it come along on five tractor-drawn trailers guessed it was about of 10 or 11 inch calibre, with a forty-foot barrel, capable of throwing a projectile twenty miles.

The gun in itself is of minor interest. The question is how many have been delivered to the army and how fast the factories can turn them out. The answer is secret, but it is believed here that it was the only one in existence at the time.

It is conceded that Germany has the most powerful air force in the world,

with a production of about five hundred planes a month, although many believed Germany's supremacy would not last long.

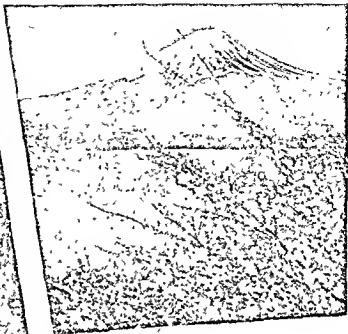
Supremacy in the air is difficult to maintain. A country is on top when its factories are equipped to turn out the latest planes in large numbers. But in the meantime other countries are outfitting their factories with tools to turn out even more modern ships. So it was that for a time France was in the lead, then Soviet Russia, now Germany.

On the seas, Nazi power is increasing, but is still behind that of either France or Great Britain.

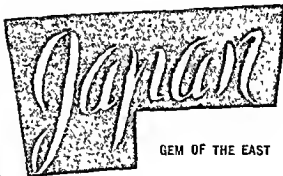
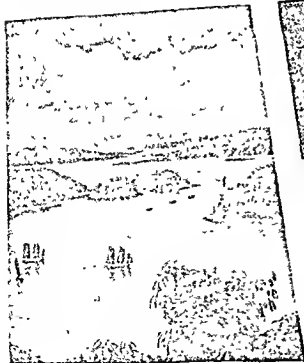
It is difficult to see how time can overcome the German inferiority. Recently Chancellor Hitler announced he would build to submarine parity with England, but London replied by inaugurating a plan for more destroyers.

Germany's chief ally is Italy, which is considered to be a Power of doubtful military strength.

Its air force is good and its navy ready to put up a good scrap in the Mediterranean. The thrusting power



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## TOWARDS A SOVIET AGREEMENT

By GOPAL HALDAR

"WHY," asked Mr. Lloyd George in initiating the debate on foreign affairs on May 19 last, "do we not make up our minds without loss of time for a whole-hearted alliance and come to the same terms with Russia as with France?" The need of the agreement is felt with unprecedented keenness now, in the general tension and strain in which the countries are lined in 'anticipating another blow from the Dictator Powers.' "None knew where it would come, but there was a general feeling of dread that it must come from somewhere," Mr. Lloyd George stated:

They were all nervous and anxious. The whole world was under the impression that there was something being prepared—something in the nature of another attack from the aggressors. It could be seen that the Dictator Powers were speeding up their armaments at a rate hitherto unprecedented, especially in weapons of offence, such as tanks, bombs, aeroplanes and submarines. It was also known that these nations were occupying and fortifying fresh positions that would give them strategic advantages in a war with France and Britain. Military chiefs of high rank in Italy and Germany were travelling long distances, inspecting and surveying the position from Libya to the North Sea—positions that would be of vital importance in the event of war.

There was a secrecy in the movements behind the lines which was ominous. One heard reports of the massing of troops. Eight Legations in Prague would have their rights withdrawn from May 25 and that was ominous, because it meant that they would be deprived of all means of communication through the usual diplomatic way. The secrecy now obtaining was similar to that which existed in 1918, and its purpose was to baffle Britain. The general result was that uneasiness and lack of confidence all over the world to which he had referred. This attitude was seen in trade, on the stock exchanges and even in politics. Britain was interested in her preparations for war, but nevertheless, she wanted to know most of all how to keep out of war.

### "NEW POLICY" AND OLD PREJUDICE

More than six weeks have elapsed since Mr. Chamberlain announced the "new policy" of Britain: that of 'appeasement' was to go and a "Peace Front" was to be built up against aggression. The logical implication of this was clear—the aggressive 'Axis' in Europe was to receive a check, the pro-Fascist leanings of Chamberlain and the circle close to him was to be buried, and, the prejudice and hostility of the group against the Soviet Russia was to be swallowed to bring her in the proposed "Peace Front." This would amount almost to

a denial of all that Mr. Chamberlain and his class stood for so long—resistance to the Socialist menace as objectified by the Soviet and preservation of the traditional social order and civilization which had been ruling the world everywhere. But the very policy of appeasement had forced on Mr. Chamberlain in those last days of March this new avowal, this admission of the failure of appeasement as a policy in dealing with Fascism and Fascist aggression.

Mr. Chamberlain and Messrs. Garvin and Dawson had put all their faith in the Fascists as the Powers that ensured the capitalist system against the rising tide of mass movements. They would not read the other half of the truth that Fascism as clearly signified. In this order, which they wanted Fascism to perpetuate, competition and rivalry was the law; and, the Fascist Powers would prove to be their newborn, and therefore, very stubborn, competitors for world domination in that decaying system. Their demands for market and raw materials would not be long to come; and, a redistribution of the world resources, and re-division in consequence of the world, would be the necessary claim of these Fascist Powers. Then, the pioneers of imperialist handiwork would be asked to hand over some of their loot to these new, more ruthless and more determined band of brigands. For some time their hunger may be 'appeased' with the presentation of the smaller and more backward peoples as sops to the newcomers. Manchukuo, Abyssinia, Rhineland, Austria, Sudetenland, North China, point out how that phase went on and went also further to sharpen the hunger and strengthen the competitors more and more. In fact every betrayal of these unhappy peoples by Britain and France was to prove a betrayal of the sacred cause of British and French imperialism too. 'Appeasement' thus created the worst rivals in the imperialist pursuit at the very moment it helped to safeguard imperialism and capitalism by buttressing this with Fascist reaction. So, when the Munich betrayal failed to buy over these Fascists to the side of Britain or France, British imperialists were at last disappointed. *The Times* and *The Observer* could no longer believe in the good faith or

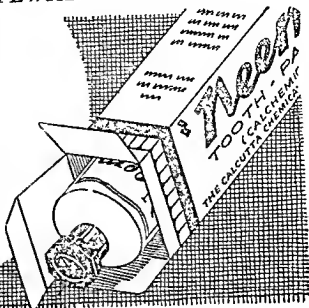
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good mission of Hitler and Mussolini when one demanded from Britain back the war-won colonies, the other began to dominate the Empire route through the Mediterranean; when one was offended at the British programme of rearmament, the other seized the Spanish coast, demanded the French Mediterranean positions and menaced Gibraltar. The annexation of Czecho-Slovakia then deprived these British imperialist leaders of their last shred of self-deception or blind faith in the Fascist way. Mr. Chamberlain was a sadder man. He was compelled to recognise then that Fascist aggression had to be stopped immediately for the sake of the British imperialist interest too. Hence he declared the 'new policy'.

But if Mr Chamberlain was a sadder man he was by no means in a hurry to be wiser than his interests required. Events inevitably pointed out the necessity of an agreement with the Soviet Power if the Fascist threat was to be confronted, if the Peace Front was to be built up to become a reality and, if the smaller states of Eastern Europe were still to be saved from Hitler and Mussolini. The knowledge was forced on him; and the logical implication of the "new policy" made Britain open negotiations with the Soviet Russia for the purpose. But the ideological and psychological barriers of imperialism

are not easy to break through. The world may hold Stalin to be not a flaming revolutionary, to have turned his back on the Trotskyite theory of "Permanent Revolution," and even to have become 'respectable' with his sober scheme of 'socialism in one country.' But Mr. Chamberlain would not be assured by 'the Soviet democracy' or the League absence of Russia. Imperialism, be realized, had its permanent enemy in the Soviet system. A diplomatic agreement with that system means inevitably a moral and political encouragement to the vast exploited masses of the empire, the workers within the country and the suppressed peoples in the empire. Its consequence may be fairly apprehended—it would mean a blow, however concealed for the present, to the imperialist prestige and interests of Britain, and the beginning of the end of the rule of the exploiting class, the interest of which Mr. Chamberlain was to watch and protect and solidify. This must be the fundamental policy of an imperialist.

## PLAY FOR TIME

Caught in these conflicting policies, Mr. Chamberlain plays for time so far as the Soviet negotiations were concerned. Thus, the proposal for a peace conference by the Soviet was

turned down as premature. Memel fell, Rumania almost submitted to Hitler, Poland's very life was threatened. But with Rumania and Poland, Mr. Chamberlain found no difficulty in concluding an agreement pledging them support against aggression. The Soviet negotiations, however, were different; these would not reach an end. Mr. Chamberlain for some time hang on Roosevelt's appeal to the Dictators. If that brought them to their senses, Britain could avoid the Soviet contact. But his hopes were foredoomed to failure. He was forced to turn towards conscription as a result of the insistence of the French ally. Hitler came out with the response—a repudiation of the Anglo-German naval treaty and Polish-German agreement of 1934. The Anglo-Soviet agreement was not still reached. Meanwhile, Mussolini further strengthened himself with the annexation of the Albanian ports in the Adriatic. The necessity for Peace Front increased and would not admit of any delay. The cloud on Danzig was growing darker, and the necessity for an agreement with the Soviet was being more insistently recognised by the British people. But Mr Chamberlain could not forget the dangers. He proved wide awake to the Fascist menace in those regions where his anti-Soviet prejudice did not come into conflict with his new policy. Greece was offered a friendly hand, and Turkey, which now is in close relations with Greece, responded equally readily to the British offer. An agreement promising defensive help against aggression awaits to be signed by Britain and Turkey. The gateway of Dardanelles would, if necessary, open for the British warships to carry aids to Rumania at her hour of need. Again, in spite of the Dodacanese islands and the new Albanian occupations, in the Eastern Mediterranean Mussolini acquired no great new advantage. On the contrary, the rape of Albania exposed him to the Muslim world around the Mediterranean, and, the moment has been seized by British politicians to declare an independent Palestine in order to remove the prejudice against Britain that Mussolini's Bari station for broadcasting had so long created among the Arabs of the Near East. Thus, Mussolini receives a check in the Eastern Mediterranean.

#### THE "AXIS" DEVELOPMENTS

The Axis, however, moves and moves quickly and surely. For, these powers are no victims of conflicting policies, and the smaller states of Europe know this well enough. The

"Peace Front", as soon as mooted, was denounced by the Nazis as an effort at 'encirclement' of Germany, and, Britain, in spite of the rebuffs she has received from Hitler repeatedly, was anxious to disavow any such intentions on her part. But, the Dictators were not prepared to accept that—they moved for a pact of political and military alliance between Rome and Berlin, and on the basis of the Milan talks a treaty was duly signed on the 21st May by Count Ciano and Herr von Ribbentrop in Berlin. In the Balkans again, Yugoslavia, pressed now from all sides, is being made to join the "Axis" on the plea that the Anglo-Turkish Agreement means the end of the Balkan Entente. Separate bi-lateral non-aggression pacts between Yugoslavia and Germany, Yugoslavia and Italy, and Yugoslavia and Hungary are to give practical expression to the Yugoslav admission to the "Axis" alliance. On the plea of countering the encirclement efforts, Germany opened negotiations with the Baltic and Scandinavian powers for pacts of non-aggression. This at once puts the smaller powers in an embarrassing position as they know what their refusal would cost them with the Dictators. The Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish Governments replied that they do not feel to be threatened by Germany and, do not, therefore, consider any such pact necessary. Denmark, however, has agreed to the principle and a pact may be expected at an early date. The negotiations with Estonia and Latvia are also about to be concluded. As these proceed with the Italo-German alliances as the basis, Danzig becomes the storm centre and the Polish customs house becomes the target of the German people, the local Nazi storm-troopers and even, as is suspected, of the Nazis from Germany proper. Danzig may, therefore, bring about the Polish crisis in course of the week, and, if the week is tided over, Western Poland is supposed to be the object of Nazi design. The attack on it is to be launched not later than mid-August—unless of course the Peace Front is solidified meanwhile.

#### SOVIET SUSPICIONS

The 'Axis' Powers thus prepare themselves against, what Signor Mussolini calls, any attempt on the part of the Democracies 'to block their irresistible march.' But the Democracies are themselves far from attempting that so long as the pact with Soviet remains unaccomplished. It would not materialize as they like it to be. They could not subscribe

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to the Soviet dictum of "collective security" and peace as indivisible. They desire to work peaceable. M. Litvinoff, in so far as he, and not Stalin, was the guide of the Soviet foreign affairs, would rather stick to the 'League policy' that the Soviet adopted during his time, and disapprove of piecemeal agreements. But, the Soviet also is ready to modify its position. So, Litvinoff has to go, and, the foreign affairs are left in charge of M. Molotov with M. Ptomekin, the former Assistant, going about Central Europe, and M. Maisky in London and Geneva, to smooth the path for peace bloc Britain proposed to Soviet on May 8 last, as later the Taas agency announced from Moscow, that Russia should join with them in a promise of defensive aids against aggression on Poland and Rumania. The Soviet reply was characteristic of the Soviet; it expressed the Soviet suspicion of the intentions of Democracies. According to it, Britain expects Russia to implement her promise to Poland and Rumania though Russia was no party to that. Would Britain act like this in respect to the other States on the borders of Russia and the States which have received similar promises from Russia? An agreement should stand on the basis of reciprocity, said the Soviet.

Evidently, the Soviet was not illogical or

unreasonable; it had more grounds of suspicion, specially as it was going to negotiate now with individual States and not collectively. More specially, as the British record with regard to Russia from the days of the Arcos raid or from Czechoslovakian crisis of the Munich days, is of a nature not to inspire the Soviet with faith in the sincerity of Britain. Mr. Walter Duranty in *The Spectator* laid bare the grounds of this distrust. The Munich Pact is still remembered. A deliberate attempt was made to discredit Russia at the time with a misstatement that the Soviet was then unwilling or unprepared to come to help the Czechs. The Soviet is not also sure if Chamberlain's 'new policy' is really serious. *The Times'* opinion, that 'Danzig was not worth a war,' is an indication of the British Government's attitude as was the paper's statement in the last summer that Sudetenland should be ceded when the Czechs were still a Power to count. Nor can Russia forget to read this in *The Times*: "A hard and fast alliance with Russia might hamper other negotiations which also have their influence in restoring the world to sanity." The "other negotiations" and "sanity" acquire sinister significance. And the Soviet too must feel not very enthusiastic over the protection of Poland—Poland which "the *Journal de Moscou*..." it took part

in September, 1938, in the dismemberment of "Czechoslovakia."

### SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

These facts would not disarm the Soviet suspicion that the Democracies want to turn Nazi aggression from Poland and Rumania to the Russian Ukraine, that the Powers themselves would avoid war which would bring social revolution in their country and empire, that they want the Soviet to be involved in this Second Imperialist War against the Fascists, so that it might lead to the exhaustion of both the sides when these Democracies would enter the arena towards the end to reap the benefit out of the peace terms. Only on March 11, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, Stalin made a sarcastic analysis of these powers and their politics and clearly declared that the Soviet foreign policy relies on :

Firstly, its growing economic, political and cultural strength;

Secondly, the moral and political unity of our Soviet Society;

Thirdly, the friendship between the peoples of our country;

Fourthly, the Red Army and the Red Navy;

Fifthly, its policy of peace;

Sixthly, the moral support of the working people of all countries to whom the preservation of peace is of vital concern;

Seventhly, the commonsense of countries which for one reason or another are not interested in the violation of peace.

This policy would certainly advise caution on the part of the Soviet in entering into any agreement with the Democracies. The method of negotiation as pursued by Chamberlain, when actually he was forced to seek an understanding with Russia, did also nothing to allay the Soviet suspicion. The negotiations dragged on while the "Axis" politics gained quicker victories in the Balkans in the North. Consequently, at last decided on, met in the circumstances opposition from the Labour and the Liberals. It is a mild proposal aimed at bringing three and a half lakh of British youngmen between 20 and 21 into training for six months to be later attached to the Auxiliary or the Reserved forces. But nonetheless it was compulsion from the Liberal point of view; it

was designed to curtail the democratic rights of the people along with the curtailment of their standard of living, according to Labour. It was, they held, no honest measure aimed at stopping aggression of the "Axis," or at creating a Peace Front. That end was indirectly being defeated by Chamberlain's dilatory tactics in avoiding Soviet connection.

Mr. Chamberlain of course denies any "ideological prejudice" that prevents the conclusion of the Soviet negotiations; but he cannot deny the delay, deny the fact that he does want "to do without Russia," as Mr. Lloyd George reminded him :

"All this business about Russia is proof that we do not know what we want. There is a great desire, if possible, to do without Russia. Russia offered to come in months ago and for months we have been staring this powerful gift horse in the mouth, but we are frightened of its teeth. Yet we are not frightened of the teeth of these powerful beasts of prey who have been tearing down one independent country after another. We have pacts of friendship with them! We have been shaking their paws! At this very hour we are officially joining in celebrations of their carnivorous triumph.

### THE FINAL STAGE?

But the logic of events is merciless. Even Mr. Chamberlain cannot escape it. An Anglo-Soviet Pact based on mutual aid will have to be agreed to and any further delay is damaging. The British press and politicians are impatient over it. In the Anglo-French-Soviet agreement the delegations at Geneva see almost "the only hope for preventing a war." It can be easily surmised that the Soviet will now have its position and prestige vindicated by the terms of the pact and mutual assistance must be guaranteed as the latest message from Paris (May 23) indicates :

The Geneva correspondent of *Le Matin* says that the French plan to solve the difficulties connected with the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations is broadly as follows : The three countries should guarantee each other mutual assistance in the event of one being the victim of an act of aggression; Russia should guarantee Poland and Rumania on the same lines as Britain and France have done, but the form of the Russian guarantee would have to be discussed with the Governments of Warsaw and Bucharest; Britain and France should guarantee aid to the Soviet, if the latter is indirectly attacked while meeting her obligations toward other countries.